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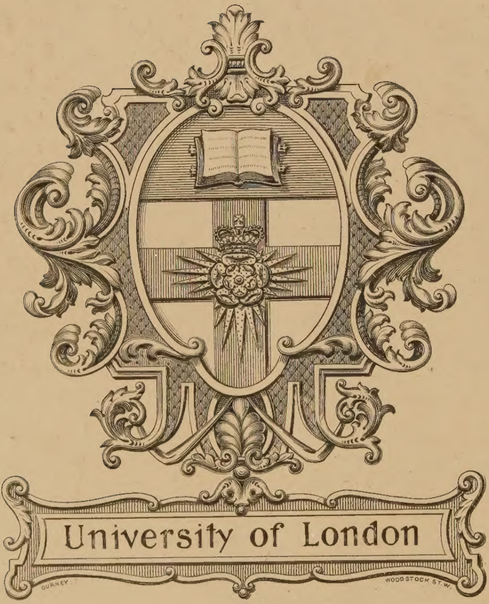

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME LXXXIX.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE TWENTY-THIRD DAY OF
JANUARY TO THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY,

1901.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION.

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Chronology of "The Parliamentary Debates."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES commence with the year 1803, and the contents are set forth in the following Chronological Table:—

HISTORY.

CONQUEST to 34 GEO. II.—1066 to 1760.

Vol. 1 to 15, 1 Will. I. to 34 Geo. II. 1066-1760

REIGN OF GEORGE III.—1760 to 1820.

Vol. 15 to 35, 1 Geo. III. to 40 Geo. III. 1760-1800

(First Parliament.)

Vol.	35	41	Geo. III.	1801
—	36	42	—	1802

(Second Parliament.)

Vol.	36	42	Geo. III.	1802-3

DEBATES.

First Series.

(Second Parliament—*continued.*)

Vol.	1 & 2	44	Geo. III.	1803-4
—	3 to 5	45	—	1805
—	6 & 7	46	—	1806

(Third Parliament.)

Vol.	8 & 9	47	Geo. III	1806-7

(Fourth Parliament.)

Vol.	9 to 11	48	Geo. III.	1807-8
—	12 — 14	49	—	1809
—	15 — 17	50	—	1810
—	18 — 20	51	—	1810-11
—	21 — 23	52	—	1812

(Fifth Parliament.)

Vol.	24 to 26	53	Geo. III.	1812-13
—	27 & 28	54	—	1813-14
—	29 to 31	55	—	1814-15
—	32 — 34	56	—	1816
—	35 & 36	57	—	1817
—	37 — 38	58	—	1818

(Sixth Parliament.)

Vol.	39 & 40	59	Geo. III.	1819
—	41	60	—	1819-20

Second Series.

REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—1820 to 1830.

(Seventh Parliament.)

Vol.	1 to 3	1	Geo. IV.	1820
—	4 & 5	2	—	1821
—	6 — 7	3	—	1822
—	8 — 9	4	—	1823
—	10 — 11	5	—	1824
—	12 — 13	6	—	1825-6
—	14 — 15	7	—	1826

(Eighth Parliament.)

Vol.	16	7	Geo. IV.	1826
—	17	8	—	1827
—	18 & 19	9	—	1828
—	20 — 21	10	—	1829
—	22 to 25	11	—	1830

Third Series.

REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.—1830 to 1837.

(Ninth Parliament.)

Vol.	1 to 3	1	Will. IV.	1830-1

(Tenth Parliament.)

Vol.	4 to 8	2	Will. IV.	1831
—	9 — 14	3	—	1832

(Eleventh Parliament.)

Vol.	15 to 20	4	Will. IV.	1833
—	21 — 25	5	—	1834

(Twelfth Parliament.)

Vol.	26 to 30	6	Will. IV.	1835
—	31 — 35	7	—	1836
—	36 — 38	8	—	1837

REIGN OF VICTORIA—1837 to 1901.

(THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 39 to 44	1	VICTORIA	1838
— 45 — 50	2	—	1839
— 51 — 55	3	—	1840
— 56 — 58	4	—	(a) 1841

(FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 59	4	VICTORIA	(b) 1841
— 60 to 65	5	—	1842
— 66 — 71	6	—	1843
— 72 — 76	7	—	1844
— 77 — 82	8	—	1845
— 83 — 88	9	—	1846
— 89 — 94	10	—	(a) 1847

(FIFTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 95	10	VICTORIA	(b) 1847
— 96 to 101	11	—	1848
— 102 —107	12	—	1849
— 108 —113	13	—	1850
— 114 —118	14	—	1851
— 119 —122	15	—	(a) 1852

(SIXTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 123	15	VICTORIA	(b) 1852
— 124 to 129	16	—	1853
— 130 —135	17	—	1854
— 136 —139	18	—	1855
— 140 —143	19	—	1856
— 144	20	—	(a) 1857

(SEVENTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 145 to 147	20	VICTORIA	(b) 1857
— 148 —151	21	—	1858
— 152 —153	22	—	(a) 1859

(EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 154 to 155	22	VICTORIA	(b) 1859
— 156 —160	23	—	1860
— 161 —164	24	—	1861
— 165 —168	25	—	1862
— 169 —172	26	—	1863
— 173 —176	27	—	1864
— 177 —180	28	—	1865

(NINETEENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 181 to 184	29	VICTORIA	1866
— 185 —189	30	—	1867
— 190 —193	31	—	1867-8

(TWENTIETH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 194 to 198	32	VICTORIA	1868-9
— 199 —203	33	—	1870
— 204 to 208	34	—	1871

(TWENTIETH PARLIAMENT—*cont.*)

Vol. 209 —213	35	VICTORIA	1872
— 214 —217	36	—	1873

(TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 218 to 221	37	VICTORIA	1874
— 222 —226	38	—	1875
— 227 —231	39	—	1876
— 232 —236	40	—	1877
— 237 —242	41	—	1878
— 243 —249	42	—	1878-9
— 250 & 251	43	—	(a) 1880

(TWENTY-SECOND PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 252 to 256	43	VICTORIA	(b) 1880
— 257 —265	44	—	1881
— 266 —273	45	—	(a) 1882
— 274 & 275	45	—	(b) 1882
— 276 to 283	46	—	1883
— 284 —292	47	—	1884
— 293 —301	48	—	1884-5

(TWENTY-THIRD PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 302 to 307	49	VICTORIA	(a) 1886

(TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 308 & 309	49	VICTORIA	(b) 1886
— 310 to 321	50	—	1887
— 322 —332	51	—	1888
— 333 —340	52	—	1889
— 341 —348	53	—	1890
— 349 —356	54	—	1890-1

Fourth Series.

(TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT—*cont.*)

Vol. 1 to 6	55	VICTORIA	1892

(TWENTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 7	56	VICTORIA	1892
— 8 to 21	57	—	1893-4
— 22 — 29	57	—	1894
— 30 — 35	58	—	1895

(TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 36	59	VICTORIA	1895
— 37 to 44	59	—	1895-6
— 45 — 52	60	—	1897
— 53 — 65	61	—	1898
— 66 — 76	62	—	1899
— 77	63	—	1899
— 78 — 83	63	—	1900
— 84	63 & 64	—	1900
— 85	64	—	1900
— 86	64	—	1900
— 87	64	—	1900

(TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.)

Vol. 88	64	VICTORIA	1900
— 89	1	EDWARD VII.	1901

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IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1 EDWARD VII. 1901.

NOTE.—*The Figures in the Margin refer to the corresponding Figures on the Roll.*

A

37 Abercorn, James Marquess of. (*Duke of Abercorn*)

347 Abercromby, George Ralph Lord

467 Aberdare, Henry Campbell Lord

50 Abergavenny, William Marquess of

74 Abingdon, Montagu Arthur Earl of

396 Abinger, James Yorke MacGregor Lord

460 Acton, John Emerich Edward Lord

537 Addington, Egerton Lord

45 Ailesbury, Henry Augustus Marquess of

47 Ailsa, Archibald Marquess of

3 Albany, His Royal Highness Leopold Charles Edward George Albert Duke of

76 Albemarle, Arnold Allan Cecil Earl of

573 Aldenham, Henry Hucks Lord

477 Alington, Henry Gerard Lord

601 Alverstone, Richard Everard Lord

157 Amherst, William Archer Earl

551 Amherst of Hackney, William Amhurst Lord

490 Ampthill, Arthur Oliver Villiers Lord

193 Ancaster, Gilbert Henry Earl of

43 Anglesey, Henry Cyril Marquess of

439 Annaly, Luke Lord

124 Annesley, Hugh Earl. (*Elected for Ireland*)

485 Ardilaun, Arthur Edward Lord

31 Argyll, John Douglas Sutherland Duke of

280 Arundell of Wardour, John Francis Lord

511 Ashbourne, Edward Lord

98 Ashburnham, Bertram Earl of

398 Ashburton, Francis Denzil Edward Lord

548 Ashcombe, George Lord

567 Ashton, James Lord

323 Auckland, William Morton Lord

597 Avebury, John Lord

92 Aylesford, Charles Wightwick Earl of

B

308	Bagot, William Lord
456	Balinhard, James Lord. (*Earl of Southesk*)
292	Balfour of Burley, Alexander Hugh Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
127	Bandon, James Francis Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
208	Bangor, Henry William Crosbie Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)
287	Barnard, Henry de Vere Lord
534	Basing, George Limbrey Lord
403	Bateman, William Bateman Lord
36	Bath, Thomas Henry Marquess of
258	Bath and Wells, George Wyndham Bishop of
110	Bathurst, Seymour Henry Earl
556	Battersea, Cyril Lord
150	Beauchamp, William Earl
14	Beaufort, Henry Aldebert Wellington Fitzroy Duke of
17	Bedford, Herbrand Arthur Duke of
293	Belhaven and Stenton, Alexander Charles Lord (*Elected for Scotland*)
126	Belmore, Somerset Richard Earl of (*Elected for Ireland*)
426	Belper, Henry Lord
73	Berkeley, Randal Mowbray Thomas Earl of
313	Berwick, Richard Henry Lord
549	Blythswood, Archibald Campbell Lord
201	Bolingbroke and St. John, ——— Viscount
331	Bolton, William Thomas Lord
300	Boston, George Florance Lord
268	Botreaux, Charles Edward Hastings Lord. (*Earl of Loudoun*)
530	Bowes, Claude Lord. (*Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn*)
294	Boyle, Richard Edmund St. Lawrence Lord. (*Earl of Cork and Orrery*)
489	Brabourne, Edward Lord
149	Bradford, George Cecil Orlando Earl of
592	Brampton, Henry Lord
447	Brancepeth, Gustavus Russell Lord. (*Viscount Boyne*)
21	Brandon, Alfred Douglas Duke of
526	Brassey, Thomas Lord
319	Braybrooke, Charles Cornwallis Lord
273	Braye, Alfred Thomas Townshend Lord
51	Breadalbane, Gavin Marquess of
225	Bridport, Alexander Nelson Viscount
46	Bristol, Frederick William John Marquess of
328	Brodrick, William Lord. (*Viscount Midleton*)
101	Brooke, Francis Richard Charles Guy Earl, and Earl of Warwick
435	Brougham and Vaux, Henry Charles Lord
146	Brownlow, Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl
102	Buckinghamshire, Sidney Carr Earl of
568	Burghclere, Herbert Coulstoun Lord
524	Burton, Michael Arthur Lord
39	Bute, John Marquess of
284	Byron, George Fredk. William Lord

C

118	Cadogan, George Henry Earl
184	Cairns, Herbert John Earl
329	Calthorpe, Augustus Cholmondeley Lord
4	Cambridge, His Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Duke of
42	Camden, John Charles Marquess
269	Camoys, Ralph Francis Julian Lord
160	Camperdown, Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of
5	Canterbury, Frederick Archbishop of
220	Canterbury, Henry Charles Viscount
406	Carew, Robert Shapland George Julian Lord
316	Carleton, Richard Henry Lord. (*Earl of Shannon*)
70	Carlisle, George James Earl of
256	Carlisle, John Wareing Bishop of
117	Carnarvon, George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Earl of
85	Carnwath, Robert Harris Carnwath Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
194	Carrington, Charles Robert Earl
346	Carysfort, William Lord. (*Earl of Carysfort*)

357	Castlemaine, Albert Edward Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
459	Castletown, Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord
144	Cathcart, Alan Frederick Earl
158	Cawdor, Frederick Archibald Vaughan Earl
388	Chaworth, Reginald Lord. (*Earl of Meath*)
430	Chelmsford, Frederic Augustus Lord
429	Chesham, Charles Compton William Lord
250	Chester, Francis John Bishop of
67	Chesterfield, Edwyn Francis Earl of
536	Cheylesmore, William Meriton Lord
132	Chichester, Walter John Earl of
241	Chichester, Ernest Roland Bishop of
44	Cholmondeley, George Henry Hugh Marquess of
361	Churchill, Victor Albert Francis Charles Lord
431	Churston, John Lord
218	Clancarty, William Frederick Viscount. (*Earl of Clancarty*)
381	Clanwilliam, Richard James Lord. (*Earl of Clanwilliam*)
55 & 112	Clarendon, Edward Hyde Earl of. (*Lord Chamberlain of the Household*)
386	Clements, Charles Lord. (*Earl of Leitrim*)
285	Clifford of Chudleigh, Lewis Henry Hugh Lord
265	Clinton, Charles Henry Rolle Lord
339	Clonbrock, Luke Gerald Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
393	Cloncurry, Valentine Frederick Lord
202	Cobham, Charles George Viscount
363	Colchester, Reginald Charles Edward Lord
469	Coleridge, Bernard John Seymour Lord
517	Colville of Culross, Charles John Lord
219	Combermere, Francis Lynch Wellington Viscount
420	Congleton, Henry Lord
2	Connaught and Strathearn, His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of
529	Connemara, Robert Lord
173	Cottenham, Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of
471	Cottesloe, Thomas Francis Lord
77	Coventry, George William Earl of
174	Cowley, Henry Arthur Mornington Earl
93	Cowper, Francis Thomas de Grey Earl
192	Cranbrook, Gathorne Earl of
593	Cranworth, Robert Thornhaugh Lord
129	Craven, William George Robert Earl of
550	Crawshaw, Thomas Lord
195	Crewe, Robert Offley Ashburton Earl of
341	Crofton, Edward Henry Churchill Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
234	Cromer, Evelyn Viscount
229	Cross, Richard Assheton Viscount
26	Cumberland and Teviotdale, His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Fredk. Duke of
590	Currie, Philip Henry Wodehouse Lord

D

90	Dartmouth, William Heneage Earl of
179	Dartrey, Vesey Earl of
564	Davey, Horace Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
580	Dawnay, Hugh Richard Lord. (*Viscount Downe*)
264	De Clifford, Jack Southwell Lord
422	De Freyne, Arthur Lord
107	De La Warr, Gilbert Geo. Reginald Earl
397	De L'Isle and Dudley, Philip Lord
407	De Mauley, William Ashley Webb Lord
190	de Montalt, Cornwallis Earl
535	De Ramsey, William Henry Lord
261	de Ros, Dudley Charles Lord
394	De Saumarez, James St. Vincent Lord
502	de Vesci, John Robert William Lord. (*Viscount de Vesci*)
370	Delamere, Hugh Lord

62 Denbigh, Rudolph Robert Basil Aloysius Augustine Earl of
395 Denman, Thomas Lord
514 Deramore, Robert Wilfrid Lord
57 Derby, Frederick Arthur Earl of
494 Derwent, Harcourt Lord
60 Devon, Henry Hugh Earl of
8 & 18 Devonshire, Spencer Compton Duke of. (*Lord President of the Council*)
303 Digby, Edward Henry Trafalgar Lord
306 Dinevor, Arthur de Cardonnel Lord
71 Doncaster, William Henry Walter Earl of. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*)
281 Dormer, Ronald John Lord
473 Douglas, Charles Alexander Lord. (*Earl of Home*)
121 Drogheda, Ponsonby William Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
165 Ducie, Henry John Earl of
176 Dudley, William Humble Earl of
52 Dufferin and Ava, Frederick Temple Marquess of
344 Dunalley, Henry O'Callaghan Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
88 Dundonald, Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
553 Dunleath, Henry Lyle Lord
389 Dunmore, Charles Adolphus Lord. (*Earl of Dunmore*)
455 Dunning, John Lord. (*Lord Rollo*)
162 Durham, John George Earl of
238 Durham, Brooke Foss Bishop of

E

428 Ebury, Robert Wellesley Lord
164 Effingham, Henry Alexander Gordon Earl of
196 Egerton, Wilbraham Earl
151 Eldon, John Earl of
421 Elgin, Victor Alexander Lord. (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine*)
348 Ellenborough, Charles Towry Hamilton Lord
171 Ellesmere, Francis Charles Granville Earl of
516 Elphinstone, Sidney Herbert Lord
248 Ely, Alwyne Bishop of
470 Emly, Thomas William Gaston Lord
351 Erskine, William Macnaghten Lord
233 Esher, Reginald Baliol Viscount
69 Essex, George Devereux de Vere Earl of
465 Ettrick, William John George Lord. (*Lord Napier*)
40 Exeter, William Thomas Brownlow Marquess of
216 Exmouth, Edward Addington Hargreaves Viscount

F

579 Fairlie, David Lord. (*Earl of Glasgow*)
200 Falkland, Byron Plantagenet Viscount. (*Elected for Scotland*)
203 Falmouth, Evelyn Edward Thomas Viscount
586 Farquhar, Horace Brand Lord
558 Farrer, Thomas Cecil Lord
475 Fermanagh, John Henry Lord. (*Earl Erne*)
89 Ferrers, Sewallis Edward Earl
180 Feversham, William Ernest Earl of
540 Field, William Ventris Lord
30 Fife, Alexander William George Duke of
384 Fingall, Arthur James Francis Lord. (*Earl of Fingall*)
320 Fisherwick, Geo. Augustus Hamilton Lord. (*Marquess of Donegall*)
438 Fitzhardinge, Charles Paget Fitzhardinge Lord
103 Fitzwilliam, William Thomas Spencer Earl
305 Foley, Henry Thomas Lord
288 Forbes, Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
371 Forester, Cecil Theodore Lord
116 Fortescue, Hugh Earl
360 Foxford, William Henry Edmond de Vere Sheaffe Lord. (*Earl of Limerick*)
215 Frankfort de Montmorency, Raymond Harvey Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)

G

321	Gage, Henry Charles Lord. (*Viscount Gage*)
170	Gainsborough, Charles William Francis Earl of
354	Gardner, ——— Lord
479	Gerard, William Cansfield Lord
373	Gifford, Edric Frederic Lord
591	Glanusk, Joseph Russell Lord
572	Glenesk, Algernon Lord
240	Gloucester, Charles John Bishop of
214	Gordon, John Campbell Viscount. (*Earl of Aberdeen*)
452	Gormanston, Jenico William Joseph Lord. (*Viscount Gormanston*)
235	Goschen, George Joachim Viscount
223	Gough, Hugh Viscount
13	Grafton, Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of
96	Graham, Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl. (*Duke of Montrose*)
353	Granard, Bernard Arthur William Patrick Hastings Lord. (*Earl of Granard*)
310	Grantley, John Richard Brinsley Lord
163	Granville, Granville George Earl
462	Greville, Algernon William Fulke Lord
139	Grey, Albert Henry George Earl
267	Grey de Ruthyn, Rawdon George Grey Lord
521	Grimthorpe, Edmund Lord
359	Grinstead, Lowry Egerton Lord. (*Earl of Enniskillen*)
104	Guilford, Frederick George Earl of
330	Gwydir, Peter Robert Lord

H

83	Haddington, George Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
483	Haldon, Lawrence Hesketh Lord
588	Haliburton, Arthur Lawrence Lord
224	Halifax, Charles Lindley Viscount
6 & 197	Halsbury, Hardinge Stanley Earl of. (*Lord High Chancellor*)
525	Hamilton of Dalzell, Gavin George Lord
227	Hampden, Henry Robert Viscount
472	Hampton, Herbert Perrott Murray Lord
222	Hardinge, Henry Charles Viscount
105	Hardwicke, Albert Edward Philip Henry Earl of
457	Hare, William Lord. (*Earl of Listowel*)
142	Harewood, Henry Ulick Earl of
476	Harlech, William Richard Lord
99	Harrington, Charles Augustus Earl of
362	Harris, George Robert Canning Lord
141	Harrowby, John Herbert Dudley Earl of
444	Hartismere, John Major Lord. (*Lord Henniker*)
263	Hastings, George Manners Lord
399	Hatherton, Edward George Percy Lord
209	Hawarden, Cornwallis Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*) (*In another place as Earl de Montalt*)
304	Hawke, Martin Bladen Lord
560	Hawkesbury, Cecil George Savile Lord
295	Hay, George Lord. (*Earl of Kinnoul*)
340	Headley, Charles Mark Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
574	Heneage, Edward Lord
199	Hereford, Robert Viscount
259	Hereford, John Bishop of
503	Herries, Marmaduke Francis Lord
518	Herschell, Richard Farrer Lord
38	Hertford, Hugh de Grey Marquess of
379	Heytesbury, William Frederick Lord
221	Hill, Rowland Richard Viscount
519	Hillingdon, Charles William Lord
111	Hillsborough, Arthur Wills John Wellington Trumbull Blundell Earl of. (*Marquess of Downshire*)
520	Hindlip, Charles Lord
509	Hobhouse, Arthur Lord
582	Holm Patrick, Hans Wellesley Lord
206	Hood, Francis Wheler Viscount
544	Hood of Avalon, Arthur William Acland Lord
356	Hopetoun, John Adrian Louis Lord. (*Earl of Hopetoun*)
495	Hothfield, Henry James Lord

458 Howard of Glossop, Francis Edward Lord

277 Howard de Walden, Thomas Evelyn Lord

152 Howe, George Richard Penn Earl

492 Howth, William Ulick Tristram Lord. (*Earl of Howth*)

58 Huntingdon, Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of

217 Hutchinson, Richard Walter John Viscount. (*Earl of Donoughmore*)

445 Hylton, Hylton George Hylton Lord

I

189 Iddesleigh, Walter Stafford Earl of

106 Ilchester, Henry Edward Earl of

335 Inchiquin, Lucius William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

167 Innes, Henry John Earl. (*Duke of Roxburghe*)

583 Inverclyde, George Arbuthnot Lord

541 Iveagh, Edward Cecil Lord

J

569 James, Henry Lord

78 Jersey, Victor Albert George Earl of

K

417 Keane, John Manley Arbuthnot Lord

545 Kelvin, William Lord

387 Kenlis, Geoffrey Thomas Lord. (*Marquess of Headfort*)

425 Kenmare, Valentine Augustus Lord. (*Earl of Kenmare*)

442 Kenry, Windham Thomas Lord. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl*)

523 Kensington, Hugh Lord

318 Kenyon, Lloyd Lord

364 Ker, Robert Schomberg Lord. (*Marquess of Lothian*)

448 Kesteven, John Henry Lord

599 Killanin, Michael Lord. (*In another place as Lord Morris*)

338 Kilmaine, Francis William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

383 Kilmarnock, Charles Gore Lord. (*Earl of Erroll*)

155 Kilmorey, Francis Charles Earl of (*Elected for Ireland*)

178 Kimberley, John Earl of

436 Kinnaird, Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord

577 Kinnear, Alexander Smith Lord

404 Kintore, Algern. Hawkins Thomond Lord. (*Earl of Kintore*)

589 Kitchener of Khartoum, Horatio Herbert Lord

231 Knutsford, Henry Thurstan Viscount

L

486 Lamington, Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord

122 Lanesborough, John Vansittart Danvers Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

342 Langford, Hercules Edward Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

33 Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith Marquess of

186 Lathom, Edward George Earl of

84 Lauderdale, Frederick Henry Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

454 Lawrence, John Hamilton Lord

432 Leconfield, Charles Henry Lord

16 Leeds, George Godolphin Duke of

168 Leicester, Thomas William Earl of

412 Leigh, William Henry Lord

205 Leinster, Maurice Viscount. (*Duke of Leinster*)

86 Leven and Melville, Ronald Ruthven Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

161 Lichfield, Thomas Francis Earl of

255 Lichfield, Augustus Bishop of

332 Lilford, John Lord

246 Lincoln, Edward Bishop of

598 Lindley, Nathaniel Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

64 Lindsey, Montague Peregrine Albemarle Earl of

510 Lingen, Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord

578 Lister, Joseph Lord

232 Llandaff, Henry Viscount

242 Llandaff, Richard Bishop of

554 Llangattock, John Allan Lord

565 Loch, Edward Douglas Lord
345 Loftus, John Henry Lord. (*Marquess of Ely*)
191 Londesborough, William Francis Henry Earl of
237 London, ——— Bishop of
140 Lonsdale, Hugh Cecil Earl of
402 Lovat, Simon Joseph Lord
169 Lovelace, Ralph Gordon Earl of
301 Lovel and Holland, Augustus Arthur Lord. (*Earl of Egmont*)
125 Lucan, George Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
581 Ludlow, Henry Ludlow Lord
414 Lurgan, William Lord
185 Lytton, Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of
434 Lyveden, Courtenay Robert Percy Lord

M

95 Macclesfield, George Loveden William Henry Earl of
528 Macnaghten, Edward Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
533 Magheramorne, James Douglas Lord
575 Malcolm of Poltalloch, John Wingfield Lord
119 Malmesbury, James Edward Earl of
23 Manchester, William Angus Drogo Duke of
249 Manchester, James Bishop of
286 Manners of Haddon, Henry John Brinsley Lord. (*Marquess of Granby*)
355 Manners, John Thomas Lord
113 Mansfield, William David Earl of
137 Manvers, Charles William Sydney Earl
80 Mar, John Francis Erskine Earl of (*Elected for Scotland*)
82 Mar and Kellie, Walter John Francis Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
19 Marlborough, Charles Richd. John Duke of
543 Masham, Samuel Lord
336 Massy, John Thomas William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
123 Mayo, Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
358 Meldrum, Charles Lord. (*Marquess of Huntly*)
211 Melville, Henry Viscount
324 Mendip, Thomas Charles Lord. (*Viscount Clifden*)
441 Meredyth, James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord. (*Lord Athlumney*)
410 Methuen, Paul Sanford Lord
296 Middleton, Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord
365 Minster, Victor George Henry Francis Lord. (*Marquess Conyngham*)
143 Minto, Gilbert John Earl of
443 Monck, Henry Power Charles Stanley Lord. (*Viscount Monck*)
531 Monckton, George Edmund Milnes Lord. (*Viscount Galway*)
468 Moncreiff, Henry James Lord
499 Monk Bretton, John William Lord
508 Monkswell, Robert Lord
297 Monson, Augustus Debonnaire John Lord
515 Montagu of Beaulieu, Henry John Lord
352 Monteagle, John Thomas Lord. (*Marquess of Sligo*)
415 Monteagle of Brandon, Thomas Spring Lord
148 Morley, Albert Edmund Earl of
539 Morris, Michael Lord.
81 Morton, Sholto George Watson Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
391 Mostyn, Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord
115 Mount Edgcumbe, William Henry Earl of
542 Mount Stephen, George Lord
262 Mowbray, Charles Botolph Joseph Lord
587 Muncaster, Josslyn Francis Lord
159 Munster, William George Earl of
337 Muskerry, Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

N

451	Napier, Robert William Lord
135	Nelson, Horatio Earl
24	Newcastle, Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of
585	Newlands, William Wallace Lord
552	Newton, Thomas Wodehouse Lord
10	Norfolk, Henry Duke of. (*Earl Marshal of England*)
48	Normanby, Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of
275	North, William Henry John Lord
41	Northampton, William George Spencer Scott Marquess of
500	Northbourne, Walter Henry Lord
183	Northbrook, Thomas George Earl of
596	Northcote, Henry Stafford Lord
87	Northesk, David John Carnegie Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
505	Northington, Frederick Lord. (*Lord Henley*)
25	Northumberland, Henry George Duke of
481	Norton, Charles Bowyer Lord
257	Norwich, John Bishop of

O

600	O'Brien, Peter Lord
463	O'Hagan, Maurice Herbert Ignatius Towneley Lord
450	O'Neill, Edward Lord
130	Onslow, William Hillier Earl of
138	Orford, Robert Horace Earl of
369	Oriel, Clotworthy John Eyre Lord. (*Viscount Massereene*)
449	Ormathwaite, Arthur Lord
366	Ormonde, James Edward William Theobald Lord. (*Marquess of Ormonde*)
559	Overtoun, John Campbell Lord
418	Oxenfoord, John Lord. (*Earl of Stair*)
243	Oxford, William Bishop of

P

594	Pauncefote, Julian Lord
230	Peel, Arthur Wellesley Viscount
54 & 59	Pembroke and Montgomery, Sidney Earl of. (*Lord Steward of the Household*)
446	Penrhyn, George Sholto Gordon Lord
278	Petre, Bernard Henry Philip Lord
571	Pirbright, Henry Lord
555	Playfair, George James Lord
378	Plunket, William Lee Lord
390	Poltimore, Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord
298	Ponsonby, Walter William Brabazon Lord. (*Earl of Bessborough*)
22	Portland, William John Arthur Charles James Duke of
226	Portman, William Henry Berkeley Viscount
100	Portsmouth, Newton Earl of
79	Poulett, ———— Earl
207	Powerscourt, Mervyn Edward Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)
504	Powerscourt, Mervyn Edward Lord. (*In another place as Viscount Powerscourt*)
134	Powis, George Charles Earl of

R

108	Radnor, Jacob Earl of
434	Raglan, George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord
474	Ramsay, Arthur George Maule Lord. (*Earl of Dalhousie*)
376	Ranfurly, Uchter John Mark Lord. (*Earl of Ranfurly*)
453	Rathdonnell, Thomas Kane Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
570	Rathmore, David Robert Lord
181	Ravensworth, Henry George Earl of
372	Rayleigh, John William Lord
493	Reay, Donald James Lord
562	Rendel, Stuart Lord
507	Revelstoke, John Lord
333	Ribblesdale, Thomas Lord
12	Richmond, Charles Henry Duke of
236	Ridley, Matthew White Viscount
49	Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Marquess of
245	Ripon, William Boyd Bishop of
198	Roberts, Frederick Sleigh Earl
595	Robertson, James Patrick Bannerman Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

260 Rochester, Edward Stuart Bishop of
311 Rodney, George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord
440 Romilly, John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord
131 Romney, Charles Earl of
546 Rookwood, Henry John Lord
380 Rosebery, Archibald Philip Lord. (*Earl of Rosebery*)
576 Rosmead, Hercules Arthur Temple Lord
136 Rosse, Lawrence Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
128 Rosslyn, James Francis Harry Earl of
405 Rossmore, Derrick Warner William Lord
506 Rothschild, Nathaniel Mayer Lord
488 Rowton, Montagu William Lord
177 Russell, John Francis Stanley Earl
20 Rutland, John James Robert Duke of

S

480 Sackville, Lionel Sackville Lord
15 St. Albans, Charles Victor Albert Aubrey De Vere Duke of
252 St. Albans, John Wogan Bishop of
251 St. Asaph, Alfred George Bishop of
147 Saint Germans, Henry Cornwallis Earl of
276 St. John of Bletso, Beauchamp Moubray Lord
423 Saint Leonards, Edward Burtenshaw Lord
532 Saint Levan, John Lord
512 Saint Oswald, Rowland Lord
210 St. Vincent, Carnegie Parker Viscount
9 & 35 Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of. (*Lord Privy Seal*)
247 Salisbury, John Bishop of
327 Saltersford, James George Henry Lord. (*Earl of Courtown*)
289 Saltoun, Alexander William Fredk. Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
464 Sandhurst, William Lord
68 Sandwich, Edward George Henry Earl of
349 Sandys, Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord
538 Savile, John Savile Lord
279 Saye and Sele, John Fiennes Lord
75 Scarbrough, Aldred Fredk. George Beresford Earl of
299 Scarsdale, Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord
416 Seaton, John Reginald Upton Lord
385 Sefton, Charles William Hylton Philip Lord. (*Earl of Sefton*)
188 Selborne, William Waldegrave Earl of
72 Shaftesbury, Anthony Earl of
547 Shand, Alexander Burns Lord
350 Sheffield, Henry North Lord. (*Earl of Sheffield*)
314 Sherborne, Edward Lennox Lord
56 Shrewsbury, Charles Henry John Earl of
482 Shute, Percy Lord. (*Viscount Barrington*)
212 Sidmouth, William Wells Viscount
368 Silchester, Thomas Lord. (*Earl of Longford*)
290 Sinclair, Charles William Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
374 Somerhill, Hubert George Lord. (*Marquess of Clanricarde*)
312 Somers, Arthur Herbert Tennyson Lord
11 Somerset, Algernon Duke of
466 Somerton, Sidney James Lord. (*Earl of Normanton*)
187 Sondes, George Edward Earl
309 Southampton, Charles Henry Lord
244 Southwell, George Bishop of
109 Spencer, John Poyntz Earl
283 Stafford, Fitzherbert Lord
522 Stalbridge, Richard de Aquila Lord
65 Stamford, William Earl of
94 Stanhope, Arthur Philip Earl
411 Stanley of Alderley, Henry Edward John Lord
561 Stanmore, Arthur Lord
326 Stewart of Garlies, Randolph Henry Lord. (*Earl of Galloway*)
153 Stradbroke, George Edward John Mowbray Earl of
172 Strafford, Francis Edmund Cecil Earl of

114 Strange, John James Hugh Henry Earl. (*Duke of Atholl*)

584 Strathcona and Mount Royal, Donald Alexander Lord

401 Stratheden, Hallyburton George Lord

498 Strathspey, James Lord. (*Earl of Seafield*)

325 Stuart of Castle Stuart, Edmund Archibald Lord. (*Earl of Moray*)

409 Sudeley, Charles Douglas Richard Lord

501 Sudley, Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox Lord. (*Earl of Arran*)

317 Suffield, Charles Lord

61 Suffolk and Berkshire, Henry Molyneux Paget Earl of

28 Sutherland, Cromartie Duke of

557 Swansea, Ernest Ambrose Lord

T

427 Talbot de Malahide, Richard Wogan Lord

91 Tankerville, George Montagu Earl of

154 Temple of Stowe, William Stephen Earl

392 Templemore, Henry Spencer Lord

213 Templetown, Henry Edward Montagu Dorington Clotworthy Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)

497 Tennyson, Hallam Lord

377 Tenterden, Charles Stuart Henry Lord

282 Teynham, Henry John Philip Sidney Lord

527 Thring, Henry Lord

322 Thurlow, Thomas John Lord

478 Tollemache, Wilbraham Frederic Lord

291 Torphichen, James Walter Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)

204 Torrington, George Master Viscount

34 Townshend, John James Dudley Stuart Marquess

433 Tredegar, Godfrey Charles Lord

487 Trevor, Arthur William Lord

254 Truro, John Bishop of

491 Tweeddale, William Montagu Lord. (*Marquess of Tweeddale*)

496 Tweedmouth, Edward Lord

315 Tyrone, Henry De La Poer Lord. (*Marquess of Waterford*)

V

156 Vane, Charles Stewart Earl. (*Marquess of Londonderry*)

271 Vaux of Harrowden, Hubert George Charles Lord

343 Ventry, Dayrolles Blakeney Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

302 Vernon, George Francis Augustus Lord

145 Verulam, James Walter Earl of

419 Vivian, George Crespigny Brabazon Lord

W

97 Waldegrave, William Frederick Earl

307 Walsingham, Thomas Lord

566 Wandsworth, Sydney James Lord

513 Wantage, Robert James Lord

563 Welby, Reginald Earle Lord

27 Wellington, Arthur Charles Duke of

367 Wemyss, Francis Richard Lord. (*Earl of Wemyss*)

413 Wenlock, Beilby Lord

272 Wentworth, Ralph Gordon Lord. (*In another place as Earl of Lovelace*)

437 Westbury, Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord

120 Westmeath, Anthony Francis Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

29 Westminster, Hugh Richard Arthur Duke of

63 Westmorland, Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of

182 Wharncliffe, Francis John Earl of

375 Wigan, James Ludovic Lord. (*Earl of Crawford*)

270 Willoughby de Broke, Henry Lord

133 Wilton, Arthur George Earl of

484 Wimborne, Ivor Bertie Lord

32 Winchester, Henry William Montagu Marquess of

239 Winchester, Randall Thomas Bishop of

66 Winchilsea and Nottingham, Henry Stormont Earl of

274 Windsor, Robert George Lord

175	Winton, George Arnulph Earl of. (*Earl of Eglintoun*)
228	Wolseley, Garnet Joseph Viscount
461	Wolverton, Frederick Lord
253	Worcester, John James Stewart Bishop of
400	Worlingham, Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord. (*Earl of Gosford*)
408	Wrottesley, Arthur Lord
382	Wynford, Henry Molyneux Lord

Y

166	Yarborough, Chas. Alfred Worsley Earl of
1	York, His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert Duke of
7	York, William Dalrymple Archbishop of

Z

53	Zetland, Lawrence Marquess of
266	Zouche of Haryngworth, Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord

The following Lords have Two Numbers, being Twice named in the Roll:

Earl of Halsbury, as Lord High Chancellor, and as Earl of Halsbury. (Nos. 6 and 197.)

Duke of Devonshire, as Lord President and as Duke of Devonshire. (Nos. 8 and 18.)

Marquess of Salisbury, as Lord Privy Seal, and as Marquess of Salisbury. (Nos. 9 and 35.)

Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, as Lord Steward, and as Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. (Nos. 54 and 59.)

Earl of Clarendon, as Lord Chamberlain, and as Earl of Clarendon. (Nos. 55 and 112.)

Earl of Lovelace, as Earl of Lovelace, and as Lord Wentworth. (Nos. 169 and 272.)

Earl de Montalt, as Earl de Montalt, and as Viscount Hawarden. (Nos. 190 and 209.)

Viscount Powerscourt, as Viscount Powerscourt, and as Lord Powerscourt. (Nos. 207 and 504.)

Lord Morris, as Lord Morris, and as Lord Killanin. (Nos. 539 and 599.)

ROLL

OF THE

LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1 EDWARD VII. 1901.

MEM.—*According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose, within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.*

1 His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert Duke of York

2 His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn

3 His Royal Highness Leopold Charles Edward George Albert Duke of Albany

4 His Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Duke of Cambridge

5 Frederick Archbishop of Canterbury

6 Hardinge Stanley Earl of Halsbury, *Lord High Chancellor*

7 William Dalrymple Archbishop of York

8 Spencer Compton Duke of Devonshire, *Lord President of the Council*

9 Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury, *Lord Privy Seal*

10 Henry Duke of Norfolk, *Earl Marshal of England*

11 Algernon Duke of Somerset

12 Charles Henry Duke of Richmond

13 Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of Grafton

14 Henry Adelbert Wellington Fitzroy Duke of Beaufort

15 Charles Victor Albert Aubrey de Vere Duke of St. Albans

16 George Godolphin Duke of Leeds

17 Herbrand Arthur Duke of Bedford

18 Spencer Compton Duke of Devonshire. (*In another place as Lord President of the Council*)

19 Charles Richard John Duke of Marlborough

20 John James Robert Duke of Rutland

21 Alfred Douglas Duke of Brandon

22 William John Arthur Charles James Duke of Portland

23 William Angus Drogo Duke of Manchester

24 Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of Newcastle

25 Henry George Duke of Northumberland

26 His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale

27 Arthur Charles Duke of Wellington

28 Cromartie Duke of Sutherland

29 Hugh Richard Arthur Duke of Westminster

30 Alexander William George Duke of Fife

31 John Douglas Sutherland Duke of Argyll

32 Henry William Montagu Marquess of Winchester

33 Henry Charles Keith Marquess of Lansdowne

34 John James Dudley Stuart Marquess Townshend

35 Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury. (*In another place as Lord Privy Seal.*)

36 Thomas Henry Marquess of Bath

37 James Marquess of Abercorn (*Duke of Abercorn*)

38 Hugh de Grey Marquess of Hertford

39 John Marquess of Bute

40 William Thomas Brownlow Marquess of Exeter

41 William George Spencer Scott Marquess of Northampton

42 John Charles Marquess Camden

43 Henry Cyril Marquess of Anglesey

44 George Henry Hugh Marquess of Cholmondeley

45 Henry Augustus Marquess of Ailesbury

46 Frederick William John Marquess of Bristol

47 Archibald Marquess of Ailsa

48 Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of Normanby

49 George Frederick Samuel Marquess of Ripon

50 William Marquess of Abergavenny

51 Gavin Marquess of Breadalbane

52 Frederick Temple Marquess of Dufferin and Ava

53 Lawrence Marquess of Zetland

54 Sidney Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, *Lord Steward of the Household*

55 Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon *Lord Chamberlain of the Household*

56 Charles Henry John Earl of Shrewsbury

57 Frederick Arthur Earl of Derby

58 Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of Huntingdon

59 Sidney Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. (*In another place as Lord Steward of the Household*)

60 Henry Hugh Earl of Devon

61 Henry Molyneux Paget Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire

62 Rudolph Robert Basil Aloysius Augustine Earl of Denbigh

63 Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of Westmorland

64 Montague Peregrine Albemarle Earl of Lindsey

65 William Earl of Stamford

66 Henry Stormont Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham

67 Edwyn Francis Earl of Chesterfield

68 Edward George Henry Earl of Sandwich

69 George Devereux de Vere Earl of Essex

70 George James Earl of Carlisle

71 William Henry Walter Earl of Doncaster. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*)

72 Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury
73 Randal Mowbray Thomas Earl of Berkeley
74 Montagu Arthur Earl of Abingdon
75 Aldred Frederick George Beresford Earl of Scarborough
76 Arnold Allan Cecil Earl of Albemarle
77 George William Earl of Coventry
78 Victor Albert George Earl of Jersey
79 ——— Earl Poulett
80 John Francis Erskine Earl of Mar. (*Elected for Scotland*)
81 Sholto George Watson Earl of Morton. (*Elected for Scotland*)
82 Walter John Francis Earl of Mar and Kellie. (*Elected for Scotland*)
83 George Earl of Haddington. (*Elected for Scotland*)
84 Frederick Henry Earl of Lauderdale. (*Elected for Scotland*)
85 Robert Harris Carnwath Earl of Carnwath. (*Elected for Scotland*)
86 Ronald Ruthven Earl of Leven and Melville. (*Elected for Scotland*)
87 David John Earl of Northesk. (*Elected for Scotland*)
88 Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Earl of Dundonald. (*Elected for Scotland*)
89 Sewallis Edward Earl Ferrers
90 William Heneage Earl of Dartmouth
91 George Montagu Earl of Tankerville
92 Charles Wightwick Earl of Aylesford
93 Francis Thomas De Grey Earl Cowper
94 Arthur Philip Earl Stanhope
95 George Loveden William Henry Earl of Macclesfield
96 Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl Graham. (*Duke of Montrose*)
97 William Frederick Earl Waldegrave
98 Bertram Earl of Ashburnham
99 Charles Augustus Earl of Harrington
100 Newton Earl of Portsmouth
101 Francis Richard Charles Guy Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick
102 Sidney Carr Earl of Buckinghamshire
103 William Thomas Spencer Earl Fitzwilliam
104 Frederick George Earl of Guilford
105 Albert Edward Philip Henry Earl of Hardwicke
106 Henry Edward Earl of Ilchester
107 Gilbert George Reginald Earl De La Warr
108 Jacob Earl of Radnor
109 John Poyntz Earl Spencer
110 Seymour Henry Earl Bathurst
111 Arthur Wills John Wellington Trumbull Blundell Earl of Hillsborough. (*Marquess of Downshire*)
112 Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon. (*In another place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household*)
113 William David Earl of Mansfield
114 John James Hugh Henry Earl Strange. (*Duke of Atholl*)
115 William Henry Earl of Mount Edgcumbe
116 Hugh Earl Fortescue
117 George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Earl of Carnarvon
118 George Henry Earl Cadogan
119 James Edward Earl of Malmesbury
120 Anthony Francis Earl of Westmeath. (*Elected for Ireland*)
121 Ponsonby William Earl of Drogheda (*Elected for Ireland*)
122 John Vansittart Danvers Earl of Lanesborough. (*Elected for Ireland*)
123 Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of Mayo. (*Elected for Ireland*)
124 Hugh Earl Annesley. (*Elected for Ireland*)
125 George Earl of Lucan. (*Elected for Ireland*)
126 Somerset Richard Earl of Belmore. (*Elected for Ireland*)
127 James Francis Earl of Bandon. (*Elected for Ireland*)
128 James Francis Harry Earl of Rosslyn
129 William George Robert Earl of Craven
130 William Hillier Earl of Onslow

131 Charles Earl of Romney
132 Walter John Earl of Chichester
133 Arthur George Earl of Wilton
134 George Charles Earl of Powis
135 Horatio Earl Nelson
136 Lawrence Earl of Rosse. (*Elected for Ireland*)
137 Charles William Sydney Earl Manvers
138 Robert Horace Earl of Orford
139 Albert Henry George Earl Grey
140 Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale
141 John Herbert Dudley Earl of Harrowby
142 Henry Ulick Earl of Harewood
143 Gilbert John Earl of Minto
144 Alan Frederick Earl Cathcart
145 James Walter Earl of Verulam
146 Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow
147 Henry Cornwallis Earl of St. Germans
148 Albert Edmund Earl of Morley
149 George Cecil Orlando Earl of Bradford
150 William Earl Beauchamp
151 John Earl of Eldon
152 George Richard Penn Earl Howe
153 George Edward John Mowbray Earl of Stradbroke
154 William Stephen Earl Temple of Stowe
155 Francis Charles Earl of Kilmorey (*Elected for Ireland*)
156 Charles Stewart Earl Vane. (*Marquess of Londonderry*)
157 William Archer Earl Amherst
158 Frederick Archibald Vaughan Earl Cawdor
159 William George Earl of Munster
160 Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of Camperdown
161 Thomas Francis Earl of Lichfield
162 John George Earl of Durham
163 Granville George Earl Granville
164 Henry Alexander Gordon Earl of Effingham
165 Henry John Earl of Ducie
166 Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough
167 Henry John Earl Innes. (*Duke of Roxburghe*)
168 Thomas William Earl of Leicester
169 Ralph Gordon Earl of Lovelace
170 Charles William Francis Earl of Gainsborough
171 Francis Charles Granville Earl of Ellesmere
172 Francis Edmund Cecil Earl of Strafford
173 Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of Cottenham
174 Henry Arthur Mornington Earl Cowley
175 George Arnulph Earl of Winton (*Earl of Eglintoun*)
176 William Humble Earl of Dudley
177 John Francis Stanley Earl Russell
178 John Earl of Kimberley
179 Vesey Earl of Dartrey
180 William Ernest Earl of Feversham
181 Henry George Earl of Ravensworth
182 Francis John Earl of Wharncliffe
183 Thomas George Earl of Northbrook
184 Herbert John Earl Cairns
185 Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of Lytton
186 Edward George Earl of Lathom
187 George Edward Earl Sondes
188 William Waldegrave Earl of Selborne
189 Walter Stafford Earl of Iddesleigh
190 Cornwallis Earl de Montalt
191 William Francis Henry Earl of Londesborough
192 Gathorne Earl of Cranbrook
193 Gilbert Henry Earl of Ancaster
194 Charles Robert Earl Carrington
195 Robert Offley Ashburton Earl of Crewe
196 Wilbraham Earl Egerton
197 Hardinge Stanley Earl of Halsbury. (*In another place as Lord High Chancellor*)
198 Frederick Sleigh Earl Roberts
199 Robert Viscount Hereford
200 Byron Plantagenet Viscount Falkland. (*Elected for Scotland*)
201 ——— Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John

202 Charles George Viscount Cobham
203 Evelyn Edward Thomas Viscount Falmouth
204 George Master Viscount Torrington
205 Maurice Viscount Leinster. (*Duke of Leinster*)
206 Francis Wheler Viscount Hood
207 Mervyn Edward Viscount Powerscourt. (*Elected for Ireland*)
208 Henry William Crosbie Viscount Bangor. (*Elected for Ireland*)
209 Cornwallis Viscount Hawarden. (*Elected for Ireland.*) (*In another place as Earl de Montalt*)
210 Carnegie Parker Viscount St. Vincent
211 Henry Viscount Melville
212 William Wells Viscount Sidmouth
213 Henry Edward Montagu Dorington Clotworthy Viscount Templetown. (*Elected for Ireland*)
214 John Campbell Viscount Gordon. (*Earl of Aberdeen*)
215 Raymond Harvey Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency. (*Elected for Ireland*)
216 Edward Addington Hargreaves, Viscount Exmouth
217 Richard Walter John Viscount Hutchinson. (*Earl of Donoughmore*)
218 William Frederick Viscount Clancarty. (*Earl of Clancarty*)
219 Francis Lynch Wellington Viscount Combermere
220 Henry Charles Viscount Canterbury
221 Rowland Richard Viscount Hill
222 Henry Charles Viscount Hardinge
223 Hugh Viscount Gough
224 Charles Lindley Viscount Halifax
225 Alexander Nelson Viscount Bridport
226 William Henry Berkeley Viscount Portman
227 Henry Robert Viscount Hampden
228 Garnet Joseph Viscount Wolseley
229 Richard Assheton Viscount Cross
230 Arthur Wellesley Viscount Peel
231 Henry Thurstan Viscount Knutsford
232 Henry Viscount Llandaff
233 Reginald Baliol Viscount Esher
234 Evelyn Viscount Cromer
235 George Joachim Viscount Goschen
236 Matthew White Viscount Ridley
237 ——— Bishop of London
238 Brooke Foss Bishop of Durham
239 Randall Thomas Bishop of Winchester
240 Charles John Bishop of Gloucester
241 Ernest Roland Bishop of Chichester
242 Richard Bishop of Llandaff
243 William Bishop of Oxford
244 George Bishop of Southwell
245 William Boyd Bishop of Ripon
246 Edward Bishop of Lincoln
247 John Bishop of Salisbury
248 Alwyne Bishop of Ely
249 James Bishop of Manchester
250 Francis John Bishop of Chester
251 Alfred George Bishop of St. Asaph
252 John Wogan Bishop of St. Albans
253 John James Stewart Bishop of Worcester
254 John Bishop of Truro
255 Angustus Bishop of Lichfield
256 John Wareing Bishop of Carlisle
257 John Bishop of Norwich
258 George Wyndham Bishop of Bath and Wells
259 John Bishop of Hereford
260 Edward Stuart Bishop of Rochester
261 Dudley Charles Lord de Ros
262 Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Mowbray
263 George Manners Lord Hastings
264 Jack Southwell Lord de Clifford
265 Charles Henry Rolle Lord Clinton
266 Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord Zouche of Haryngworth
267 Rawdon George Grey Lord Grey de Ruthyn
268 Charles Edward Hastings Lord Botreaux. (*Earl of Loudoun*)
269 Ralph Francis Julian Lord Camoys
270 Henry Lord Willoughby de Broke
271 Hubert George Charles Lord Vaux of Harrowden
272 Ralph Gordon Lord Wentworth. (*In another place as Earl of Lovelace*)

273 Alfred Thomas Townshend Lord Braye
274 Robert George Lord Windsor
275 William Henry John Lord North
276 Beauchamp Moubray Lord St. John of Bletso
277 Thomas Evelyn Lord Howard de Walden
278 Bernard Henry Philip Lord Petre
279 John Fiennes Lord Saye and Sele
280 John Francis Lord Arundell of Wardour
281 Ronald John Lord Dormer
282 Henry John Philip Sidney Lord Teynham
283 Fitzherbert Lord Stafford
284 George Frederick William Lord Byron
285 Lewis Henry Hugh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh
286 Henry John Brinsley Lord Manners of Haddon. (*Marquess of Granby*)
287 Henry de Vere Lord Barnard
288 Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord Forbes. (*Elected for Scotland*)
289 Alexander William Frederick Lord Saltoun. (*Elected for Scotland*)
290 Charles William Lord Sinclair. (*Elected for Scotland*)
291 James Walter Lord Torphichen. (*Elected for Scotland*)
292 Alexander Hugh Lord Balfour of Burley. (*Elected for Scotland*)
293 Alexander Charles Lord Belhaven and Stenton. (*Elected for Scotland*)
294 Richard Edmund St. Lawrence Lord Boyle. (*Earl of Cork and Orrery*)
295 George Lord Hay. (*Earl of Kinnoul*)
296 Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord Middleton
297 Augustus Debonnaire John Lord Monson
298 Walter William Brabazon Lord Ponsonby. (*Earl of Bessborough*)
299 Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord Scarsdale
300 George Florance Lord Boston
301 Augustus Arthur Lord Lovel and Holland. (*Earl of Egmont*)
302 George Francis Augustus Lord Vernon
303 Edward Henry Trafalgar Lord Digby
304 Martin Bladen Lord Hawke
305 Henry Thomas Lord Foley
306 Arthur de Cardonnel Lord Dinevor
307 Thomas Lord Walsingham
308 William Lord Bagot
309 Charles Henry Lord Southampton
310 John Richard Brinsley Lord Grantley
311 George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord Rodney
312 Arthur Herbert Tennyson Lord Somers
313 Richard Henry Lord Berwick
314 Edward Lennox Lord Sherborne
315 Henry De La Poer Lord Tyrone. (*Marquess of Waterford*)
316 Richard Henry Lord Carleton. (*Earl of Shannon*)
317 Charles Lord Suffield
318 Lloyd Lord Kenyon
319 Charles Cornwallis Lord Braybrooke
320 George Augustus Hamilton Lord Fisherwick. (*Marquess of Donegall*)
321 Henry Charles Lord Gage. (*Viscount Gage*)
322 Thomas John Lord Thurlow
323 William Morton Lord Auckland
324 Thomas Charles Lord Mendip. (*Viscount Clifden*)
325 Edmund Archibald Lord Stuart of Castle Stuart. (*Earl of Moray*)
326 Randolph Henry Lord Stewart of Garlies. (*Earl of Galloway*)
327 James George Henry Lord Saltersford. (*Earl of Courtown*)
328 William Lord Brodrick. (*Viscount Midleton*)
329 Augustus Cholmondeley Lord Calthorpe
330 Peter Robert Lord Gwydir
331 William Thomas Lord Bolton
332 John Lord Lilford
333 Thomas Lord Ribblesdale

334 Robert St. John FitzWalter Lord Dunboyne. (*Elected for Ireland*)
335 Lucius William Lord Inchiquin. (*Elected for Ireland*)
336 John Thomas William Lord Massy. (*Elected for Ireland*)
337 Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice Lord Muskerry. (*Elected for Ireland*)
338 Francis William Lord Kilmaine. (*Elected for Ireland*)
339 Luke Gerald Lord Clonbrock. (*Elected for Ireland*)
340 Charles Mark Lord Headley. (*Elected for Ireland*)
341 Edward Henry Churchill Lord Crofton. (*Elected for Ireland*)
342 Hercules Edward Lord Langford (*Elected for Ireland*)
343 Dayrolles Blakeney Lord Ventry. (*Elected for Ireland*)
344 Henry O'Callaghan Lord Dunalley. (*Elected for Ireland*)
345 John Henry Lord Loftus. (*Marquess of Ely*)
346 William Lord Carysfort. (*Earl of Carysfort*)
347 George Ralph Lord Abercromby
348 Charles Towry Hamilton Lord Ellenborough
349 Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord Sandys
350 Henry North Lord Sheffield. (*Earl of Sheffield*)
351 William Macnaghten Lord Erskine
352 John Thomas Lord Monteagle. (*Marquess of Sligo*)
353 Bernard Arthur William Patrick Hastings Lord Granard. (*Earl of Granard*)
354 ——————— Lord Gardner
355 John Thomas Lord Manners
356 John Adrian Louis Lord Hopetoun. (*Earl of Hopetoun*)
357 Albert Edward Lord Castlemaine. (*Elected for Ireland*)
358 Charles Lord Meldrum. (*Marquess of Huntly*)
359 Lowry Egerton Lord Grinstead. (*Earl of Enniskillen*)
360 William Henry Edmond de Vere Sheaffe Lord Foxford. (*Earl of Limerick*)
361 Victor Albert Francis Charles Lord Churchill
362 George Robert Canning Lord Harris
363 Reginald Charles Edward Lord Colchester
364 Robert Schomberg Lord Ker. (*Marquess of Lothian*)
365 Victor George Henry Francis Lord Minster. (*Marquess Conyngham*)
366 James Edward William Theobald Lord Ormonde. (*Marquess of Ormonde*)
367 Francis Richard Lord Wemyss. (*Earl of Wemyss*)
368 Thomas Lord Silchester. (*Earl of Longford*)
369 Clotworthy John Eyre Lord Oriel. (*Viscount Massereene*)
370 Hugh Lord Delamere
371 Cecil Theodore Lord Forester
372 John William Lord Rayleigh
373 Edric Frederic Lord Gifford
374 Hubert George Lord Somerhill. (*Marquess of Clanricarde*)
375 James Ludovic Lord Wigan. (*Earl of Crawford*)
376 Uchter John Mark Lord Ranfurly. (*Earl of Ranfurly*)
377 Charles Steuart Henry Lord Tenterden
378 William Lee Lord Plunket
379 William Fredk. Lord Heytesbury
380 Archibald Philip Lord Rosebery. (*Earl of Rosebery*)
381 Richard James Lord Clanwilliam (*Earl of Clanwilliam*)
382 Henry Molyneux Lord Wynford
383 Charles Gore Lord Kilmarnock. (*Earl of Erroll*)
384 Arthur James Francis Lord Fingall. (*Earl of Fingall*)
385 Charles William Hylton Philip Lord Sefton. (*Earl of Sefton*)
386 Charles Lord Clements. (*Earl of Leitrim*)
387 Geoffrey Thomas Lord Kenlis. (*Marquess of Headfort*)
388 Reginald Lord Chaworth. (*Earl of Meath*)
389 Charles Adolphus Lord Dunmore. (*Earl of Dunmore*)
390 Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord Poltimore
391 Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord Mostyn

392 Henry Spencer Lord Templemore

393 Valentine Frederick Lord Cloncurry

394 James St. Vincent Lord De Saumarez

395 Thomas Lord Denman

396 James Yorke MacGregor Lord Abinger

397 Philip Lord De L'Isle and Dudley

398 Francis Denzil Edward Lord Ashburton

399 Edward George Percy Lord Hatherton

400 Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord Worlingham. (*Earl of Gosford*)

401 Hallyburton George Lord Stratheden

402 Simon Joseph Lord Lovat

403 William Bateman Lord Bateman

404 Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord Kintore. (*Earl of Kintore*)

405 Derrick Warner William Lord Rossmore

406 Robert Shapland George Julian Lord Carew

407 William Ashley Webb Lord De Mauley

408 Arthur Lord Wrottesley

409 Charles Douglas Richard Lord Sudeley

410 Paul Sanford Lord Methuen

411 Henry Edward John Lord Stanley of Alderley

412 William Henry Lord Leigh

413 Beilby Lord Wenlock

414 William Lord Lurgan

415 Thomas Spring Lord Monteagle of Brandon

416 John Reginald Upton Lord Seaton

417 John Manley Arbuthnot Lord Keane

418 John Lord Oxenfoord. (*Earl of Stair*)

419 George Crespigny Brabazon Lord Vivian

420 Henry Lord Congleton

421 Victor Alexander Lord Elgin. (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine*)

422 Arthur Lord de Freyne

423 Edward Burtenshaw Lord Saint Leonards

424 George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord Raglan

425 Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare. (*Earl of Kenmare*)

426 Henry Lord Belper

427 Richard Wogan Lord Talbot de Malahide

428 Robert Wellesley Lord Ebury

429 Charles Compton William Lord Chesham

430 Frederic Augustus Lord Chelmsford

431 John Lord Churston

432 Charles Henry Lord Leconfield

433 Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar

434 Courtenay Robert Percy Lord Lyveden

435 Henry Charles Lord Brougham and Vaux

436 Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord Kinnaird

437 Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord Westbury

438 Charles Paget Fitzhardinge Lord Fitzhardinge

439 Luke Lord Annaly

440 John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord Romilly

441 James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord Meredyth. (*Lord Athlumney*)

442 Windham Thomas Lord Kenry. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl*)

443 Henry Power Charles Stanley Lord Monck. (*Viscount Monck*)

444 John Major Lord Hartismere. (*Lord Henniker*)

445 Hylton George Hylton Lord Hylton

446 George Sholto Gordon Lord Penrhyn

447 Gustavus Russell Lord Brancepeth. (*Viscount Boyne*)

448 John Henry Lord Kesteven

449 Arthur Lord Ormathwaite

450 Edward Lord O'Neill

451 Robert William Lord Napier

452 Jenico William Joseph Lord Gormanston. (*Viscount Gormanston*)

453 Thomas Kane Lord Rathdonnell. (*Elected for Ireland*)

454 John Hamilton Lord Lawrence

455 John Lord Dunning. (*Lord Rollo*)

456 James Lord Balinhard. (*Earl of Southesk*)

457 William Lord Hare. (*Earl of Listowel*)

458 Francis Edward Lord Howard of Glossop

459 Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord Castletown
460 John Emerich Edward Lord Acton
461 Frederick Lord Wolverton
462 Algernon William Fulke Lord Greville
463 Maurice Herbert Ignatius Towneley Lord O'Hagan
464 William Lord Sandhurst
465 William John George Lord Ettrick. (*Lord Napier*)
466 Sidney James Lord Somerton. (*Earl of Normanton*)
467 Henry Campbell Lord Aberdare
468 Henry James Lord Moncrieff
469 Bernard John Seymour Lord Coleridge
470 Thomas William Gaston Lord Emly
471 Thomas Francis Lord Cottesloe
472 Herbert Perrott Murray Lord Hampton
473 Charles Alexander Lord Douglas. (*Earl of Home*)
474 Arthur George Maule Lord Ramsey. (*Earl of Dalhousie*)
475 John Henry Lord Fermanagh. (*Earl Erne*)
476 William Richard Lord Harlech
477 Henry Gerard Lord Alington
478 Wilbraham Frederic Lord Tollemache
479 William Cansfield Lord Gerard
480 Lionel Sackville Lord Sackville
481 Charles Bowyer Lord Norton
482 Percy Lord Shute. (*Viscount Barrington*)
483 Lawrence Hesketh Lord Haldon
484 Ivor Bertie Lord Wimborne
485 Arthur Edward Lord Ardilaun
486 Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord Lamington
487 Arthur William Lord Trevor
488 Montagu William Lord Rowton
489 Edward Lord Brabourne
490 Arthur Oliver Villiers Lord Ampthill
491 William Montagu Lord Tweeddale. (*Marquess of Tweeddale*)
492 William Ulick Tristram Lord Howth. (*Earl of Howth*)
493 Donald James Lord Reay
494 Harcourt Lord Derwent
495 Henry James Lord Hothfield
496 Edward Lord Tweedmouth
497 Hallam Lord Tennyson
498 James Lord Strathspey. (*Earl of Seafield*)
499 John William Lord Monk Bretton
500 Walter Henry Lord Northbourne
501 Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox Lord Sudley. (*Earl of Arran*)
502 John Robert William Lord de Vesci. (*Viscount de Vesci*)
503 Marmaduke Francis Lord Herries
504 Mervyn Edward Lord Powerscourt. (*In another place as Viscount Powerscourt*)
505 Frederic Lord Northington. (*Lord Henley*)
506 Nathaniel Mayer Lord Rothschild
507 John Lord Revelstoke
508 Robert Lord Monkswell
509 Arthur Lord Hobhouse
510 Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord Lingen
511 Edward Lord Ashbourne
512 Rowland Lord Saint Oswald
513 Robert James Lord Wantage
514 Robert Wilfrid Lord Deramore
515 Henry John Lord Montagu of Beaulieu
516 Sidney Herbert Lord Elphinstone
517 Charles John Lord Colville of Culross
518 Richard Farrer Lord Herschell
519 Charles William Lord Hillingdon
520 Charles Lord Hindlip
521 Edmund Lord Grimthorpe
522 Richard de Aquila Lord Stalbridge
523 Hugh Lord Kensington
524 Michael Arthur Lord Burton
525 Gavin George Lord Hamilton of Dalzell
526 Thomas Lord Brassey
527 Henry Lord Thring
528 Edward Lord Macnaghten. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
529 Robert Lord Connemara
530 Claude Lord Bowes. (*Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn*)
531 George Edmund Milnes Lord Monckton. (*Viscount Galway*)
532 John Lord Saint Levan
533 James Douglas Lord Magheramorne
534 George Limbrey Lord Basing
535 William Henry Lord de Ramsey
536 William Meriton Lord Cheylesmore
537 Egerton Lord Addington

538 John Savile Lord Savile
539 Michael Lord Morris
540 William Ventris Lord Field
541 Edward Cecil Lord Iveagh
542 George Lord Mount Stephen
543 Samuel Lord Masham
544 Arthur William Acland Lord Hood of Avalon
545 William Lord Kelvin
546 Henry John Lord Rookwood
547 Alexander Burns Lord Shand
548 George Lord Ashcombe
549 Archibald Campbell Lord Blythswood
550 Thomas Lord Crawshaw
551 William Amhurst Lord Amherst of Hackney
552 Thomas Wodehouse Lord Newton
553 Henry Lyle Lord Dunleath
554 John Allan Lord Llangattock
555 George James Lord Playfair
556 Cyril Lord Battersea
557 Ernest Ambrose Lord Swansea
558 Thomas Cecil Lord Farrer
559 John Campbell Lord Overtoun
560 Cecil Geo. Savile Lord Hawkesbury
561 Arthur Lord Stanmore
562 Stuart Lord Rendel
563 Reginald Earle Lord Welby
564 Horace Lord Davey. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
565 Edward Douglas Lord Loch
566 Sydney James Lord Wandsworth
567 James Lord Ashton
568 Herbert Coulstoun Lord Burghclere
569 Henry Lord James
570 David Robert Lord Rathmore
571 Henry Lord Pirbright
572 Algernon Lord Glenesk
573 Henry Hucks Lord Aldenham
574 Edward Lord Heneage
575 John Wingfield Lord Malcolm of Poltalloch
576 Hercules Arthur Temple Lord Rosmead
577 Alexander Smith Lord Kinnear
578 Joseph Lord Lister
579 David Lord Fairlie. (*Earl of Glasgow*)
580 Hugh Richard Lord Dawnay. (*Viscount Downe*)
581 Henry Ludlow Lord Ludlow
582 Hans Wellesley Lord Holm Patrick
583 George Arbuthnot Lord Inverclyde
584 Donald Alexander Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal
585 William Wallace Lord Newlands
586 Horace Brand Lord Farquhar
587 Josslyn Francis Lord Muncaster
588 Arthur Lawrence Lord Haliburton
589 Horatio Herbert Lord Kitchener of Khartoum
590 Philip Henry Wodehouse Lord Currie
591 Joseph Russell Lord Glanusk
592 Henry Lord Brampton
593 Robert Thornhaugh Lord Cranworth
594 Julian Lord Pauncefote
595 James Patrick Bannerman Lord Robertson. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
596 Henry Stafford Lord Northcote
597 John Lord Avebury
598 Nathaniel Lord Lindley. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
599 Michael Lord Killanin. (*In another place as Lord Morris*)
600 Peter Lord O'Brien
601* Richard Everard Lord Alverstone

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* This number is in excess of the total Number of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Discrepancy being caused by the following Lords being twice named in the Roll:

Earl of Halsbury as Lord High Chancellor and as Earl of Halsbury (Nos. 6 and 197)
Duke of Devonshire as Lord President and as Duke of Devonshire (Nos. 8 and 18)
Marquess of Salisbury as Lord Privy Seal and as Marquess of Salisbury (Nos. 9 and 35)
Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery as Lord Steward and as Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (Nos. 54 and 59)
Earl of Clarendon as Lord Chamberlain and as Earl of Clarendon (Nos. 55 and 112)
Earl of Lovelace as Earl of Lovelace and as Lord Wentworth (Nos. 169 and 272)
Earl de Montalt as Earl de Montalt and as Viscount Hawarden (Nos. 190 and 209)
Viscount Powerscourt as Viscount Powerscourt and as Lord Powerscourt (Nos. 207 and 504)
Lord Morris as Lord Morris and as Lord Killanin (Nos. 539 and 599)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS

IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM
AND THE FIFTEENTH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

(*Compiled at the Opening of the Session.*)

A

Abraham, William (Glamorgan, Rhondda)

Abraham, William (Cork Co., N. East)

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A., Bt. (Somerset, Wellington)

Agg-Gardner, James T. (Cheltenham)

Agnew, Sir Andrew N., Bt. (Edinburgh, South)

Aird, John (Paddington, N.)

Allan, William (Gateshead)

Allen, Charles P. (Gloucester, Stroud)

Allhusen, Aug. Henry E. (Hackney, Central)

Allsopp, Hon. George H. (Worcester)

Ambrose, Robert (Mayo, West)

Anson, Sir William R., Bt. (Oxford University)

Anstruther, Henry T. (St. Andrews Burghs)

Archdale, Edward M. (Fermanagh, N.)

Arkwright, John S. (Hereford)

Arnold-Forster, Hugh O. (Belfast, West)

Arrol, Sir William (Ayrshire, South)

Asher, Alexander (Elgin Burghs)

Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis (Sheffield, Ecclesall)

Ashton, Thomas Gair (Beds, Luton)

Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H. (Fife, East

Atherley-Jones, Llewellyn (Durham, N.W.)

Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John (Londonderry North)

Austin, Sir John, Bt. (York, W.R., Osgoldcross)

B

Bagot, Capt. Josceline F. (Westmoreland, Kendal)

Bailey, James (Newington, Walworth)

Bain, James Robert (Cumberland, Egremont)

Baird, John G. A. (Glasgow, Central)

Balcarres, Lord (Lancashire, Chorley)

Baldwin, Alfred (Worcester, Bewdley)

Balfour, Rt. Hon. Arthur J. (Manchester, East)

Balfour, Capt. Charles B. (Middlesex, Hornsey)

Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald William (Leeds, Central)

Balfour, Major K. R. (Christchurch)

Banbury, Fred. George (Camberwell, Peckham)

Banes, Major George E. (West Ham, South)

Barker, John (Maidstone)

Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset, Frome)

Barratt, F. L. (Devon, Torquay)

Barry, Edward (Cork Co., South)

Barry, Sir Francis Tress, Bt. (Windsor)

Bartley, George C. T. (Islington, N.)

Bathurst, Hon. Allen B. (Gloucester, Cirencester)

Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire, Chesterfield)

Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H., Bt. (Bristol, W.)

Beach, Rt. Hon. William W. B. (Hants, Andover)

Beaumont, Wentworth C. B. (Northumberland, Hexham)

Beckett, Ernest W. (York, N.R., Whitby)

Bell, Richard (Derby)

Bentinck, Lord Henry C. (Nottingham, S.)

Bhownaggree, Sir M. M. (Bethnal Green, N.E.)

Bignold A. (Wick Burghs)

Bigwood, James (Middlesex, Brentford)

Bill, Charles (Staffordshire, Leek)

Black, Alexander W. (Banffshire)

Blake, Edward (Longford, S.)

Blundell, Col. H. B. H. (Lancashire, Ince)

Boland, John (Kerry, South)

Bolton, Thomas Dolling (Derbyshire, N. East)

Bond, Edward (Nottingham, E.)

Boscawen, Capt. A. S. T. Griffith (Kent, Tunbridge)

Boulnois, Edmund (Marylebone, E.)

Bousfield, William R. (Hackney, N.)

Bowles, Colonel Henry F. (Middlesex, Enfield)

Bowles, Thomas Gibson (Lynn Regis)

Boyle, James (Donegal, West)

Brand, Hon. Arthur G. (Cambridge, Wisbech)

Brassey, Albert (Oxon, Banbury)

Brigg, John (York, W.R., Keighley)

Broadhurst, Henry (Leicester)

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. W. St. John F. (Surrey, Guildford)

Brookfield, Lieut.-Col. Arthur M. (Sussex, Rye)

Brown, Alex. Hargreaves (Shropshire, Wellington)

Brown, George M. (Edinburgh, Central)

Brunner, Sir John T., Bt. (Cheshire, Northwich)

Bryce, Rt. Hon. James (Aberdeen, South)

Brymer, Col. Wm. Ernest (Dorset, South)

Bull, William James (Hammersmith)

Bullard, Sir Harry (Norwich)

Burdett-Coutts, W. L. A. B. (Westminster)

Burke, E. Haviland (King's County Tullamore)

Burns, John (Battersea)

Burt, Thomas (Morpeth)

Butcher, John George (York)

Buxton, Sydney C. (Tower Hamlets, Poplar)

C

Caine, W. S. (Cornwall, Camborne

Caldwell, James (Lanark, Mid)

Cameron, Robert (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring)

Campbell, Rt. Hon. James A. (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities)

Campbell, J. (Armagh, South)

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H. (Stirling Burghs)

Carew, J. Laurence (Meath, South)

Carlile, William Walter (Bucks, N.)

Carson, Rt. Hon. Edward H. (Dublin University)

Carvill, Patrick G. H. (Newry)

Causton, Richard Knight (Southwark, West)

Cautley, Henry S. (Leeds, East)

Cavendish, Richard F. (Lancashire, North Lonsdale)

Cavendish, Victor C. W. (Derbyshire, West)

Cawley, Frederick (Lancs, Prestwich)

Cayzer, Sir Charles Wm. (Barrow-in Furness)

Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)

Cecil, Lord Hugh Richard H. (Greenwich)

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birmingham, W.)

Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worcestershire, East)

Chamberlayne, T. (Southampton)

Channing, Francis A. (Northampton, East)

Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry (Lincolnshire, Sleaford)

Chapman, Edward (Cheshire, Hyde)

Charrington, Spencer (Tower Hamlets, Mile End)

Churchill, Winston L. S. (Oldham)

Clancy, John J. (Dublin Co., North)

Clare, Octavius Leigh (Lancashire, Eccles)

Clive, Capt. Percy Archer (Herefordshire, Ross)

Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. (Ayrshire, North)

Coddington, Sir William, Bt. (Blackburn)

Cogan, Denis J. (Wicklow, East)

Coghill, Douglas H. (Stoke-upon-Trent)

Cohen, Benjamin L. (Islington, E.)

Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse (Birmingham, Bordesley)

Colomb, Sir John C. R. (Great Yarmouth)

Colston, Chas. Edw. H. A. (Gloucester, Thornbury)

Colville, John (Lanark, N.E.)

Compton, Lord Alwyne F. (Beds, Biggleswade)

Condon, Thomas J. (Tipperary, E.)

Cook, Frederick Lucas (Lambeth, Kennington)

Corbett, Arch. Cameron (Glasgow, Tradeston)

Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)

Cox, Irwin Edward B. (Middlesex, Harrow)

Craig, Robert H. (Lanark, Govan)

Cranborne, Viscount (Rochester)

Crean, Eugene (Cork, S.E.)

Cremer, William R. (Shoreditch, Haggerston)

Crombie, John William (Kincardineshire)

Cross, Alexander (Glasgow, Camlachie)

Cross, Herbert Shepherd (Bolton)

Crossley, Sir Savile B., Bt. (Halifax)

Cubitt, Hon. Henry (Surrey, Reigate

Cullinan, J. (Tipperary, South)

Cust, Henry J. C. (Southwark, Bermondsey)

D

Dalkeith, Earl of (Roxburgh)

Dalrymple, Sir Charles, Bt. (Ipswich)

Daly, James (Monaghan, South)

Dalziel, James H. (Kirkcaldy Burghs)

Davenport, William Bromley (Cheshire, Macclesfield)

Davies, A. (Carmarthen Boroughs)

Davies, Col. Sir Horatio David (Chatham)

Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)

Delany, William (Queen's Co., Ossory)

Denny, Col. John M. (Kilmarnock Burghs)

Dewar, John A. (Inverness)

Dewar, Thomas R. (Tower Hamlets, St. George's)

Dickinson, Robt. E. (Somerset, Wells)

Dickson, Charles Scott (Glasgow, Bridgton)

Dickson-Poynder, Sir J., Bt. (Wilts, Chippenham)

Digby, J. Kenelm Wingfield- (Dorset, North)

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt. (Gloucester, Forest of Dean)

Dillon, John (Mayo, East)

Dimsdale, Sir Joseph C. (London)

Disraeli, Coningsby R. (Cheshire, Altrincham)

Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt. (Middlesex, Uxbridge)

Donelan, Capt. A. J. C. (Cork, East)

Doogan, P. C. (Tyrone, East)

Dorington, Sir John E., Bt. (Gloucester, Tewkesbury)

Doughty, George (Great Grimsby)

Douglas, Rt. Hon. Aretas Akers (Kent, St. Augustine's)

Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark, North-West)

Doxford, Sir William T. (Sunderland)

Duffy, William J. (Galway, South)

Duke, H. E. (Plymouth)

Duncan, James H. (Yorks, W.R., Otley)

Dunn, Sir William, Bt. (Paisley)

Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin, Bt. (Cornwall, Truro)

Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H., Bt. (Kent, Dartford)

E

Edwards, Francis (Radnor)

Egerton, Hon. Alan de Tatton (Cheshire, Knutsford)

Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D. (Durham)

Ellis, John Edward (Nottingham, Rushcliffe)

Emmott, Alfred (Oldham)

Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan, Bt. (Wexford, North)

Evans, Samuel Thomas (Glamorgan, Mid)

F

Faber, G. Denison (York)

Fardell, Sir T. George (Paddington, S.)

Farquharson, Dr. Robert (Aberdeenshire, West)

Farrell, James P. (Longford, North)

Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E. (Hunts, Ramsey)

Fenwick, Charles (Northumberland, Wansbeck)

Ferguson, Ronald C. Munro (Leith Burghs)

Fergusson, Rt. Hon Sir J., Bt. (Manchester, N.E.)

Ffrench, Peter (Wexford, South)

Field, William (Dublin, St. Patrick)

Fielden, Edward B. (Lancashire, Middleton)

Finch, George H. (Rutland)

Finlay, Sir Robert B. (Inverness Burghs)

Firbank, Joseph Thomas (Hull, East)

Fisher, William Hayes (Fulham)

Fison, Frederick William (York, W.R., Doncaster)

FitzGerald, Sir Robt. U. P., Bt. (Cambridge)

Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond G. Petty (Wilts, Cricklade)

Fitzroy, Hon. E. Algernon (Northants, South)

Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue (Yorkshire, Shipley)

Flavin, Michael Joseph (Kerry, North)

Fletcher, Sir Henry, Bt. (Sussex, Lewes)

Flower, Ernest F. S. (Bradford, W.)

Flynn, James C. (Cork, North)

Forster, Henry Wm. (Kent, Sevenoaks)

Foster, Sir B. Walter (Derby, Ilkeston)

Foster, Sir Michael (London University)

Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. (Wolverhampton, East)

Fuller, J. M. F. (Wilts, Westbury)

Furness, Sir Christopher, Bt. (Hartlepool)

G

Galloway, William Johnson (Manchester, S.W.)

Garfit, William (Boston)

Gibbs, Hon. Alban George H. (London)

Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (Herts, St. Albans)

Gilhooly, James (Cork Co., West)

Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J. (Leeds, West)

Goddard, Daniel Ford (Ipswich)

Godson, Sir Augustus F. (Kidderminster)

Gordon, Hon. John Edward (Elgin and Nairn)

Gordon, John (Londonderry, S.)

Gordon, Major W. E. (Tower Hamlets, Stepney)

Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon (Cambridge University)

Goschen, George J., jun. (Sussex, East Grinstead)

Goulding, Edward A. (Wilts, Devizes)
Graham, Henry R. (St. Pancras, West)
Grant, Corrie (Warwickshire, Rugby)
Gray, Ernest (West Ham, North)
Green, Walford Davis (Wednesbury)
Greene, Sir E. Walter, Bt. (Bury St. Edmunds)
Greene, Henry David (Shrewsbury)
Greene, Walter Raymond (Cambs., Chesterton)
Grenfell, Major William H. (Bucks, Wycombe)
Gretton, John (Derbyshire, South)
Greville, Capt. Hon. Ronald H. F. (Bradford, East)
Grey, Sir Edward, Bt. (Northumberland, Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J. (Anglesey)
Groves, James G. (Salford, South)
Guest, Hon. Ivor C. (Plymouth)
Gully, Rt. Hon. William C. (Carlisle)
Gunter, Col. Robert (York, W.R., Barkston Ash)
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton (Norfolk, North)
Guthrie, Walter Murray (Tower Hamlets, Bow, etc.)

H

Hain, Edward (Cornwall (St. Ives)
Haldane, Richard B. (Haddington)
Hall, E. Marshall (Lancashire, Southport)
Halsey, Thomas F. (Herts, Watford)
Hambro, C. Eric (Surrey, Wimbledon)
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George (Middlesex, Ealing)
Hamilton, Captain the Marquess of (Londonderry)
Hammond, John (Carlow)
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert W. (Preston)
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. G. Vernon (Monmouthshire, W.)
Hardie, James Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas L. (Norfolk, S.W.)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester (Caithness)
Harrington, Timothy (Dublin, Harbour)
Harris, Frederick L. (Tynemouth)
Harris, Dr. F. Rutherfoord (Monmouth Boroughs)
Harwood, George (Bolton)
Haslam, Sir Alfred Seale (Newcastle-under-Lyme)
Haslett, Sir James H. (Belfast, North)
Hatch, Ernest F. George (Lancashire, Gorton)
Hay, Hon. Claude G. D. (Shoreditch, Hoxton)
Hayden, John P. (Roscommon, South)
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale- (Devon, Ashburton)
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D., Bt. (Walsall)
Healy, Timothy M. (Louth, North)
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffordshire, N.W.)
Heaton, J. Henniker (Canterbury)
Helder, Augustus (Whitehaven)
Helme, Norval W. (Lancashire, Lancaster)
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. Hare (Tyrone, North)
Henderson, Alexander (Staffordshire, West)
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T. (Oxon, Henley)
Hickman, Sir Alfred (Wolverhampton, West)
Higginbottom, S. W. (Liverpool, West Derby)
Hill, Capt. Arthur (Down, West)
Hoare, Edw. Brodie (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel, Bt. (Norwich)
Hobhouse, Charles E. H. (Bristol East)
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, East)
Hogg, Lindsay (Sussex, Eastbourne)
Holland, William H. (York, W.R., Rotherham)
Hope, J. D. (Fife, West)
Hope, J. Fitzalan (Sheffield, Brightside)
Hornby, Sir William Henry, Bt. (Blackburn)
Horner, Frederick W. (Lambeth, North)
Horniman, Frederick John (Penryn and Falmouth)

Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry, Bt. (Manchester, N.W.)

Hoult, Joseph (Cheshire, Wirral)

Houston, Robert P. (Liverpool, West Toxteth)

Howard, Joseph (Middlesex, Tottenham)

Howard, Capt. J. (Kent, Faversham)

Hozier, Hon. James H. C. (Lanark, South)

Hudson, George B. (Herts, Hitchin)

Hughes, Col. Edwin (Woolwich)

Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C. (Montgomery)

Hutton, Alfred E. (York, W.R., Morley)

Hutton, John (Yorkshire, Richmond)

J

Jackson, Rt. Hon. William L. (Leeds, North)

Jacoby, James Alfred (Derbyshire, Mid)

Jameson, Major J. Eustace (Clare, West)

Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse (Cambridge University)

Jeffreys, Arthur F. (Hants, North)

Jessel, Capt. Herbert M. (St. Pancras, South)

Johnston, William (Belfast, South)

Johnstone, John Heywood (Sussex, Horsham)

Joicey, Sir James, Bt. (Durham, Chester-le-Street)

Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea District)

Jones, William (Carnarvon, Arfon)

Jordan, Jeremiah (Fermanagh, South)

Joyce, M. (Limerick)

K

Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir U., Bt. (Lancashire, Clitheroe)

Kearley, Hudson E. (Devonport)

Kemp, George (Lancashire, Heywood)

Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt. (Devon, Honiton)

Kennedy, Patrick J. (Westmeath, North)

Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)

Kenyon, James (Bury, Lancashire)

Kenyon-Slaney, Col. Wm. (Shropshire, Newport)

Keswick, William (Surrey, Epsom)

Kimber, Henry (Wandsworth)

King, Sir H. Seymour (Hull, Central)

Kinloch, Sir John G. S., Bt. (Perthshire, East)

Kitson, Sir James, Bt. (York, W.R., Colne Valley)

Knowles, Lees (Salford, West)

L

Labouchere, Henry (Northampton)

Lambert, George (Devon, South Molton)

Lambton, Hon. F. W. (Durham, South-East)

Langley, Batty (Sheffield, Attercliffe)

Laurie, Lieut.-Gen. John W. (Pembroke and Haverfordwest)

Law, Andrew B. (Glasgow, Blackfriars)

Lawrence, William F. (Liverpool, Abercromby)

Lawson, John Grant (York, N.R., Thirsk)

Leamy, Edmund (Kildare, North)

Lecky, Rt. Hon. William E. H. (Dublin University)

Lee, Lieut.-Col. A. H. (Hants, Fareham)

Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt. (Birkenhead)

Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Lancashire, Accrington)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage (St. George's, Hanover Square)

Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)

Leigh-Bennett, Henry C. (Surrey, Chertsey)

Leighton, Stanley (Shropshire, Oswestry)

Leng, Sir John (Dundee)

Leveson-Gower, F. S. (Sutherland)

Levy, M. (Leicestershire, Loughborough)

Lewis, John Herbert (Flint Boroughs)

Llewellyn, Evan Henry (Somerset, North)

Lloyd-George, David (Carnarvon, etc.)

Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. Amelius (Essex, Epping)

Loder, Gerald W. E (Brighton)

Logan, John William (Leicester, Harborough)

Long, Col. Charles W. (Worcestershire, Evesham)

Long, Rt. Hon. Walter H. (Bristol, South)

Lonsdale, John B. (Armagh, Mid)

Lough, Thomas (Islington, W.)

Lowe, Francis W. (Birmingham, Edgbaston)

Lowther, Claude N. W. (Cumberland, Eskdale)

Lowther, Rt. Hon. James William (Cumberland, Penrith)

Lowther, Rt. Hon. James (Kent, Thanet)

Loyd, Archie Kirkman (Berks, Abingdon)

Lucas, Col. Francis A. (Suffolk, Lowestoft)

Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)

Lundon, W. (Limerick, East)

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred (Warwick and Leamington)

M

Macaleese, Daniel (Monaghan, North)

Macartney, W. Ellison (Antrim, South)

Macdona, J. Cumming (Southwark, Rotherhithe)

MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A. (Queen's County, Leix)

MacIver, David (Liverpool, Kirkdale)

Maclure, Sir John W., Bt. (Lancashire, Stretford)

Macnamara, Thomas J. (Camberwell, North)

MacNeill, J. G. Swift (Donegal, South)

Maconachie, A. W. (Aberdeenshire, East)

McArthur, Charles (Liverpool, Exchange)

McArthur, William A. (Cornwall, St. Austell)

McCalmont, Harry L. B. (Cambridge, Newmarket)

McCalmont, Col. James (Antrim, East)

McCann, J. (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green)

McCartan, Michael (Down, South)

McCrae, George (Edinburgh, East)

McDermott, Patrick (Kilkenny, N.)

McFadden, Edward (Donegal, East)

McGovern, T. (Cavan, West)

M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim, North)

McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt. (Edinburgh, West)

McKenna, Reginald (Monmouth, North)

M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)

McKillop, W. (Sligo, North)

McLaren, Charles P. Bright (Leicester, Bosworth)

Majendie, James H. A. (Portsmouth)

Malcolm, Ian Z. (Suffolk, Stowmarket)

Manners, Lord Cecil R. J. (Leicestershire, Melton)

Mansfield, H. (Lincoln, Spalding)

Maple, Sir J. Blundell, Bt. (Camberwell, Dulwich)

Mappin, Sir Frederick T., Bt. (York, W.R., Hallamshire)

Markham, A. B. (Notts, Mansfield)

Martin, Richard Biddulph (Worcester, Droitwich)

Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B. (Finsbury, Central)

Mather, William (Lancashire, Rossendale)

Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bt. (Wigton)

Maxwell, William Jardine (Dumfriesshire)

Mellor, Rt. Hon. John W. (York, W.R., Sowerby)

Melville, Beresford Valentine (Stockport)

Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt. (Stafford, Handsworth)

Middlemore, John T. (Birmingham, North)

Mildmay, Francis B. (Devon, Totnes)

Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fred G., Bt. (Notts, Bassetlaw)

Milton, Viscount (Wakefield)

Milward, Col. Victor (Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon)

Minch, Matthew J. (Kildare, South)

Mitchell, William (Burnley)

Molesworth, Sir Lewis W., Bt. (Cornwall, Bodmin)

Montagu, George C. (Hunts, Huntingdon)

Montagu, Hon. John Scott- (Hants, New Forest)
Moon, Edward Robert P. (St. Pancras, North)
Mooney, John J. (Dublin Co., South)
Moore, William (Antrim, North)
More, Robert Jasper (Shropshire, Ludlow)
Morgan, David John (Essex, Walthamstow)
Morgan, Col. Hon. Fred. C. (Monmouthshire, South)
Morgan, John Lloyd (Carmarthenshire, West)
Morley, Charles (Brecknock)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose, etc.)
Morrell, George Herbert (Oxon, Woodstock)
Morris, Hon. Martin H. F. (Galway)
Morrison, Lieut. James A. (Wiltshire, Wilton)
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford)
Morton, Edward J. C. (Devonport)
Moss, Samuel (Denbighshire, East)
Moulton, John Fletcher (Cornwall, Launceston)
Mount, William A. (Berks, Newbury)
Mowbray, Sir Robt. G. C., Bt. (Lambeth, Brixton)
Muntz, Philip Albert (Warwickshire, Tamworth)
Murnaghan, George (Tyrone, Mid)
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murray, Rt. Hon. Andrew Graham (Buteshire)
Murray, Hon. A. W. C. O. (Edinburgh, Midlothian)
Murray, Charles James (Coventry)
Murray, Col. C. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry (Winchester)

N

Nannetti, Joseph P. (Dublin, College Green)
Newdigate, Francis Alex. (Warwickshire, Nuneaton)
Newnes, Sir George, Bt. (Swansea Town)
Nicholson, William G. (Hants, Petersfield)
Nicol, Donald N. (Argyllshire)
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, North)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry (Wolverhampton, S.)
Norton, Capt. Cecil W. (Newington, West)
Nussey, Thomas Willans (Pontefract)

O

O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, North)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, West)
O'Connor, Thomas P. (Liverpool, Scotland)
O'Doherty, William (Donegal, North)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, South)
O'Donnell, Thomas (Kerry, West)
O'Dowd, John (Sligo, South)
O'Kelly, C. (Mayo, North)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, North)
Oldroyd, Mark (Dewsbury).
O'Malley, William (Galway, Connemara)
O'Mara, James (Kilkenny, South)
O'Neill, Hon. R. Torrens (Antrim, Mid)
Ormsby-Gore, Hon. S. F. (Lincoln, Gainsborough)
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay (Ayr Burghs)
O'Shaughnessy, P. J. (Limerick, West)

P

Palmer, Sir Charles M., Bt. (Durham, Jarrow)
Palmer, George William (Reading)
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, H. Gilbert G. (Gravesend)
Parkes, Ebenezer (Birmingham, Central)
Partington, O. (Derbyshire, High Peak)
Paulton, James M. (Durham, Bishop Auckland)
Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt. (Colchester)
Pease, Alfred Edward (Yorkshire, Cleveland)
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)

Pease, Sir Joseph W., Bt. (Durham, Barnard Castle)

Peel, Hon. William R. W. (Manchester, South)

Pemberton, John S. G. (Sunderland)

Penn, John (Lewisham)

Percy, Earl (Kensington, South)

Perks, Robert W. (Lincolnshire, Louth)

Philipps, John W. (Pembrokeshire)

Pickard, Benjamin (York, W.R., Normanton)

Pierpoint, Robert (Warrington)

Pilkington, Lt.-Col. Richard (Lancashire, Newton)

Pirie, Duncan Vernon (Aberdeen, North)

Platt-Higgins, Frederick (Salford, North)

Plummer, Walter R. (Newcastle-on-Tyne)

Powell, Sir Francis Sharp, Bt. (Wigan)

Power, Patrick J. (Waterford, East)

Pretyman, Capt. Ernest Geo. (Suffolk, Woodbridge)

Price, Robert John (Norfolk, East)

Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)

Pryce-Jones, Lieut.-Col. Edward (Montgomery Boroughs)

Purvis, Robert (Peterborough)

Pym, C. Guy (Bedford)

Q

Quilter, Sir W. Cuthbert, Bt. (Suffolk, Sudbury)

R

Radcliffe, R. F. (Staffordshire, Burton)

Randles, John S. (Cumberland, Cockermouth)

Rankin, Sir James, Bt. (Herefordshire, Leominster)

Rasch, Major Fred. C. (Essex, Chelmsford)

Rea, Russell (Gloucester)

Reckitt, Harold James (Lincolnshire, Brigg)

Reddy, M. (King's County, Birr)

Redmond, John E. (Waterford)

Redmond, William H. K. (Clare, East)

Reed, Sir Edward J. (Cardiff)

Reid, James (Greenock)

Reid, Sir Robert T. (Dumfries Burghs)

Remnant, James F. (Finsbury, Holborn)

Renshaw, Charles B. (Renfrew, West)

Rentoul, James A. (Down, East)

Renwick, George (Newcastle-on-Tyne)

Richards, Henry Chas. (Finsbury, East)

Rickett, J. Compton (Scarborough)

Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. White, Bt. (Lancashire, Blackpool)

Ridley, M. White (Stalybridge)

Ridley, Samuel F. (Bethnal Green, South-West)

Rigg, Richard (Westmoreland, Appleby)

Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T. (Croydon)

Roberts, John Bryn (Carnarvonshire, Eifion)

Roberts, John Herbert (Denbighshire West)

Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)

Robertson, T. Herbert (Hackney, South)

Robinson, Brooke (Dudley)

Robson, William Snowdon (South Shields)

Roche, John (Galway, East)

Roe, Sir Thomas (Derby)

Rolleston, Sir John F. L. (Leicester)

Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye (Islington, South)

Ropner, Col. E. H. O. Robert (Stockton)

Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W. (Bucks, Aylesbury)

Round, James (Essex, Harwich)

Royds, Col. Clement M. (Rochdale)

Russell, Thomas W. (Tyrone, South)

Rutherford, John (Lancashire, Darwen)

S

Sackville, S. G. Stopford (Northants, North)

Sadler, Col. Samuel A. (Middlesbrough)

Samuel, Harry S. (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse)

Samuel, Stuart M. (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel)

Sandys, Col. Thomas M. (Lancashire, Bootle)

Sassoon, Sir Edward A., Bt. (Hythe)

Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J. (Armagh, North)
Schwann, Charles E. (Manchester, North)
Scott, Charles Prestwich (Lancashire, Leigh)
Scott, Sir Samuel E., Bt. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seely, Capt. John E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Seton-Karr, Henry (St. Helens)
Sharpe, Wm. E. Thompson (Kensington, North)
Shaw, T. F. Charles Edward (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick Burghs)
Shaw-Stewart, M. Hugh (Renfrew, East)
Shee, James John (Waterford, West)
Shipman, Dr. John G. (Northampton)
Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. (Southampton)
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfar)
Sinclair, Louis (Essex, Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas (Surrey, Kingston)
Smith, Abel Henry (Herts, Hertford)
Smith, Hugh C. (Northumberland, Tyneside)
Smith, James Parker (Lanark, Partick)
Smith, Samuel (Flintshire)
Smith, Hon. W. Fred. D. (Strand, Westminster)
Soames, Arthur W. (Norfolk, South)
Soares, Ernest J. (Devon, Barnstaple)
Spear, John W. (Devon, Tavistock)
Spencer, Hon. Charles R. (Northants, Mid)
Spencer, Ernest (West Bromwich)
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Lancashire, Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset, Bridgwater)
Stanley, Lord (Lancs., Westhoughton)
Stevenson, Francis S. (Suffolk, Eye)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. McTaggart, Bt. (Kirkcudbrightshire)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M., Bt. (Glasgow, College)
Stock, James Henry (Liverpool, Walton)
Stone, Sir John Benjamin (Birmingham, East)
Strachey, Edward (Somerset, South)
Stroyan, John (Perthshire, West)
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley (Essex, Maldon)
Sturt, Hon. Humphrey N. (Dorset, East)
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath, South)

T

Talbot, Rt. Hon. John G. (Oxford University)
Talbot, Lord Edmund (Sussex, Chichester)
Tanner, Charles K. Deane (Cork Co., Mid)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Lancashire, Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr Tydvil)
Thomas, Captain Freeman F. (Hastings)
Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R., Skipton)
Thorburn, Sir Walter (Peebles and Selkirk)
Thornton, Percy M. (Clapham)
Tollemache, Henry J. (Cheshire, Eddisbury)
Tomkinson, James (Cheshire, Crewe)
Tomlinson, William E. M. (Preston)
Trevelyan, Charles P. (York, W.R., Elland)
Tritton, Charles E. (Lambeth, Norwood)
Tufnell, Col. Edward (Essex, South-East
Tuke, Sir John Batty (Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities)
Tully, Jasper (Leitrim, South)

U

Ure, Alexander (Linlithgowshire)

V

Valentia, Viscount (Oxford)
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard (Sheffield, Central)
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)

W

Walker, Col. William H. (Widnes)

Wallace, Robert (Perth)

Walrond, Rt Hon. Sir Wm. H., Bt. (Devon, Tiverton)

Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, South)

Walton, Joseph (York, W.R., Barnsley)

Wanklyn, Jas. Leslie (Bradford, Central)

Warde, Lt.-Col. Charles E. (Kent, Medway)

Warner, T. Courtenay T. (Stafford, Lichfield)

Warr, Augustus F. (Liverpool, East Toxteth)

Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan and Kinross)

Wason, John C. (Orkney and Shetland)

Webb, Col. William G. (Staffordshire, Kingswinford)

Weir, James Galloway (Ross and Cromarty)

Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. Earle (Taunton)

Welby, Sir Charles G. E., Bt. (Notts, Newark)

Wentworth, Capt. B. C. Vernon-(Brighton)

Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd (York, W.R., Ripon)

White, George (Norfolk, North-West)

White, L. (York, E.R., Buckrose)

White, Patrick (Meath, North)

Whiteley, George (York, W.R., Pudsey)

Whiteley, Herbert (Ashton-under-Lyne)

Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)

Whitmore, Charles A. (Chelsea)

Whittaker, Thomas P. (York, W.R., Spen Valley)

Williams, Arthur O. (Merionethshire)

Williams, Rt. Hon. Joseph Powell- (Birmingham, South)

Williams, Lieut.-Col. Robert (Dorset, West)

Willoughby de Eresby, Lord (Lincolnshire, Horncastle)

Willox, Sir John Archibald (Liverpool, Everton)

Wills, Sir Frederick (Bristol, North)

Wilson, Arthur S. (York, E.R., Holderness)

Wilson, Charles H. (Hull, West)

Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk, Mid)

Wilson, Henry Joseph (York, W.R. Holmfirth)

Wilson, John (Falkirk Burghs)

Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)

Wilson, John William (Worcestershire, North)

Wilson, J. (Glasgow, St. Rollox)

Wilson-Todd, William H. (York, E.R., Howdenshire)

Wodehouse, Hon. A. (Essex, Saffron Walden)

Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. Edmond R. (Bath)

Wolff, Gustavus Wilhelm (Belfast, East)

Woodhouse, Sir James T. (Huddersfield)

Wortley, Rt. Hon. Charles B. Stuart- (Sheffield, Hallam)

Wrightson, Sir Thomas, Bt. (St. Pancras, East)

Wylie, Alexander (Dumbartonshire)

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George (Dover)

Wyndham-Quin, Maj. W. H. (Glamorgan, South)

Y

Yerburgh, Robert A. (Chester)

Young, Commander Oliver (Berks, Wokingham)

Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

Younger, William (Lincolnshire, Stamford)

Yoxall, James Henry (Nottingham, West)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES,

WITH

NAMES OF MEMBERS

(Compiled at the opening of the Session.)

ENGLAND—COUNTIES (234 Members).

BEDFORDSHIRE (2)	
North, or Biggleswade	Compton, Lord Alwyne F.
South, or Luton	Ashton, T. Gair.
BERKSHIRE (3)	
East, or Wokingham	Young, Capt. Oliver
North, or Abingdon	Loyd, A. K.
South, or Newbury	Mount, W. A.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (3)	
Mid, or Aylesbury	Rothschild, Hon. L. W.
North, or Buckingham	Carlile, W. W.
South, or Wycombe	Grenfell, Major W. H.
CAMBRIDGESHIRE (3)	
East, or Newmarket	M'Calmont, H. L. B.
North, or Wisbech	Brand, Hon. A. G.
West, or Chesterton	Greene, W. R.
CHESHIRE (8)	
Altrincham	Disraeli, Coningsby R.
Crewe	Tomkinson, J.
Eddisbury	Tollemache, H. J.
Hyde	Chapman, E.
Knutsford	Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton.
Macclesfield	Davenport, W. B.
Northwich	Brunner, Sir J. T.
Wirral	Hoult, J.
CORNWALL (6)	
Mid, or St. Austell	M'Arthur, W. A.
North-East, or Launceston	Moulton, J. F.
North-West, or Camborne	Caine, W. S.
South-East, or Bodmin	Molesworth, Sir L., Bt.
Truro	Durning-Lawrence, Sir E., Bt.
West, or St. Ives	Hain, E.

CUMBERLAND (4)	
Cockermouth	Randles, J. S.
Mid, or Penrith	Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W.
North, or Eskdale	Lowther, C. W. H.
West, or Egremont	Bain, J. R.
DERBYSHIRE (7)	
Chesterfield	Bayley, Thomas.
High Peak	Partington, O.
Ilkeston	Foster, Sir B. W.
Mid	Jacoby, J. A.
North-East	Bolton, T. D.
South	Gretton, J.
West	Cavendish, Victor C. W.
DEVONSHIRE (8)	
East, or Honiton	Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt.
Mid, or Ashburton	Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale-
North-East, or Tiverton	Walrond, Col. Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
North, or South Molton	Lambert, G.
North-West, or Barnstaple	Soares, E. J.
South, or Totnes	Mildmay, F. Bingham.
Torquay	Barratt, F. L.
West, or Tavistock	Spear, J. W.
DORSETSHIRE (4)	
East	Sturt, Hon. H. N.
North	Digby, J. K. W.
South	Brymer, W. E.
West	Williams, Col. R.
DURHAM (8)	
Barnard Castle	Pease, Sir Joseph W., Bt
Bishop Auckland	Paulton, J. M.
Chester-le-Street	Joicey, Sir James, Bt.
Houghton-le-Spring	Cameron, Robert.
Jarrow	Palmer, Sir C. Mark, Bt.
Mid	Wilson, John.
North-West	Atherley-Jones, L
South-East	Lambton, Hon. F. W.
ESSEX (8)	
East, or Maldon	Strutt, Hon. C. H.
Mid, or Chelmsford	Rasch, Major F. C.
North-East, or Harwich	Round, J.
North, or Saffron Walden	Wodehouse, Hon. A.
South-East	Tufnell, Col. E.
South, or Romford	Sinclair, Louis.
South-West, or Walthamstow	Morgan, D. J.
West, or Epping	Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R. M
GLOUCESTERSHIRE (5)	
East, or Cirencester	Bathurst, Hon. A. B.
Forest of Dean	Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt.
Mid, or Stroud	Allen, C. P.
North, or Tewkesbury	Dorington, Sir J. E., Bt.
South, or Thornbury	Colston, C. E. H. A.
HAMPSHIRE (5)	
East, or Petersfield	Nicholson, W. G.
New Forest	Montagu, Hon. J. W. E. D. Scott-

HAMPSHIRE (5)—*cont.*	
North, or Basingstoke	Jeffreys, A. F.
South, or Fareham	Lee, Lt.-Col. A. H.
West, or Andover	Beach, Rt. Hon W. W. Bramston.
HEREFORDSHIRE (2)	
North, or Leominster	Rankin, Sir Jas., Bart.
South, or Ross	Clive, Capt. P. A.
HERTFORDSHIRE (4)	
East, or Hertford	Smith, A. H.
Mid, or St. Albans	Gibbs, Hon. Vicary.
North, or Hitchin	Hudson, G. B.
West, or Watford	Halsey, T. F.
HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2)	
North, or Ramsey	Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E.
South, or Huntingdon	Montagu, G. C.
ISLE OF WIGHT (1)	Seely, Capt. J. E. B.
KENT (8)	
East, or St. Augustine's	Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers.
Isle of Thanet	Lowther, Rt. Hon. James.
Mid, or Medway	Warde, Lt.-Col. C. E.
North-East, or Faversham	Howard, Capt. J.
North-West, or Dartford	Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Hart, Bt.
South, or Ashford	Hardy, Laurence.
South-West, or Tunbridge	Boscawen, A. Griffith-.
West, or Sevenoaks	Forster, H. W.
LANCASHIRE, NORTH (4)	
Blackpool	Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. W., Bt.
Chorley	Balcarres, Lord.
Lancaster	Helme, N. W.
North Lonsdale	Cavendish, Richd. F.
LANCASHIRE, NORTH-EAST (4)	
Accrington	Leese, Sir J. F.
Clitheroe	Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir U. J
Darwen	Rutherford, John.
Rossendale	Mather, W.
LANCASHIRE, SOUTH-EAST (8)	
Eccles	Clare, O. L
Gorton	Hatch, E. F. G
Heywood	Kemp, G.
Middleton	Fielden, E. B.
Prestwich	Cawley, F.
Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth	Taylor, T. C.
Stretford	Maclure, Sir J. W., Bt.
Westhoughton	Stanley, Lord.
LANCASHIRE, SOUTH-WEST (7)	
Bootle	Sandys, Col. T. M.
Ince	Blundell, Col. H. B. Hollinshed.
Leigh	Scott, C. P.
Newton	Pilkington, Lt.-Col. R.
Ormskirk	Stanley, Hon. Arthur
Southport	Hall, E. M.
Widnes	Walker, Col. W. H.

Leicestershire (4)	
East, or Melton	Manners, Lord C. R. J.
Mid, or Loughborough	Levy, M.
South, or Harborough	Logan, J. W.
West, or Bosworth	M'Laren, C. B. B.
Lincolnshire (7)	
East Lindsey, or Louth	Perks, R. W.
Holland, or Spalding	Mansfield, H. R.
North Kesteven, or Sleaford	Chaplin, Rt. Hon. H.
North Lindsey, or Brigg	Reckitt, H. J.
South Kesteven, or Stamford	Younger, W.
South Lindsey, or Horncastle	Willoughby de Eresby, Lord.
West Lindsey, or Gainsborough	Ormsby-Gore, Hon. S. F.
Middlesex (7)	
Brentford	Bigwood, J.
Ealing	Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George.
Enfield	Bowles, Captain H. F.
Harrow	Cox, J. E. Bainbridge.
Hornsey	Balfour, Capt. C. B.
Tottenham	Howard, J.
Uxbridge	Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt.
Monmouthshire (3)	
North	M'Kenna, R.
South	Morgan, Col. Hon. F. C.
West	Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Vernon.
Norfolk (6)	
East	Price, R. J.
Mid	Wilson, F. W.
North	Gurdon, Sir W. B.
North-West	White, G.
South	Soames, A. W.
South-West	Hare, T. L.
Northamptonshire (4)	
East	Channing, F. A.
Mid	Spencer, Hon. C. R.
North	Sackville, S. G. S.
South	Fitzroy, Hon. J. G.
Northumberland (4)	
Berwick-upon-Tweed	Grey, Sir Edward, Bt.
Hexham	Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Tyneside	Smith, H. C.
Wansbeck	Fenwick, C.
Nottinghamshire (4)	
Bassetlaw	Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir F. G., Bt.
Mansfield	Markham, A. B.
Newark	Welby, Sir C. G. E., Bt.
Rushcliffe	Ellis, J. E.
Oxfordshire (3)	
Mid, or Woodstock	Morrell, G. H.
North, or Banbury	Brassey, Albert.
South, or Henley	Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Rutland (1)	Finch, G. H.

SHROPSHIRE (4)

Mid, or Wellington	Brown, A. H.
North, or Newport	Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.
South, or Ludlow	More, R. J.
West, or Oswestry	Leighton, Stanley.

SOMERSETSHIRE (7)

Bridgwater	Stanley, E. J.
East	Hobhouse, Henry.
Frome	Barlow, J. E.
North	Llewellyn, Evan H.
South	Strachey, E.
Wells	Dickinson, R. E.
West, or Wellington	Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.

STAFFORDSHIRE (7)

Burton	Radcliffe, R. F.
Handsworth	Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt.
Kingswinford	Webb, Col. W. G.
Leek	Bill, Charles.
Lichfield	Warner, T. Courtenay T.
North-West	Heath, James.
West	Henderson, Alexander.

SUFFOLK (5)

North-East, or Eye	Stevenson, F. S.
North, or Lowestoft	Lucas, Col. F. A.
North-West, or Stowmarket	Malcolm, Ian.
South-East, or Woodbridge	Pretyman, Capt. E. G.
South, or Sudbury	Quilter, Sir Cuthbert, Bart.

SURREY (6)

Kingston	Skewes-Cox, T.
Mid, or Epsom	Keswick, W.
North-East, or Wimbledon	Hambro, C. E.
North-West, or Chertsey	Leigh-Bennett, H. C.
South-East, or Reigate	Cubitt, Hon. Henry.
South-West, or Guildford	Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John.

SUSSEX (6)

East, or Rye	Brookfield, A. M.
Mid, or Lewes	Fletcher, Sir Hy., Bt.
North, or East Grinstead	Goschen, G. J., jun.
North-West, or Horsham	Johnstone, J. H.
South, or Eastbourne	Hogg, L.
South-West, or Chichester	Talbot, Lord Edmund.

WARWICKSHIRE (4)

North-East, or Nuneaton	Newdigate, F. A.
North, or Tamworth	Muntz, P. A.
South-East, or Rugby	Grant, Corrie.
South-West, or Stratford-on-Avon	Milward, Col. Victor.

WESTMORELAND (2)

North, or Appleby	Rigg, R.
South, or Kendal	Bagot, Capt. J. F.

WILTSHIRE (5)

East, or Devizes	Goulding, E. A.
North, or Cricklade	Fitzmaurice, Lord E. G. Petty.
North-West, or Chippenham	Dickson-Poynder, Sir J. P., Bt.
South, or Wilton	Morrison, Lt. J. A.
West, or Westbury	Fuller, J. M. F.

WORCESTERSHIRE (5)	
East	Chamberlain, J. Austen
Mid, or Droitwich	Martin, R. Biddulph.
North	Wilson, J. W.
South, or Evesham	Long, Col. C. Wigram.
West, or Bewdley	Baldwin, Alfred.

YORKSHIRE, EAST RIDING (3)	
Buckrose	White, L.
Holderness	Wilson, A. S.
Howdenshire	Wilson-Todd, W. H.

YORKSHIRE, NORTH RIDING (4)	
Cleveland	Pease, A. E.
Richmond	Hutton, John.
Thirsk and Malton	Lawson, J. Grant.
Whitby	Beckett, E. W.

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (N.) (5)	
Elland	Trevelyan, C. P.
Keighley	Brigg, John.
Shipley	Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue.
Skipton	Thomson, F. W.
Sowerby	Mellor, Rt. Hon. J. W.

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (S.) (8)	
Barnsley	Walton, Joseph.
Colne Valley	Kitson, Sir J. B., Bt.
Doncaster	Fison, F. W.
Hallamshire	Mappin, Sir F. T., Bt.
Holmfirth	Wilson, H. J.
Morley	Hutton, A. E.
Normanton	Pickard, B.
Rotherham	Holland, H. W.

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (E.) (6)	
Barkston Ash	Gunter, Col. R.
Osgoldcross	Austin, Sir John, Bt.
Otley	Duncan, J. H.
Pudsey	Whiteley, G.
Ripon	Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd.
Spen Valley	Whittaker, T. P.

ENGLAND METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS (62 Members).

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM (2)	
Battersea	Burns, John.
Clapham	Thornton, Percy M.

BETHNAL GREEN (2)	
North-East	Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
South-West	Ridley, S. F.

CAMBERWELL (3)	
Dulwich	Maple, Sir J. Blundell
North	Macnamara, T. J.
Peckham	Banbury, F. G.

CHELSEA (1)	Whitmore, C. A.

Croydon (1)	Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T.
Deptford (1)	Morton, A. H. A.
Finsbury (3)	
Central	Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B.
East	Richards, H. C.
Holborn	Remnant, J. R.
Fulham (1)	Fisher, W. Hayes
Greenwich (1)	Cecil, Lord Hugh R. H.
Hackney (3)	
Central	Allhusen, A. H. E.
North	Bousfield, W. R.
South	Robertson, T. H.
Hammersmith (1)	Bull, W. J.
Hampstead (1)	Hoare, E. Brodie.
Islington (4)	
East	Cohen, B. L.
North	Bartley, G. C. T.
South	Rollit, Sir A. K.
West	Lough, Thomas.
Kensington (2)	
North	Sharpe, W. E. T.
South	Percy, Earl.
Lambeth (4)	
Brixton	Mowbray, Sir R. G., Bt.
Kennington	Cook, F. L.
North	Horner, F. W.
Norwood	Tritton, C. E.
Lewisham (1)	Penn, John
London, City (2)	Dimsdale, Sir J. C. Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Marylebone (2)	
East...	Boulnois, Edmund
West	Scott, Sir S. E., Bt.
Newington (2)	
Walworth	Bailey, Jas.
West	Norton, Capt. C. W.
Paddington (2)	
North	Aird, John.
South	Fardell, Sir T. G.
St. George's, Hanover Square (1)	Legge, Col. Hon. H.
St. Pancras (4)	
East	Wrightson, Sir Thos., Bt.
North	Moon, E. R. P.
South	Jessel, Capt. H. M.
West	Graham, H. R.
Shoreditch (2)	
Haggerston	Cremer, W. R.
Hoxton	Hay, Hon. C. G. D.

SOUTHWARK (3)	
Bermondsey	Cust, H. J. C
Rotherhithe	Macdona, J. Cumming
West	Causton, R. K.
STRAND (1)	Smith, Hon. W. F. D.
TOWER HAMLETS (7)	
Bow and Bromley	Guthrie, W. M.
Limehouse	Samuel, Harry S.
Mile End	Charrington, Spencer
Poplar	Buxton, Sydney C.
St. George s	Dewar, T. R.
Stepney	Gordon, Major W. E. E.
Whitechapel	Samuel, S. M.
WANDSWORTH (1)	Kimber, Hy.
WEST HAM (2)	
North	Gray, Ernest.
South	Banes, Major G. E.
WESTMINSTER (1)	Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ashmead B.
WOOLWICH (1)	Hughes, Col. Edwin.

ENGLAND—PROVINCIAL CITIES AND BOROUGHS (164 Members).

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE (1)	Whiteley, H. J.
ASTON MANOR (1)	Cecil, E.
BARROW-IN-FURNESS (1).	Cayzer, Sir C. W.
BATH, CITY (2)	Murray, Col. C. Wyndham. Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R.
BEDFORD (1)	Pym, C. Guy.
BIRKENHEAD (1)	Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt.
BIRMINGHAM, CITY (7)	
Bordesley	Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse.
Central	Parkes, Ebenezer.
East	Stone, Sir J. Benjamin.
Edgbaston	Lowe, F. W.
North	Middlemore, J. T.
South	Williams, J. Powell-.
West	Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph
BLACKBURN (2)	Hornby, Sir W. H., Bt. Coddington, Sir W., Bt.
BOLTON (2)	Cross, H. S. Harwood, G.
BOSTON (1)	Garfit, W.
BRADFORD, CITY (3)	
Central	Wanklyn, J. L.
East	Greville, Capt. Hon. R. H. Fulke.
West	Flower, Ernest S. F.
BRIGHTON (2)	Loder, Gerald W. E. Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-.

Bristol, City (4)	
East	Hobhouse, C. E. H.
North	Wills, Sir F.
South	Long, Rt. Hon. W. H.
West	Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H., Bt.
Burnley (1)	Mitchell, W.
Bury (1)	Kenyon, Jas.
Bury St. Edmunds (1)	Greene, Sir E. W., Bt.
Cambridge (1)	FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose-, Bt.
Canterbury, City (1)	Heaton, J. Henniker.
Carlisle, City (1)	Gully, Rt. Hon. W. C. (Speaker)
Chatham (1)	Davies, Sir Horatio D.
Cheltenham (1)	Agg-Gardner, J, T.
Chester, City (1)	Yerburgh, R. A.
Christchurch (1)	Balfour, Major K. R.
Colchester (1)	Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt.
Coventry (1)	Murray, C. J.
Darlington (1)	Pease, Herbt. P.
Derby (2)	Roe, Sir T. Bell, R.
Devonport (2)	Kearley, H. E. Morton, E. J. C.
Dewsbury (1)	Oldroyd, Mark.
Dover (1)	Wyndham, George.
Dudley (1)	Robinson, Brooke.
Durham, City (1)	Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D.
Exeter, City (1)	Vincent, Sir E.
Gateshead (1)	Allan, William.
Gloucester, City (1)	Rea, R.
Grantham (1)	Priestley, A.
Gravesend (1)	Parker, H. G. G.
Grimsby, Great (1)	Doughty, G.
Halifax (2)	Crossley, Sir S. B. Whiteley, J. H.
Hanley (1)	Heath, A. H.
Hartlepool (1)	Furness, Sir C.
Hastings (1)	Thomas, Capt. F. F.
Hereford, City (1)	Arkwright, J. S.
Huddersfield (1)	Woodhouse, Sir J. T.

HULL, CITY (3	
Central	King, Sir H. Seymour.
East	Firbank, J. T.
West	Wilson, C. H.
HYTHE (1)	Sassoon, Sir Edward A., Bt.
IPSWICH (2)	Goddard, D. F. Dalrymple, Sir Chas., Bt.
KIDDERMINSTER (1)	Godson, Sir Augustus F.
LEEDS, CITY (5)	
Central	Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.
East	Cautley, H. S.
North	Jackson, Rt. Hon. W. L.
South	Walton, John Lawson
West	Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J.
LEICESTER (2)	Broadhurst, Henry. Rolleston, Sir J. F. L.
LINCOLN, CITY (1)	Seely, C. H.
LIVERPOOL, CITY (9)	
Abercromby	Lawrence, W. F.
East Toxteth	Warr, A. F.
Everton	Willox, Sir J. A.
Exchange	M'Arthur, Charles.
Kirkdale	MacIver, David.
Scotland	O'Connor, T. P.
Walton	Stock, J. H.
West Derby	Higginbottom, S. W.
West Toxteth	Houston, R. P.
LYNN REGIS (1)	Bowles, T. Gibson.
MAIDSTONE (1)	Barker, J.
MANCHESTER, CITY (6)	
East	Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.
North	Schwann, C. E.
North-East	Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J., Bt.
North-West	Houldsworth, Sir W. H., Bt.
South	Peel, Hon. W. R. W.
South-West	Galloway, W. J.
MIDDLESBROUGH (1)	Sadler, Col. S. A.
MONMOUTH DISTRICT (1)	Harris, Dr. Rutherfoord.
MORPETH (1)	Burt, Thomas.
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME (1)	Haslam, Sir A. S.
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, CITY (2)	Plummer, W. R. Renwick, G.
NORTHAMPTON (2)	Labouchere, Henry. Shipman, Dr. J. G.
NORWICH, CITY (2)	Hoare, Sir Samuel, Bt Bullard, Sir Harry.

NOTTINGHAM, CITY (3)	
East	Bond, Edward.
South	Bentinck, Lord H. C
West	Yoxall, J, H.
OLDHAM (2)	Emmott, Alfred. Churchill, W. L. S.
OXFORD, CITY (1)	Valentia, Viscount.
PENRYN AND FALMOUTH (1)	Horniman, F. J.
PLYMOUTH (2)	Duke, H. E. Guest, Hon. I. C.
PONTEFRACT (1)...	Nussey, T. Willans.
PORTSMOUTH (2)	Majendie, J. H. A. Lucas, R. J.
PRESTON (2)	Hanbury, Rt. Hon. R. W Tomlinson, W. E. M.
READING (1)	Palmer, G. W.
ROCHDALE (1)	Royds, Col. C. M.
ROCHESTER, CITY (1)	Cranborne, Viscount.
ST. HELENS (1)	Seton-Karr, Henry.
SALFORD (3)	
North	Platt-Higgins, F.
South	Groves, J. G.
West	Knowles, Lees.
SALISBURY, CITY (1)	Palmer, W.
SCARBOROUGH (1)	Rickett, J. Compton.
SHEFFIELD, CITY (5)	
Attercliffe	Langley, Batty.
Brightside	Maddison, F.
Central	Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard.
Ecclesall	Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis.
Hallam	Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-.
SHREWSBURY (1)	Greene, H. D.
SOUTHAMPTON (2)	Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. Chamberlayne, T.
SOUTH SHIELDS (1)	Robson, W. S.
STAFFORD (1)	Shaw, T. F. C. E.
STALYBRIDGE (1)	Ridley, M. White.
STOCKPORT (2)	Leigh, Sir Joseph. Melville, B. V.
STOCKTON (1)	Ropner, Col. E. H. O. R.
STOKE-UPON-TRENT (1)...	Coghill, D. H.
SUNDERLAND (2)	Doxford, Sir W. T. Pemberton, J. S. G.

Taunton (1)	Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E.
Tynemouth (1)	Harris, F. L.
Wakefield, City (1)	Milton, Viscount.
Walsall (1)	Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D., Bt.
Warrington (1)	Pierpoint, Robert.
Warwick and Leamington (1)	Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred.
Wednesbury (1)	Green, W. D.
West Bromwich (1)	Spencer, J. Ernest.
Whitehaven (1)	Helder, Augustus.
Wigan (1)	Powell, Sir F. S., Bt.
Winchester, City (1)	Myers, W. H.
Windsor (1)	Barry, Sir F. T., Bt.
Wolverhampton (3)	
East	Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H.
South	Norman, H.
West	Hickman, Sir Alfred
Worcester, City (1)	Allsopp, Hon. G. H.
Yarmouth, Great (1)	Colomb, Sir John C. R.
York, City (2)	Butcher, J. G. Faber, G. D.

WALES COUNTIES (19 Members).

Anglesey (1)	Griffith, Ellis J.
Brecknockshire (1)	Morley, Charles.
Cardiganshire (1)	Davies, M. L. Vaughan.
Carmarthenshire (2)	
East	Thomas, Abel.
West	Morgan, J. Lloyd.
Carnarvonshire (2)	
North or Arfon	Jones, William.
South or Eifion	Roberts, J. Bryn
Denbighshire (2)	
East	Moss, Samuel.
West	Roberts, J. H.
Flintshire (1)	Smith, Samuel.
Glamorganshire (5)	
East	Thomas, Alfred.
Mid	Evans, S. T.
Rhondda	Abraham, William.
South	Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
West, or Gower	Thomas, J. A.
Merionethshire (1)	Williams, A. O.

Montgomeryshire (1)	Humphreys-Owen, A. C.
Pembrokeshire (1)	Philipps, J. Wynford.
Radnorshire (1)	Edwards, F.

WALES—BOROUGHS (11 Members).

Cardiff District (1)	Reed, Sir E. J.
Carmarthen District (1)	Davies, Alfred.
Carnarvon District (1)	Lloyd-George, David.
Denbigh District (1)	Kenyon, Hon. G. T.
Flint District (1)	Lewis, J. H.
Merthyr Tydvil (2)	Thomas, D. A. Hardie, J. Keir.
Montgomery District (1)	Pryce-Jones Lieut -Col. E.
Pembroke and Haverfordwest District (1)	Laurie, Lieut.-Col. J. W.
Swansea (2).	
District	Jones, D. Brynmor.
Town	Newnes, Sir G.

SCOTLAND—COUNTIES (39 Members).

Aberdeenshire (2)	
East	Maconachie, A. W.
West	Farquharson, Dr. R.
Argyllshire (1)	Nicol, Donald N.
Ayrshire (2)	
North	Cochrane, Hon. T. H.
South	Arrol, Sir William.
Banffshire (1)	Black, A. W.
Berwickshire (1)	Tennant, H. J.
Buteshire (1)	Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham.
Caithness-shire (1)	Harmsworth, R. L.
Clackmannan and Kinross (1)	Wason, Eugene.
Dumbartonshire (1)	Wylie, Alexander.
Dumfriesshire (1)	Maxwell, W. J. H.
Edinburgh (Midlothian) (1)	Murray, Hon. A. W. C. O.
Elgin and Nairn (1)	Gordon, Hon. J. E.
Fifeshire (2)	
East	Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H.
West	Hope, J. D.
Forfarshire (1)	Sinclair, Capt. J.

Haddingtonshire (1)	Haldane, R. B
Inverness-shire (1)	Dewar, J. A.
Kincardineshire (1)	Crombie, J. W.
Kirkcudbrightshire (1)	Stewart, Sir Mark J. McT., Bt.
Lanarkshire (6)	
Govan	Craig, R. H.
Mid	Caldwell, J.
North-East	Colville, J.
North-West	Douglas, C. M.
Partick	Smith, J. Parker.
South	Hozier, Hon. J. H. C.
Linlithgowshire (1)	Ure, Alex.
Orkney and Shetland (1)	Wason, J. C.
Peebles and Selkirk (1)	Thorburn, Sir Walter.
Perthshire (2)	
East	Kinloch, Sir J. G. S., Bt.
West	Stroyan, J.
Renfrewshire (2)	
East	Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
West	Renshaw, C. B
Ross and Cromarty (1)	Weir, J. G.
Roxburghshire (1)	Dalkeith, Earl of.
Stirlingshire (1)	McKillop, J.
Sutherlandshire (1)	Leveson-Gower F. S.
Wigtonshire (1)	Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E., Bt.

SCOTLAND—CITIES AND BURGHS (31 Members).

Aberdeen, City (2)	
North	Pirie, D. V.
South	Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Ayr District (1)	Orr-Ewing, C. L.
Dumfries District (1)	Reid, Sir R. T.
Dundee (2)	Robertson, Edmund. Leng, Sir John.
Edinburgh, City (4)	
Central	Brown, G. M.
East	McCrae, George.
South	Agnew, Sir A. N., Bt.
West	McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt
Elgin District (1)	Asher, Alexander.
Falkirk District (1)	Wilson, John.

Glasgow, City (7)	
Blackfriars and Hutchesontown	Law, A. B.
Bridgeton	Dickson, C. S.
Camlachie	Cross, Alexander.
Central	Baird, J. G. A.
College	Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M., Bt.
St. Rollox	Wilson, John.
Tradeston	Corbett, A. Cameron.
Greenock (1)	Reid, James.
Hawick District (1)	Shaw, Thomas.
Inverness District (1)	Finlay, Sir R. B.
Kilmarnock District (1)	Denny, Col. J. McA.
Kirkcaldy District (1)	Dalziel, J. H.
Leith District (1)	Ferguson, R. C. Munro.
Montrose District (1)	Morley, Rt. Hon. J.
Paisley (1)	Dunn, Sir Wm., Bt.
Perth City (1)	Wallace, Robert.
St. Andrews District (1)	Anstruther, H. T.
Stirling District (1)	Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Wick District (1)	Bignold, Arthur.

IRELAND COUNTIES (85 Members).

Antrim (4)	
East	McCalmont, Col. J.
Mid	O'Neill, Hon. R. T.
North	Moore, William.
South	Macartney, W. G. E
Armagh County (3)	
Mid	Lonsdale, J. B.
North	Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J
South	Campbell, J.
Carlow County (1)	Hammond, John.
Cavan (2)	
East	Young, Samuel.
West	McGovern, Thos.
Clare (2)	
East	Redmond, W. H. K.
West	Jameson, Major J. E.
Cork, County (7)	
East	Donelan, Captain A. J. C.
Mid	Tanner, Dr. C. K. D.
North	Flynn, J. C.
North-East	Abraham, Wm.
South	Barry, Edward.
South-East	Crean, Eugene.
West	Gilhooly, J.

Donegal (4)	
East	McFadden, E.
North	O'Doherty, W.
South	MacNeill, J. G. Swift.
West	Boyle, James.
Down (4)	
East	Rentoul, J. A.
North	Corbett, T. L.
South	M'Cartan, Michael.
West	Hill, Captain Arthur.
Dublin, County (2)	
North	Clancy, J. J.
South	Mooney, J. J.
Fermanagh (2)	
North	Archdale, E. M.
South	Jordan, Jeremiah.
Galway, County (4)	
Connemara	O'Malley, William.
East	Roche, John.
North	Nolan, Col. J. P.
South	Duffy, W. J.
Kerry (4)	
East	Murphy, J.
North	Flavin, M. J.
South	Boland, J. P.
West	O'Donnell, Thos.
Kildare (2)	
North	Leamy, Edmund.
South	Minch, Matthew J.
Kilkenny County (2)	
North	M'Dermott, Patrick.
South	O'Mara, James.
King's County (2)	
Birr	Reddy, Michael.
Tullamore	Burke, E. H.
Leitrim (2)	
North	M'Hugh, Patrick A.
South	Tully, Jasper.
Limerick, County (2)	
East	Lundon, Wm.
West	O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Londonderry, County (2)	
North	Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John.
South	Gordon, J.
Longford, County (2)	
North	Farrell, J. P.
South	Blake, Edward.
Louth (2)	
North	Healy, T. M.
South	Nolan, Joseph.

MAYO (4)	
East	Dillon, John.
North	O'Kelly, Conor.
South	O'Donnell, John.
West	Ambrose, Robert.
MEATH (2)	
North	White, Patrick.
South	Carew, J. L.
MONAGHAN (2)	
North	Macaleese, Daniel.
South	Daly, Jas.
QUEEN'S COUNTY (2)	
Leix...	MacDonnell, Dr. M. A.
Ossory	Delany, William.
ROSCOMMON (2)	
North	O'Kelly, Jas.
South	Hayden, J. P.
SLIGO, COUNTY (2)	
North	McKillop, W.
South	O'Dowd, John.
TIPPERARY (4)	
East	Condon, T. J.
Mid...	O'Brien, K. E.
North	O'Brien, P. J.
South	Cullinan, John.
TYRONE (4)	
East	Doogan, P. C.
Mid...	Murnaghan, George.
North	Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. H.
South	Russell, T. W.
WATERFORD, COUNTY (2)	
East	Power, P. J.
West	Shee, J. J.
WESTMEATH (2)	
North	Kennedy, P. J.
South	Sullivan, Donal.
WEXFORD (2)	
North	Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
South	Ffrench, Peter.
WICKLOW (2)	
East	Cogan, Denis J.
West	O'Connor, James.

IRELAND—CITIES AND BOROUGHS (16 Members)

BELFAST, CITY (4)	
East	Wolff, G. W.
North	Haslett, Sir Jas. H.
South	Johnston, Wm.
West	Arnold-Forster, H. O.
CORK, CITY (2)...	O'Brien, J. F. X. O'Brien, William.

DUBLIN, CITY (4)	
College Green	Nannetti, J. P.
Dublin Harbour	Harrington, T.
St. Patrick's	Field, William.
St. Stephen's Green	McCann, James.
GALWAY, TOWN (1)	Morris, Hon. M. H. F.
KILKENNY (1)	O'Brien, Patrick.
LIMERICK, CITY (1)	Joyce, Michael.
LONDONDERRY, CITY (1)	Hamilton, Capt. the Marquess of
NEWRY (1)	Carvill, P. G. H.
WATERFORD (1)	Redmond, J. E.

UNIVERSITIES (9 Members).

ENGLAND :—	
Cambridge University (2)	Jebb, Sir R. C. Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.
London University (1)	Foster, Sir Michael.
Oxford University (2)	Anson, Sir W. R., Bart. Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G.
SCOTLAND :—	
Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities (1)	Tuke, Sir J. Batty.
Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities (1)	Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A.
IRELAND :—	
Dublin University (2)	Carson, Rt. Hon. E. H. Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. E. H.

SUMMARY.

	No. of Members.	
ENGLAND		
Counties	234	
Metropolitan Boroughs	62	
Provincial Cities and Boroughs	164	
		460
WALES		
Counties	19	
Boroughs	11	
		30
SCOTLAND		
Counties	39	
Cities and Burghs	31	
		70
IRELAND		
Counties	85	
Cities and Boroughs	16	
		101
UNIVERSITIES		
England	5	
Scotland	2	
Ireland	2	
		9
Total number of Members		670

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME LXXXIX.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION, 1901.

THE *SECOND SESSION* OF THE *TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

HOUSE OF LORDS: WEDNESDAY, 23RD JANUARY, 1901.

Page

House met, on the occasion of the Demise of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, pursuant to the Act of 6 Anne c. 7 1

The Lord Chancellor, singly, in the first place, took the Oath at the Table .. 1

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, singly, took the Oath 1

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, singly, took the Oath 1

Several Lords took the Oath.

The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell sat first in Parliament after the death of his father 1

House adjourned at Five of the Clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 23RD JANUARY, 1901.

The House met at Four of the Clock.

Mr. Speaker, and several other Members, came to the House of Commons this day, where Mr. Speaker alone, and then the other Members present, took the Oath, and several Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law 2

NEW MEMBER SWORN.—Henry Wilson Worsley-Taylor, esquire, Q.C., for North Lancashire (Blackpool Division) 3

ADJOURNMENT.—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn" —(*Mr. Anstruther*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at Five minutes after Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 24TH JANUARY, 1901.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR IRELAND.—Writs and Returns electing the Lord Dunboyne a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the Lord Oranmore and Browne, deceased, with the Certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto. Delivered (on oath), and Certificate read .. 5

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, singly, took the Oath 5

The Earl of Radnor sat first in Parliament after the death of his father 5

Several Lords took the Oath.

House adjourned at Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 24TH JANUARY, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and two other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law 6

ADJOURNMENT.—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Mr. Anstruther*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at ten minutes before Six of the Clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 25TH JANUARY, 1901.

Several Lords took the Oath.

The Earl of Harrowby sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.—Delivered by the Marquess of Salisbury and read by the Lord Chancellor 7

The Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 7
The Earl of Kimberley 11

Moved:—

"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty; to assure His Majesty, That this House deeply sympathises in the great sorrow which His Majesty has sustained by the death of our beloved Sovereign the late Queen, whose unfailing devotion to the duties of Her high estate and to the welfare of Her people will ever cause Her Reign to be remembered with reverence and affection; to submit to His Majesty our respectful congratulations on His accession to the Throne; to assure His Majesty of our loyal attachment to His person; and, further, to assure Him of our earnest conviction that His Reign will be distinguished, under the blessing of Providence, by an anxious desire to maintain the Laws of the Kingdom, and to promote the happiness and liberty of his subjects."

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 15

On Question, agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*, and ordered accordingly: The said Message to be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that he had received messages of sympathy on the death of the late Queen from the Roumanian Senate and the Greek Chamber of Deputies 17

The same were ordered to be entered on the Journals of the House.

Judicial Business.—Ordered, That for the purpose of the Judicial Business of the House, Thursday, the 14th day of February next, be deemed the "first sitting day of the next ensuing Meeting of the House" 17

House adjourned at ten minutes past Five of the clock to Thursday, the 14th of February next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 25TH JANUARY, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and one other Member made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Mr. Speaker informed the House that he had received the following Telegrams of Condolence with the British Nation in the loss it had sustained by the death of Her late Majesty from the President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Hellenes, from the President of the Chamber of Deputies of Roumania, and from the President of the National Assembly of Servia 18

Message from the King respecting the Death of Her late Majesty.—Mr. Balfour (at the Bar) acquainted the House that he had a Message from His Majesty the King to this House signed by His Majesty's own hand. And he presented the same to the House, and it was read by Mr. Speaker (all the Members of the House being uncovered) 19

Address in Reply to the King's Message:—

The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 19

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 23

Resolution proposed:—

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty that this House deeply sympathises in the great sorrow which His Majesty has sustained by the death of our beloved Sovereign, the late Queen, whose

January 25.] *Page*

unfailing devotion to the duties of Her high estate and to the welfare of Her people will ever cause Her reign to be remembered with reverence and affection : to submit to His Majesty our respectful congratulations on His Accession to the Throne, to assure His Majesty of our loyal attachment to His person, and further to assure Him of our earnest conviction that His reign will be distinguished under the blessing of Providence by an anxious desire to maintain the Laws of the Kingdom, and to promote the happiness and liberty of His subjects."

Resolution agreed to, *nemine contradicente*. To be presented by Privy Councillors and Members of His Majesty's household.

ADJOURNMENT.—Motion made, and Question, " That this House do now adjourn till Thursday, the 14th February "—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at ten minutes after Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

THE KING, being seated on the Throne, and the Commons being at the Bar with their Speaker, His Majesty made and subscribed the Declaration against Trans-substantiation pursuant to the Bill of Rights, and afterwards made a most gracious Speech to both Houses, and then retired.

King's Speech 27

Several Lords took the Oath.

SAT FIRST.—The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell sat first in Parliament after the death of his father. The Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father. The Lord Leconfield sat first in Parliament after the death of his father. The Lord Berwick sat first in Parliament after the death of his uncle 30

ROLL OF THE LORDS.—Norroy King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a list of the Lords temporal in the Second Session of the Twenty-seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom. The same was ordered to lie on the Table 30

INTRODUCED.—Frederick Sleigh Baron Roberts of Kandahar, K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., V.C., Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces, lately Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief the forces in South Africa, having been created Viscount St. Pierre and Earl Roberts of Kandahar in Afghanistan and Pretoria in the Transvaal Colony, and of the city of Waterford, was (in the usual manner) introduced. The Right Honourable George Joachim Goschen having been created Viscount Goschen of Hawkhurst, in the county of Kent, was (in the usual manner) introduced. The Right Honourable Sir Matthew White Ridley, Baronet, having been created Baron Wensleydale of Blagdon and Blyth, both in the county of Northumberland, and Viscount Ridley, was (in the usual manner) introduced 30

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR IRELAND.—Writs and Returns electing the Earl of Westmeath a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the late Baron Farnham, deceased, with the certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto. Delivered (on oath), and Certificate read 30

SELECT VESTRIES.—Bill, pro formâ, read 1ª 30

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH:—

The Marquess of Waterford 30
Earl Manvers 34

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne."—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

The Earl of Kimberley 37
The Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 43

On Question, agreed to. Address agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*, and ordered to be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

The Earl of Morley appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this session.

Committee for Privileges appointed 49

Committee for the Journals appointed 49

Stoppages in the Streets—Order to prevent, renewed 49

Appeal Committee appointed 49

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by Her Majesty had been presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Order of the House of the 17th February, 1896, viz.:—

COLONIES (ANNUAL) REPORTS.—No. 308. Leeward Islands, 1899 (18th December); No. 309. St. Helena, 1899 (19th December); No. 310. British Honduras, 1899; No. 311. St. Lucia, 1899 (20th December); No. 312. St. Vincent, 1899 (8th January); No. 313. Basutoland, 1899–1900 (8th January); No. 314. Hong Kong, 1899 (21st January); No. 315. Southern Nigeria, 1899–1900 (29th January); No. 316. Grenada, 1899 (30th January) 50

INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 TO 1899.—Twentieth Report of the Inspectors of Retreats, and the First Report of the Inspector of Certified Reformatories under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, for the year 1899. (19th December) 50

February 14.] *Page*

EXPLOSIVES (EXPLOSION AT GUNPOWDER FACTORY AT BLACKBECK, LANCASHIRE). —Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion which destroyed the corning house of Messrs. F. C. Dickson and Company's gunpowder factory at Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on the 27th August, 1900. (19th December) 50

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance :—No. 2542. China (Ssumao and Mengtse) ; No. 2543. Belgium and the Port of Antwerp (29th December) ; No. 2544. Japan (Tainan) ; No. 2545. Somali Coast Protectorate (9th January) ; No. 2546. Mexico ; No. 2547. Denmark (19th January) ; No. 2548. Russia (Agriculture of the Odessa district for the year 1900) (22nd January) ; No. 2549. Egypt (Trade for the year 1899 and half of 1900) (30th January); No. 2550. Italy (Trade of Southern Italy for the year 1900) (7th February) ; No. 2551. Estimates of the German Empire, 1901 ; No. 2552. Austria-Hungary (Bosnia and the Herzegovina) ; No. 2553. Servia (February 9th) 50

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).—Reports on Subjects of General and Commercial Interest :—No. 545. Cold Storage and Refrigeration in Chicago (21st December) ; No. 546. Preparation of French Plums (3rd January) ; No. 547. Brazil (State of Maranhao) (7th February) 51

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) ACT, 1898 (LIGHT DUES).—Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from light dues or for alteration of existing scale or rules. II. Appendix. (3rd January) .. 51

TREATY SERIES.—No. 1 (1901) : Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany relative to China, 16th October, 1900 (4th January) ; No. 2 (1901) : Convention between the United Kingdom and Japan for the protection of the estates of deceased persons. Signed at Tokio, 26th April, 1900. Ratification exchanged at Tokio, 25th October, 1900 (19th January)] 51

MINES AND QUARRIES (GENERAL REPORT AND STATISTICS FOR 1899)—Part IV. Colonial and Foreign Statistics.—Statistics relating to persons employed, output, and accidents at mines and quarries in the British colonies and in Foreign countries. (16th January) 51

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).—Return by railway companies of the United Kingdom for the six months ending the 30th June, 1900. (16th January) 51

IRISH INLAND FISHERIES.—Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the present condition of inland fisheries in Ireland, and the laws relating thereto. (16th January) 52

MILITARY HOSPITALS IN SOUTH AFRICA (ROYAL COMMISSION).—I. Report of the Royal Commission appointed to consider and report upon the care and treatment of the sick and wounded during the South African Campaign. (18th January). II. Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission. (21st January). III. Appendix to minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission. (21st January) 52

February 14.] *Page*

CROFTER COLONISATION.—Eleventh Report of the Commissioners appointed to carry out a scheme of colonisation in the Dominion of Canada of crofters and cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland; with appendices. (26th January) 52

SOUTH AFRICA.—South African Despatches. (7th February) 52

EPIDEMIC OF ARSENICAL POISONING.—Report to the Local Government Board on the recent epidemic of arsenical poisoning attributed to beer, by Dr. George Seaton Buchanan. (8th February) 52

AFRICA, NO. 1 (1901).—Return of the names of the British and American firms who tendered for the supply of certain bridges for the Uganda Railway, and the amounts of the various tenders. (9th February) 52

COMMERCIAL, NO. 1 (1901).—Reports from His Majesty's representatives abroad on the Metric System. Part II. (12th February) 52

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).—Return of evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1900 52

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES (IRELAND).—Return of the number of agrarian outrages which were reported to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary during the quarter ended 31st December, 1900 53

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (JUDICIAL RENTS).—Returns for—I. The month of May, 1900. II. The month of June, 1900 53

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.—Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of—

1. A light railway in the county of Gloucester, between Wotton-under-Edge and Charfield.
2. A light railway in the county of Northumberland, between Gosforth and Ponteland.
3. Light railways in the parish and urban district of Rhyl, in the county of Flint, in extension of the light railway authorised by the Rhyl and Prestatyn Light Railway Order, 1900.
4. Light railways in the county of Cambridge, in the parishes of Oakington, Westwick, and Cottenham.
5. A light railway in the county of Suffolk, from Long Melford to Hadleigh.
6. Light railways in the urban district of Sheerness and in the parish of Minster, in Sheppey, in the rural district of Sheppey, in the county of Kent.

February 14.] Page

7. A light railway in the county of Southampton, from Bishop's Waltham to a junction with the authorised Meon Valley Railway near Brock Bridge, in the parish of Soberton.

8. A light railway in the county of Southampton, from Whitchurch and Hurstbourne Stations to Vernhams Dean 53

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LUNACY.—Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made and the number of patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ended 31st December, 1900 53

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.—Rules of the Supreme Court, January, 1901 54

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899 (RULES).—I. Rules under Section 3 of the Act. II. Amended rules for the administration of loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 54

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE ACT (IRELAND) 1877 (RULE).—Orders in Council—I. Dated 30th January, 1901, giving effect to a rule of court. II. Dated 28th December, 1900, giving effect to rules of court 54

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Time-table of Examinations for the year 1901 54

PUBLIC RECORDS.—Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents in the office of the clerk of the peace for the county of Denbigh which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office 54

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).—Return of all loans raised in India under the provisions of any Acts of Parliament chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 30th September, 1900, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc. 54

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNION OF BENEFICES (METROPOLIS) ACT, 1860.—Scheme for the union of the Benefices of All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 1.) .. 54

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that he had received through the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a translation of a Note from the Italian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, reporting that the Italian Senate adjourned its sitting on the 23rd ultimo as a sign of mourning for Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and desired that heartfelt condolences of the Chamber on the sad event should be communicated to the House of Lords 54

House adjourned at half-past Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

The House met at a quarter before Two of the clock.

Message to attend His Majesty.

The House went; and, being returned, several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING (DEATH OF HER LATE MAJESTY AND ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY).—The Comptroller of the Household reported His Majesty's Answer to the Address [25th January] 55

Mr. Speaker informed the House that he had received communications expressing condolence with the British Nation in the loss it had sustained by the death of Her late Majesty from the Hungarian House of Representatives, the Italian Chamber of Deputies, and the Chamber of Deputies of the Republic of Uruguay Montevideo 56

NEW WRIT.—For the County of Lancaster (South-East Lancashire, Stretford Division), in the room of Sir John William Maclure, baronet, deceased.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) 56

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.—Mr. Speaker further informed the House that he had received communications from the Judges appointed to try the several Election Petitions—Christchurch Election Petition, Pembroke Election Petition, and Wick Burghs Election Petition.

ELECTIONS:—

Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their election for which of the places they will serve within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the Return for that place; and if anything shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all Members returned upon double Returns do withdraw till their Returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed—

"That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidiate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'Kingdom,' in line 2, to the word 'for,' in line 8."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

Mr. Wharton (*York, W.R., Ripon*) formally seconded the Amendment.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Liverpool, Scotland*) 59

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 326 ; Noes, 123. (Division List No. 1.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peers shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected ; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by Bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such Bribery or other corrupt practices 64

WITNESSES :—

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any Witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanour ; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender. Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender .. 65

METROPOLITAN POLICE.—Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts ; and that the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid 66

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.—Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker ; and that he do appoint the printing thereof ; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same 66

February 14.]

Page

PRIVILEGES.—Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed 67

OUTLAWRIES BILL.—"For the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time 67

JOURNAL :—

Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last session to the end of the present session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 500 copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Archibald John Scott Milman, esquire, C.B., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and that no other person do presume to print the same 67

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Royal Command during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of 14th August, 1896 :—

1. Trade Reports (Annual Series). —Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2542 to 2553.
2. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 545 to 547.
3. Treaty Series (No. 1, 1901).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany relative to China; dated 16th October, 1900.
4. Treaty Series (No. 2, 1901).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and Japan for the protection of the Estates of Deceased Persons. Signed at Tokio, 26th April, 1900. Ratifications exchanged at Tokio, 25th October, 1900.
5. Metric System (Foreign Countries) (Commercial, No. 1, 1901).—Copy of Reports from Her late Majesty's Representatives in Europe on the Metric System, Part II.
6. Africa (No. 1, 1901).—Copy of Return of the Names of the British and American Firms who tendered for the supply of certain Bridges for the Uganda Railway, and the Amounts of the Various Tenders.
7. South Africa (Despatches).—Copy of Despatches relating to the War in South Africa.
8. Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copies of Reports Nos. 308 (Leeward Islands, Annual Report for 1899), 309 (St. Helena, Annual Report for 1899), 310 (British Honduras, Annual Report for 1899), 311 (St. Lucia, Annual Report for 1899), 312 (St. Vincent, Annual Report for 1899), 313 (Basutoland, Annual Report for 1899–1900), 315 (Southern Nigeria, Annual Report for 1899–1900), 316 (Grenada, Annual Report for 1899).
9. Explosions (Gunpowder Factory at Blackbeck, Lancashire).—Copy of Report by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, Her late Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an explosion which destroyed the Corning House of Messrs. F. C. Dickson and Company's Gunpowder Factory at Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on the 27th August, 1900.

February 14.] *Page*

10. Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899.—Copy of Twentieth Report of the Inspectors of Retreats, and the First Report of the Inspector of Certified Reformatories, under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, for the year 1899.

11. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1899, Part IV., Colonial and Foreign Statistics; Statistics relating to Persons employed, Output, and Accidents at Mines and Quarries in the British Colonies and in Foreign Countries.

12. Military Hospitals in South Africa (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report of the Royal Commission appointed to consider and report upon the care and treatment of the sick and wounded during the South African Campaign.

13. Military Hospitals in South Africa (Royal Commission).—Copy of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission.

14. Military Hospitals in South Africa (Royal Commission).—Copy of Appendix to Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission.

15. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission.—Copy of Report of the Commissioners.

16. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission.—Copy of Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners, Part I., Minutes of Evidence.

17. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission.—Copy of Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners, Part II., Documents.

18. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission.—Copy of Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners, Part III., Translation of the Report of the Royal Commission on Norwegian Salmon Fisheries, 1896–8, and of a Treatise by Mr. Landmark on Hatcheries and the Rearing of Fry.

19. Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund Act, 1898) (Light Dues).—Copy of Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from Light Dues, or for alteration of the existing scale or rules. Part II., Appendix.

20. Railways (Continuous Brakes).—Copy of Return by the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom on the progress made in the use of Continuous Brakes, etc., for the six months ending the 30th June, 1900.

21. Crofter and Cottar Colonisation Scheme.—Copy of Eleventh Report of the Commissioners appointed to carry out a Scheme of Colonisation in the Dominion of Canada of Crofters and Cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with Appendices.

22. Arsenical Poisoning.—Copy of Report to the Local Government Board on recent Epidemic Arsenical Poisoning attributed to Beer, by Dr. George Seaton Buchanan.

Ordered that the said Papers do lie upon the Table 67

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Agrarian Outrages (Ireland).—Copy presented, of Return for the quarter ended 31st December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 69

Evictions (Ireland).—Copy presented, of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 70

February 14.] *Page*

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (JUDICIAL RENTS) :—

Copy presented, of Return of Judicial Rents fixed during the month of May, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 70

Copy presented, of Return of Judicial Rents fixed during the month of June, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1898.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1900; *Mr. Maurice Healy*]; to lie upon the Table 70

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Time-table of Examinations for 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 70

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE ACT (IRELAND), 1877 :—

Copy presented, of Order in Council giving effect to Rules of Court under the Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order in Council giving effect to a Rule of Court under the Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 70

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899 (RULES) :—

Copy presented, of Rules under Section 3 of the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Amended Rules for the Administration of Loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 70

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896 :—

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Southampton from Whitchurch and Hurstbourne Stations to Vernhams Dean (Bourne Valley Light Railway Order, 1900) by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the County of Southampton from Bishops Waltham to a junction with the authorised Meon Valley Railway near Brock Bridge in the Parish of Soberton (Bishops Waltham Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Northumberland between Gosforth and Ponteland (Gosforth and Ponteland Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Gloucester between Wotton-under-Edge and Charfield (Wotton-under-Edge Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

February 14.] *Page*

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parish and urban district of Rhyl, in the county of Flint, in extension of the Light Railway authorised by the Rhyl and Prestatyn Light Railway Order, 1900 (Rhyl and Prestatyn Light Railway (Extensions) Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Cambridge, in the parishes of Oakington, Westwick, and Cottenham (Oakington and Cottenham Light Railway Order, 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Suffolk, from Long Melford to Hadleigh (Long Melford and Hadleigh Light Railway Order, 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the urban district of Sheerness and in the parish of Minster in Sheppy, in the rural district of Sheppey, in the county of Kent (Sheerness and District Light Railway Order, 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 70

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).—Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1900, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 1.] 72

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE:—

1. Lunacy.—Copy of Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of Visits made and the number of Patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ending on the 31st December, 1900 [by Act].
2. Supreme Court (Rules).—Copy of Rules of the Supreme Court, dated 11th January, 1901 72

KING'S SPEECH.—Mr. Speaker reported His Majesty's Speech, and read it to the House 72

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—First Day's Debate:—

Mr. Forster (*Kent, Sevenoaks*) 72
Sir Andrew Agnew (*Edinburgh, S.*) 77

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

February 14.] *Page*

Discussion :—

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 82
The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 99
Mr. Philipps (*Pembrokeshire*) 110
Sir Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*) 114
Mr. William Redmond (*Clare, E.*) 121
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 125
Sir Charles Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) 131
Captain Mildmay (*Devonshire, Totnes*) 141
Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) 149
Mr. Chaplin (*Lincolnshire, Sleaford*) 157

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 15TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PRIVATE BILLS.—Ordered, That Standing Order 195 be suspended, and that the time for presenting Petitions for Private Bills to the House (which shall have been previously endorsed by the Examiners) be extended to Friday, 22nd February.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*) 163

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899 :—

Motion made, and Question proposed—

"That all Petitions deposited at the office of the Secretary for Scotland, pursuant to General Order 77, in favour or of against any proposed Provisional Order the provisions of which are subsequently proceeded with as a Bill in this House under Section 2 (4) of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, shall, on transmission from the office of the Secretary for Scotland, be received as if duly deposited in favour of or against such Bill."—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

The Chairman of Ways and Means (*Mr. J. W. Lowther, Cumberland, Penrith*) 163
Mr. John Ellis (*Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe*) 164

Question put, and agreed to.

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.—Petition from Maryport, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table 164

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ADULTS IN EVENING SCHOOLS).—Petitions for alteration of law, from Todmorden; Bedwellty; Belper; Hedworth; and Great Yarmouth; to lie upon the Table 164

MANSA, MAHOMED SOOLEIMAN.—Petition of Mahomed Sooleiman Mansa, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 164

February 15.] *Page*

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of law, from Middlesbrough; Tottenham; Waterloo with Seaforth; Great Yarmouth; Acton; Yardley; Gelligaer; Crick; and Thirsk; to lie upon the Table 164

RAJOO, NARAYAMA.—Petition of Narayama Rajoo, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 165

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.—Petitions for prohibition, from Ulverston; Horsham; and Huntingdon; to lie upon the Table 165

SINGH, JAMAND.—Petition of Jamand Singh, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 165

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1898.—Return [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 2.] 165

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.—Account presented, of the Sums received and paid in respect of the Wages and Effects of Deceased Seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 165

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.—Copy presented, of Statement of the Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st March, 1900, together with an Account of the Receipt and Issue of Stores [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 3.] 165

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.—Account presented, of the General Lighthouse Fund showing the Income and Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 4.] 165

POST OFFICE (PARCEL POST BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NORWAY).—Copy of Agreement between the British and Norwegian Post Offices concerning the Exchange of Parcels by Parcel Post [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 165

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY PENSIONS.—Copy presented, of Return showing the names of all Constabulary Officers now in receipt of Pensions, of all Head Constables, Sergeants, and Constables, and of all Widows and Children to whom Pensions have been granted since the Constabulary Estimate for 1900–1901 was prepared, with the amount and date of Pension in each case [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 166

TREASURY CHEST.—Account presented, for the year 1899–1900, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 5.] 166

GREEK LOAN.—Account presented, of Moneys paid out of the Consolidated Fund for Interest and Sinking Fund on that part of the Greek Loan guaranteed by this Country and of the amount repaid by the Greek Government on account of the same to 31st December, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 6.] 166

February 15.] *Page*

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.—Account presented, of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Duchy of Cornwall for the year ended 31st December, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 7.] 166

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copies presented, of Treasury Minutes declaring that the under-mentioned persons were appointed to the offices set against their names without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the parts of the Heads of their Departments, viz. :—John William Gill, messenger, Wakefield, Post Office Department, dated 5th February, 1901; Charles Street, labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office Department, dated 17th January, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 166

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1855.—Copy presented, of Account for the year 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.. 166

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.—Account presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 8.].. 167

CONSOLIDATED FUND.—Abstract Account presented, showing the issues made from the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in the year ended 31st March, 1900, for the Interest and Management of the Debt, for the Civil List, and all other Issues in the financial year for services charged directly on the said Fund; with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 9.] .. 167

ARMY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).—Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account for 1899–1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Army [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 10.] 167

NAVY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).—Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account of the Navy for 1899–1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Navy [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 11.] 167

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.—Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow for 1899–1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 12.] 167

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCES):—

Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. III. (St. Andrews No. 1) (Foundation of the Bute Chair of Anatomy in the University of St. Andrews) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. IV. (St. Andrews No. 2) (Foundation of the Chandos Chair of Physiology in the University of St. Andrews) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 167

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD):—

Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, on 20th June, 1900, altering Statutes III., V., XIII., and XIV. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 13.]

Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 10th October, 1900, and sealed on the 23rd day of October, 1900, altering Statute III. of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 14.] 168

February 15.] *Page*

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (CAMBRIDGE).—Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of the University of Cambridge, on 13th October, 1900, altering Statute B of the University Statutes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 15.] .. 168

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 AND 1896.—Copy presented, of an Order dated 8th January, 1901, prohibiting the conveyance of animals, etc., to or from any port in Great Britain by the Steamships " King's Lynn," " Burton," and " Peterborough " [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 168

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCES):—

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Minnie Wells, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the St. John the Baptist's Home, Pimlico [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Annie Combs, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 168

CHINA (NO. 1, 1901).—Copy presented, of Correspondence respecting the Disturbances (in China in continuation of China [No. 3, 1900]) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 168

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2554 and 2555 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 169

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.—Copy presented, of Order in Council, dated 13th December, 1900, amending an Order in Council, dated 26th February, 1897, relating to the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth [by Act] to lie upon the Table 169

ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACT, 1869, AND AMENDING ACTS.—Copy presented, of Scheme for the Management of the Charity of William Price, in the Parish of Fareham, in the county of Southampton, founded by Will dated 24th August, 1721 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 16] 169

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE:—

1. Bank of England.—Accounts of Exchequer Bills and other Government Securities purchased, and of the Amount of Balances and Sums issued for the Payment of Dividends, etc., for the year ending 5th January, 1901 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 17.]

2. Public Records (Clerk of the Peace for the County of Denbigh).—Copy of a Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes and Documents in the Office of the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Denbigh, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [by Act].

3. Union of Benefices Act (All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge).—Copy of Scheme for effecting a union of the Benefices of All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge [by Act] 169

February 15.] *Page*

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES (ELECTORS, ETC.) (UNITED KINGDOM).—Address for "Return showing, with regard to each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom, the total number and, as far as possible, the number in each class of Electors on the Register now in force; and also showing the Population and Inhabited Houses in each Constituency (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 116, of Session 1900)."—(*Sir Charles Dilke*) 169

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—PAARDEBURG DESPATCHES.—Question, Mr. Faber (York); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 170

BOER INVASION OF CAPE COLONY.—Question, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer Mr. Brodrick 170

THE NOOITGEDACHT DISASTER.—Question, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 170

ARMY AND NAVY PENSIONS—PROPOSED COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.—Question, Mr. Wharton (Ripon); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 171

JOINT NAVAL AND MILITARY COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 172

COOPER'S HILL COLLEGE.—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing) 172

GERMANY AND THE CONGO FREE STATE.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 173

THE WRECK OF THE "GOONLAZE."—Question, Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 173

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL TAXATION.—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) .. 174

INSPECTION OF BOILERS.—Question, Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck); Answer, Mr. Ritchie 174

SCOTCH PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION.—Question, Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.); Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire) 174

STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—INADEQUACY OF ACCOMMODATION FOR MEMBERS.—Questions, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire), Mid. Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.), Sir W. Hart Dyke (Kent, Dartford), Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.), and Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 175

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 178

February 15.] *Page*

THE CORONATION OATH.—Questions, Mr. Wingfield-Digby (Dorsetshire, N.), Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.), and Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 178

ADJOURNMENT.—Resolved, That this House, at its rising this day, do adjourn till Monday next.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) 179

NEW MEMBER SWORN.—Edward Charles Thompson, esquire, for County of Monaghan (North Monaghan Division) 179

BALLOT FOR BILLS AND MOTIONS FOR THE FIRST FOUR THURSDAYS :—

Motion made, and Question proposed—

"That no Bills, other than Government Bills, be introduced in anticipation of the ballot, and that all Members who desire to ballot, whether for Bills, or motions for the first four Tuesdays of the session, do hand in their names at the Table during the sitting of the House on the first or second day of the session, and that a copy of such notice be handed in at the latest during the sitting of the House on the third day of the session. That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and motions be taken on the third day on which the House sits, at a convenient time and place to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the introduction and first reading of Bills on the fourth sitting day be taken before Questions and as soon after Three o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed—

"That this Order be a Standing Order of the House."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 180

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—Second Day's Debate :—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February],

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

February 15.] Page

Debate resumed:—

Mr. Chaplin (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) 181
Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.) 191
Sir Cuthbert Quilter (Suffolk, Sudbury) 197
Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (Shropshire, Newport) 202
The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Long, Bristol, S.) 205
Mr. Strachey (Somersetshire, S.) 217
Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) 219
Mr. Guthrie (Tower Hamlets, Bow) 229
Mr. Power (Waterford, E.) 237
Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.) 241
Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.) 242

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present. House counted, and, forty Members being found present—

Mr. Tully 243
Mr. Labouchere (Northampton) 247
The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 257
Mr. Burdett-Coutts (Westminster) 264
Mr. Joseph Walton (Yorkshire,, W. R. Barnsley) 272
The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 283

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock.

By virtue of an Order made this day, I do appoint John Bruce Nichols and John Cradock Morgan Nichols to print the Votes and Proceedings of this House. —WILLIAM COURT GULLY, Speaker 286

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 18TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THAMES AND SEVERN PROVISIONAL ORDER.—Bill to confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade, under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, for the transfer of the Thames and Severn Canal to the County Council of Gloucestershire; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Thames and Severn Provisional Order Bill.—"To confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade, under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, for the transfer of the Thames and Severn Canal to the County Council of Gloucestershire; and for other purposes," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 1.] 287

February 18.] Page

PETITIONS.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ADULTS IN EVENING CLASSES).—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Bradford; Brighton and Preston; Llanelly; and Calverley; to lie upon the Table 287

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Little Hulton; Blean; and Hyde; to lie upon the Table 287

PURE BEER.—Petitions for legislation, from Kington; Loughborough; Kimbolton; and Doncaster; to lie upon the Table 287

SINGH, MAGAN.—Petition of Magan Singh, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 287

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.—Petition from Hammersmith, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table 288

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Petition from Wickham Market, for cessation of farm-burning; to lie upon the Table.

Petition from Leominster, for termination; to lie upon the Table .. 288

VIVISECTION.—Petition from Notting Hill, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table 288

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NATIONAL DEBT (SAVINGS BANK AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES).—Annual Account presented, for the period ended 20th November, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 18.] 288

NATIONAL DEBT (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).—Account presented, of the Gross Amount of all Moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of the Fund for Military Savings Banks, from 19th September, 1845, to the 5th January, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 19.] .. 288

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS).—Appropriation accounts presented, for the year ending 31st March, 1900, together with the Reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, and certain Reports upon Store Accounts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 20.] 288

SARDINIAN LOAN.—Account presented, of the Total Sums issued out of the Consolidated Fund and advanced to His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and of the sums received to 31st December, 1900, for Interest and Sinking Fund thereof [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 21.] 288

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.—Copy presented, of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of Regulations, under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for Milk and Cream, with Appendices and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 289

February 18.] *Page*

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—Copy presented, of Amended Rules made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, pursuant to the provisions of the Capital Punishment Amendment Act, 1868, for regulating the execution of Capital Sentences [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 289

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of Licence granted to Mary Fox, a Convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 289

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).—Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of October, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 289

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH :—

Copy presented, of Report of the State of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year to 31st August, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 22.] ..

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh for the year 1899–1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 23.] 289

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE :—

1. County Court Act, 1888, and Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879. —Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 29th January, 1901, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Devonshire, held at Plymouth and East Stonehouse, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court.

2. Building Societies.—Copy of Sixth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the Proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts, etc. [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 24.] 289

NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND MERCANTILE MARINE (GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.).—Return ordered, "showing aggregate Naval Expenditure on Seagoing Force; Aggregate Revenue; Aggregate Tonnage of Mercantile Marine; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Foreign Trade; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Coasting Trade; Annual Value of Imports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie; and Annual Value of Exports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie, of various Countries, exclusive of China and South American Republics, but including British Self-governing Colonies, for the year 1900 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 380, of Session 2, 1900)."—(*Sir John Colomb.*) 290

TRADE AND NAVIGATION :—

Return ordered, "of Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom for each month during the year 1901."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Return, in part, presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 25.] 290

ALIEN IMMIGRATION :—

Return ordered, "of the number of Aliens that arrived from the Continent at Ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1901."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Return, in part, presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 26.] 290

February 18.] *Page*

Coal Exports, etc.—Return ordered, "giving for the year 1900 the Export of Coal from each Port in the United Kingdom to each Country Abroad, together with a Summary Statement showing the Export of Coal from the principal districts of the United Kingdom to the principal groups of Foreign Countries; and also showing the quantity of Coal shipped at each Port in the United Kingdom for ships' use on Foreign Voyages during the same period (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 125, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. D. A. Thomas.*) 290

QUESTIONS.

South African War—Lord Roberts and "Unconditional Surrender."—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 291

Position of Sir Alfred Milner and Sir W. Hely Hutchinson.—Questions, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) and Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 291

South African Constabulary.—Questions, Major Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) and Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answers, Mr. J. Chamberlain 292

Typhoid Fever among the South African Forces.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 293

Colonial Troops in South Africa—Terms of Engagement.—Questions, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) and Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 293

Imperial Yeomanry.—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 294

Militia Re-embodiment.—Question, Mr. Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 294

Royal Reserve Regiments.—Question, Mr. Warner; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 294

Purchases of Horses for South Africa.—Questions, Mr. Philipps (Pembrokeshire), Mr. T. M. Healy, Captain Donelan (Cork, E.), Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall), and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 295

Peace Negotiations—Lord Roberts and General Botha.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, Lord Stanley 296

Army Contracts in Ireland.—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Flavin, and Captain Donelan; Answers, Lord Stanley 296

Army Beer Contracts at The Curragh.—Questions, Mr. Patrick White (Meath, N.) and Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answers, Lord Stanley 297

Married Soldiers' Separation Allowances.—Question, Mr. Pirie; Answer, Lord Stanley 298

ebruary 18.]

Page

SUNDAY PUBLICATION OF TELEGRAMS FROM THE SEAT OF WAR.—Question, Mr. Power (Waterford, E.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 299

ARMY VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 299

EASTER TRAINING FOR VOLUNTEERS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 299

DUBLIN ROYAL BARRACKS CONTRACT—REDDY'S CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Lord Stanley 300

BELLEVILLE BOILERS.—Questions, Mr. Charles Wilson (Hull, W.), Sir Fortescue Flannery (Yorkshire, Shipley), Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis), and Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 301

INDIAN FAMINE RELIEF.—Question, Mr. Caine (Cornwall, Camborne); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing) 302

EFFECTIVE STRENGTH OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN INDIA.—Questions, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean), Captain Norton, and Mr. Caine; Answer, Lord George Hamilton 303

TROOPS EMPLOYED BEYOND THE FRONTIER.—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, Lord George Hamilton 303

IMPERIAL GRANT-IN-AID OF INDIA—OFFICIAL CHARGES.—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, Lord George Hamilton 304

PATAGONIA.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 305

BRITISH CONSULAR REPRESENTATION IN RUSSIA.—Questions, Mr. Norman (Wolverhampton, S.) and Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.); Answers, Viscount Cranborne 305

LEAD POISONING IN THE POTTERIES.—Questions, Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Coghill (Stoke-on-Trent); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) 306

CARMARTHEN PRISON.—Question, Mr. Lloyd Morgan (Carmarthenshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Ritchie 307

STATE INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES.—Question, Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Ritchie 308

RAILWAY (PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS) BILL, 1900—RULES.—Question, Mr. Bell (Derby); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 308

AUTOMATIC COUPLINGS ON RAILWAYS.—Question, Mr. Bell; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 309

CHELSEA ELECTRIC SUPPLY COMPANY.—Question, Mr. Strachey (Somersetshire, S.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 309

February 18.] Page

SINKING OF A DREDGER IN CORK HARBOUR.—Question, Captain Donelan; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 310

PREFERENTIAL RAILWAY RATES FOR FOREIGN FRUIT.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick's); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 310

TRANSPORT OF LIVE STOCK FROM IRELAND TO GREAT BRITAIN.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 311

ARSENICAL BEER POISONING.—Questions, Mr. Chaplin (Lincolnshire Sleaford) and Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Long, Bristol, S.) 311

QUEEN VICTORIA'S FUNERAL—FACILITIES FOR THE FOREIGN PRESS.—Question, Mr. William Allan (Gateshead); Answer, Lord Stanley 312

CROFTERS IN THE ISLAND OF BARRA.—Question, Mr. John Dewar; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire) 312

SCOTTISH PRIVATE BILL PROCEDURE.—Question, Mr. Renshaw (Renfrewshire, W.); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 313

MOLVILLE PETTY SESSIONS BENCH.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal N.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover).. .. 313

RATING OF RAILWAYS AND LANDS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Carew (Meath, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 314

SUPPRESSED LEAGUE MEETING AT FOXFORD.—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 314

CASE OF LEWIS LOWRISON.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 314

NEWMARKET (CORK) PETTY SESSIONS COURT.—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 315

CORK POLICE AT THE CITY ELECTION.—Questions, Mr. Flynn and Mr. O'Doherty; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 315

THE RECENT "DAY OF GENERAL MOURNING"—POLICE AND SHOPKEEPERS IN COUNTY WICKLOW.—Questions, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.) and Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 316

THE PORT OF DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 317

LONGFORD UNION NIGHT NURSE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 317

LABOURERS' COTTAGES IN THE BOYLE UNION.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 318

GRANTS-IN-AID IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 318

COMMISSION ON IRISH LOCAL TAXATION.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 318

ST. MEL CATHEDRAL.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 319

SUNDAY POSTAL DELIVERY AT COOLARTY.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 319

MOHILL AND FARNAUGHT POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 319

THE ROYAL DECLARATION AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICISM.—Question, Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.), Mr. Patrick O'Brien, and Mr. Flavin; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 320

CHINA AND THE ALLIED POWERS—SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.—Questions, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent), Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall), Mr. Patrick O'Brien, and Sir William Harcourt (Monmouthshire, W.); Answers, Viscount Cranborne and Mr. Speaker.. 322

QUESTIONS TO MINISTERS—(SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS).

Motion for Adjournment:—

Mr. Dillon, Member for East Mayo, rose in his place and asked leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, "the refusal of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to answer a question put by an honourable Member of this House, and his statement that he based that refusal on the general prohibition of the Leader of the House"; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen:—

Mr. Dillon 325
Mr. Blake (*Longford. S.*) 328

Motion made, and Question proposed,—"That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Discussion:—

The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 329
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 335
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 339
Sir Charles Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) 340
Mr. James Lowther (*Kent, Thanet*) 341
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 342
Mr. Stuart Wortley (*Sheffield, Hallam*) 344
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 345
Sir Edward Grey (*Northumberland, Berwick*) 348
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford*) 352
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 355
Mr. David MacIver (*Liverpool, Kirkdale*) 360
Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) 360
Mr. Bryn Roberts (*Carnarvonshire, Eifion*) 362
Lord Hugh Cecil (*Greenwich*) 363

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 204; Noes, 249. (Division List No. 2.)

February 18.] *Page*

NEW WRITS.—Ordered, That in all cases where the seat of any Member has been declared void on the ground of Corrupt Practices or Illegal Practices no Motion for the issue of a new Writ shall be made without two clear days' previous notice on the Notice Paper of the House, and that such Notice be considered before the Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) 369

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—Third Day's Debate :—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed :—

The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Viscount Cranborne, Rochester*) 369
Sir William Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) 377
Mr. Wylie (*Dumbartonshire*) 381
Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse (*Bristol, E.*) 384

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present. House counted, and forty Members being found present—

Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse 384
Mr. Louis Sinclair (*Essex, Romford*) 389
Mr. J. P. Farrell (*Longford, N.*) 392
Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 397
Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*) 407
Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) 415
The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.*) 421

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

House adjourned at Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 19TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

Several Lords took the Oath.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

The King's Answer to the Address of the 25th of January last was reported.

Address and Answer to be printed and published 435

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that he had received a message of sympathy on the death of the late Queen from the Hungarian House of Magnates. The same was ordered to be entered in the Journals of the House 435

NEW BILLS.

Light Load Line Bill [H.L.]—A Bill to supplement the law relating to load lines on merchant ships—was presented by the Lord Muskerry; read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday next. (No. 2.) .. 436

Licensing Sessions Bill [H.L.]—A Bill to alter the qualifications of licensing authorities and the time of holding licensing sessions—was presented by the Lord Bishop of Winchester; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 3.) 436

Intoxicating Liquor (Sale to Travellers) Bill [H.L.]—A Bill to amend the law with respect to the sale of intoxicating liquors to travellers —was presented by the Lord Bishop of Winchester; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 4.) 436

Habitual Drunkards Bill [H.L.]—A Bill to amend the law with respect) to drunkenness—was presented by the Lord Bishop of Winchester; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 5.) 436

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—No. 2554. Greece (Ionian Islands); No. 2555. Portugal (Province of Angola) 436

CHINA, No. 1 (1901).—Correspondence respecting ths disturbances in China [in continuation of China, No. 3 (1900)] 436

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.—Account of the sums received and paid in respect of the wages and effects of deceased seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1900 437

INDIA (TRADE).—Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries, 1895–96 to 1899–1900 437

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).—Return for the month of October, 1900 437

POST OFFICE (PARCEL POST BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NORWAY).—Agreement between the British and Norwegian Post Offices concerning the exchange of parcels by parcel post 437

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.—Minutes of Evidence taken before the departmental committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of regulations under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for milk and cream; with appendices and index 437

STATISTICS.—Statistical Abstract for the principal and other foreign countries in each year from 1889 to 1898–99 (as far as the particulars can be stated). Twenty-seventh number 437

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—List of school boards and school attendance committees in England and Wales 437

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

February 19.] Page

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889:—

1. Annual statistical reports by the University Courts of (1) the University of Edinburgh and (2) the University of Glasgow; to the Secretary for Scotland, under the provisions of Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, for the year 1899–1900.
2. Abstract of Accounts of the University of Edinburgh for the year ended 31st August, 1900, being the annual report of the state of the finances of the University under Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 437

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.—Account of receipts and disbursements for the year ended 31st December, 1900 438

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.—Account of the receipts and disbursements in the year ended 31st December, 1900; also a separate account of the capital to the same date 438

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.—Account for the year ended 31st March, 1900, with report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon 438

GREEK LOAN.—Annual Account for 1900 438

SARDINIAN LOAN.—Annual Account for 1900 438

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN, 1855.—Account for the year 1900 .. 438

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853–1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCES):—

1. Licence granted by Her late Majesty to Minnie Wells, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Minnie Wells to be at large on condition that she enter the St. John the Baptist's Home, Pimlico.
2. Licence granted by Her late Majesty to Annie Coombs, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Annie Coombs to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution.
3. Licence granted by His Majesty to Mary Fox, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Mary Fox to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley 438

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.—Account of the General Lighthouse Fund, showing the Income and Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1900 438

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.—Statement of receipts and payments made by the Board of Trade for the year ended 31st March, 1900; together with an account of the receipt and issue of stores 439

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—Amended rules made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, pursuant to the provisions of the Capital Punishment Amendment Act, 1868, for regulating the execution of capital sentences 439

BUILDING SOCIETIES.—Sixth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of the Friendly Societies of the proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Act; with an abstract of the annual account and statements of societies for the year 1900 439

February 19.] [*Page*

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 AND 1896.—Order, dated 8th January, 1901, prohibiting the conveyance of animals, etc., to or from any port in Great Britain by the Steamships "King's Lynn," "Burton," and "Peterborough" 439

NATIONAL DEBT :—

I. (Savings Banks and Friendly Societies).—(1) Account of the gross amount of all sums received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of banks for savings and friendly societies in Great Britain and Ireland, from their commencement at 6th August, 1817, to 20th November, 1900, inclusive. (2) Account of the several transactions which have taken place, during the year ended 20th November, 1900, in the investment of all moneys which came into the hands of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt for savings banks and friendly societies. (3) Account showing the aggregate amount of the liabilities of the Government to the trustees of savings banks and friendly societies respectively on 20th November, 1900, etc.

II. (Military Savings Banks).—Account of gross amount of all moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of "The Fund for Military Savings Banks," from 19th September, 1845, to 5th January, 1901 439

SUPERANNUATION (TREASURY MINUTES).—(1) Dated 17th January, 1901, declaring that Charles Street, labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office; (2) dated 5th February, 1901, declaring that John William Gill, messenger, Wakefield Post Office Department—were appointed without civil service certificates through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their respective departments 440

BANK OF ENGLAND.—Annual Accounts of Exchequer Bills and other Government securities purchased for the year ended 5th January, 1901 440

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Additional and amending general orders for the regulation of proceedings under and in pursuance of the Act 440

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.—Order in Council of the 13th December, 1900, amending an order in Council of the 26th February, 1897, relating to the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth 440

COUNTY COURT ACT, 1888.—Order of the Lord Chancellor, dated 29th January, 1901, under Section 45 of the Act, ordering that Francis Bramston McCrea, Registrar of the County Court of Devonshire, held at Plymouth and East Stonehouse, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of the said Mr. Francis Bramston McCrea 440

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 :—

I. Statutes made by the Governing Bodies of: (1) Brasenose College, Oxford, on 20th June, 1900, altering Statutes III., V., XIII., and XVI. of the College Statutes; (2) New College, Oxford, on the 10th October, 1900, altering Statute III. of the College Statutes.

II. Statute made by the Governing Body of the University of Cambridge on 13th October, 1900, altering Statute B of the University Statutes.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 6.) .. 440

February 19.] *Page*

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899 :—

1. University Court Ordinance No. III. (St. Andrews, No. 1). Foundation of Bute Chair of Anatomy in the University of St. Andrews.
2. University Court Ordinance No. IV. (St. Andrews, No. 2). Foundation of the Chandos Chair of Physiology in the University of St. Andrews

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 7.) .. 441

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.—Return of the number of aliens that arrived from the continent at ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1901 : Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Earl of Dudley.*)

Return (in part) respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to order of the day), and to be printed. (No. 8.) 44

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Ordered that all petitions deposited at the Office of the Secretary for Scotland, pursuant to General Order 77, in favour of or against any proposed Provisional Order, the provisions of which are subsequently proceeded with as a Bill in this House under Section 2 (4) of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, shall, on transmission from the Office of the Secretary for Scotland, be received as if duly deposited in favour of or against such Bill.—(*The Chairman of Committees.*) 441

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Five of the clock.

COMMONS : TUESDAY, 19TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

PRIVATE BILLS.—The Chairman of Ways and Means reported, That, in accordance with Standing Order 79, he had conferred with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Private Bills should be first considered, and they had determined that the Bills contained in the following List should originate in the House of Lords, viz.:—1. Aire and Calder Navigation ; 2. Albion Steam Coal Company ; 3. Alfreton Gas ; 4. Arlesey Gas ; 5. Aspatria, Silloth, and District Water ; 6. Barrow-in-Furness Corporation ; 7. Bath Gas Light and Coke ; 8. Belfast Harbour ; 9. Bethlem Hospital ; 10. Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment) ; Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Extension of Time, etc.) ; 12. Birmingham (City) Tramways ; 13. Bolton Corporation ; 14. Bournmeouth Corporation ; 15. Bridewell Hospital ; 16. Bristol, Clifton, and West of England Zoological Society ; 17. Bristol Corporation Cemetery ; 18. Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.) ; 19. Broadstairs and St. Peter's Water and Improvement ; 20. Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway ; 21. Cardiff Railway ; 22. Central London Railway ; 23. Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 1); 24. Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 2) ; 25. Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and District Electric Railway ; 26. Chester Corporation Tramways ; 27. Chesterfield Improvement ; 28. Chester Gas ; 29. Christ's Hospital (London) ; 30. City and Brixton Railway ; 31. City and North East Suburban Electric Railway ; 32. City and South London Railway ; 33. Cork, Blackrock, and Passage Railway; 34. Cowes Ferry; 35. Doncaster Tithe Trust; 36. Dover Corporation; 37. Dover Harbour; 38. Dover Gas; 39. Easton and Church Hope Railway; 40. Elland Gas: 41. Faversham Water; 42. Finchley and Hendon Tramways; 43. Folkestone Corporation; 44. Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway; 45. Great Southern and Western Railway; 46. Handsworth Urban District Council; 47. Harpenden District Gas; 48. Harrogate Corporation; 49 Harrogate Water; 50. Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants); 51. Heywood and Middleton Water Board; 52. Islington and Euston Railway; 53. King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways; 54. King's Road Railway; 55. Leeds Churches; 56. Leeds Corporation (General Powers); 57. Leeds Corporation Water; 58. Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway; 59. Llanelly Harbour; 60. London, Brighton and South Coast Railway; 61. London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen; 62. Lowestoft Corporation; 63. Lynton and Barnstaple Railway; 64. Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway; 65. Manchester Corporation; 66. Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements; 67. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board; 68. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.); 69. Milford Docks; 70. Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas; 71. Newport (Isle of Wight) Gas; 72. New Swindon Gas; 73. Nitrate Railways Company; 74. North East London Railway; 75. Nottingham Corporation; 76. Oakham Water; 77. Omagh Gas; 78. Otley Gas; 79. Piccadilly and City Railway; 80. Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway; 81. Poulton-le-Fylde Gas; 82. Prestatyn Water; 83. Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water; 84. Ripon Corporation; 85. Royal Exchange Assurance; 86. Rugby Water and Improvement; 87. St. Bartholomew's Hospital; 88. Salford Corporation; 89. Sheffield Corporation; 90. Sheffield District Railway; 91. Shields Bridge; 92. Shrewsbury Gas; 93. Smethwick Corporation; 94. South Eastern, London, Chatham, and Dover Railways; 95. South Essex Water; 96. South Lancashire Tramways; 97. Southport Water (Transfer); 98. South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway; 99. Stockport Corporation Water; 100. Stratton and Bude Gas; 101. Stratton and Bude Improvement; 102. Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water); 103. Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads; 104. Warkworth Harbour; 105. Watford and District Tramways; 106. West and South London Junction Railway; 107. Weston-super-Mare Gas; 108. Wigan Corporation Tramways, etc.; 109. Wisbech Water; 110. Worcester Tramways .. 442

Several other Members took and subscribed the oath. 442

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Mr. Speaker informed the House that he had received Communications expressing the condolence of the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies with the British Nation in the loss it had sustained by the death of Her late Majesty 444

Controverted Elections.—Mr. Speaker further informed the House that he had received from the Judges appointed to try the several Election Petitions the following Certificate and Report relating to the Election for the Borough of Maidstone 446

February 19.] *Page*

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.—Petition from Low Moor, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 447

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Killamarsh; Worcester; Clayton; Liverpool; Heckmondwike; Longton; Loughborough; and Ecclesfield; to lie upon the Table 447

LICENSING (SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS).—Petition from Epsom, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 448

POOR LAW MEDICAL OFFICERS (SCOTLAND).—Petition from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 448

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Blaenavon; Newport Pagnell; Radstock; Newhaven; and Great Crosby; to lie upon the Table 448

PURE BEER.—Petition from Berwick-on-Tweed, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 448

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.—Petitions in favour, from Newport Pagnell; and Fenny Stratford; to lie upon the Table 448

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN.—Petition from Surbiton, in favour; to lie upon the Table 448

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Petition from Southport, for termination; to lie upon the Table 448

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE).—Paper [presented 15th February] to be printed. [No. 27.]; and Paper [presented 15th February] to be printed. [No. 28.] 448

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (FOREIGN COUNTRIES).—Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the principal and other Foreign Countries in each year from 1889 to 1898–9 (Twenty-seventh Number) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 448

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.—Copy presented, of Report on the State of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year to 31st August, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 29.] 448

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.—Accounts presented, for the year ended 21st December, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 30.] .. 449

EDUCATION (SCHOOL BOARDS, ETC.) (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Copy presented, of List of School Boards and School Attendance Committees in England and Wales, 1st January, 1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 449

February 19.]

Page

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Copy presented, of Additional and Amending General Orders for the Regulation of Proceedings under and in pursuance of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 31.] 449

EAST INDIA (TRADE).—Copy presented, of Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries for the five years 1895–6 to 1899–1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 449

NEW BILLS.

POLICE SUPERANNUATION (SCOTLAND).—Bill to assimilate the Law relating to Police Pensions and Allowances in Scotland to the Law in England, and for other purposes relating thereto, ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk), Sir Lewis M'Iver, Mr. Wylie, Mr. Hozier, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Walter Thorburn, Mr. Dalziel, and Mr. Law.

Police Superannuation (Scotland) Bill.—"To assimilate the Law relating to Police Pensions and Allowances in Scotland to the Law in England, and for other purposes relating thereto," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 2.] 449

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND).—Bill dealing with Congested Districts in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Flynn, Dr. Ambrose, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Boland, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Roche, Mr. John O'Donnell, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, and Mr. O'Doherty.

Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill.—"Dealing with Congested Districts in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th March, and to be printed. [Bill 3.] 450

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN.—Bill to prevent the sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Crombie, Sir William Houldsworth, Mr. Tritton, Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. Asquith, Sir Henry Fowler, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Alfred Thomas, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Charles Douglas.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill.—"To prevent the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 4.] 450

BEER.—Bill to amend the Law relating to the manufacture and sale of Beer, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Purvis, Sir Cuthbert Quilter, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Frederick Wilson, Mr. Round, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Griffith-Boscawen, Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Price, Mr. Younger, Mr. Jeffreys, and Mr. Joseph Walton.

Beer Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to the manufacture and sale of Beer," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 5.] 450

February 19.] *Page*

MINES (EIGHT HOURS).—Bill to restrict the hours in Mines to Eight Hours per day from bank to bank, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Yoxall, Mr. Pickard, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Markham, Mr. Keir Hardie, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Caldwell, and Mr. Joseph Walton.

Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.—"To restrict the hours in Mines to Eight Hours per day from bank to bank," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th February, and to be printed. [Bill 6,] 451

COAL MINES (EMPLOYMENT).—Bill to amend the provisions of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, which relate to employment, ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Pickard, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Holland, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Markham, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Bell, Mr. Cremer, and Mr. Joseph Walton.

Coal Mines (Employment) Bill.—"To amend the provisions of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, which relate to employment," presented. and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 9.] 451

EDUCATION (YOUNG CHILDREN) (SCHOOL ATTENDANCE) (SCOTLAND).—Bill to regulate the Attendance of Young Children at School in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pirie, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Baird, Mr. Dillon, Sir William Houldsworth, Sir Lewis M'Iver, Sir Robert Reid, Mr. Robson, Captain Sinclair, Mr. Parker Smith, and Mr. Tennant.

Education (Young Children) (School Attendance) (Scotland) Bill.—"To regulate the Attendance of Young Children at School in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 1st May, and to be printed. [Bill 8.] 451

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.—Bill to amend the Law as to Marriages with a Deceased Wife's Sister, ordered to be brought in by Sir William Gurdon, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Hambro, Captain Jessel, Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Melville, Colonel Sadler, Mr. Charles Shaw, Sir Barrington Simeon, and Mr. Price.

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.—"To amend the Law as to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 7.] 452

LEGAL PROCEDURE (IRELAND).—Bill to amend the Law relating to Trial by Jury and other legal procedure in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T.M. Healy, Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Clancy.

Legal Procedure (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to Trial by Jury and other legal procedure in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 15th May, and to be printed. [Bill 10.] 452

LAND TENURE.—Bill to amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Land, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lambert, Mr. Seale-Hayne, Mr. Soares, Mr. Charles Allen, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Fletcher Moulton, [illegible]

February 19.]

Page

Land Tenure Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Land," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 11.] 452

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS, ETC.—Bill to give Compensation for Damage by Fires caused by sparks from railway engines, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hudson, Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Channing, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Price, Major Rasch, and Mr. Strachey.

Compensation for Damage to Crops, etc., Bill.—"To give Compensation for Damage by Fires caused by sparks from railway engines," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 12.] 453

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, ordered to be brought in by Mr. J. P. Farrell, Mr. Barry, Mr. Murnaghan, Mr. Kendal O'Brien, Mr. Lundon, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Crean, and Mr. O'Shee.

Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 13.] .. 453

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION (SCOTLAND).—Bill to enable parish councils in Scotland to grant Superannuation Allowances to Poor Law Officers and servants and to officers and servants of committees of management of poor-houses formed under a combination for poor-house purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Maxwell, Sir Lewis M'Iver, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Ure, Mr. Cross, and Mr. Renshaw.

Poor Law Officers' Superannuation (Scotland) Bill.—"To enable parish councils in Scotland to grant Superannuation Allowances to Poor Law Officers and servants, and to officers and servants of committees of management of poor-houses formed under a combination for poor-house purposes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th March, and to be printed. [Bill 14.] 453

LICENCES (IRELAND).—Bill to stop the issue of new Licences unless in exceptional circumstances in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. T. M. Healy, Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Clancy, Sir James Haslett, Mr. Samuel Young, Mr. T. L. Corbett, and Mr. Jordan.

Licences (Ireland) Bill.—"To stop the issue of new Licences unless in exceptional circumstances in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 5th March, and to be printed. [Bill 15.] 453

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES).—Bill to amend the Out-door Relief Friendly Societies Act, 1894, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wingfield-Digby, Mr. Strachey, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Mark Stewart, Mr. Goulding, Sir Samuel Hoare, Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Yoxall, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Holland, Mr. Rigg, and Mr. Platt-Higgins.

Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill.—"To amend the Out-door Relief Friendly Societies Act, 1894," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 15th May, and to be printed. [Bill 16.] 454

February 19.] *Page*

TRAWLERS' CERTIFICATES SUSPENSION.—Bill to enable Courts to suspend the Certificates of Trawlers convicted of Illegal Trawling, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bignold, Mr. Harmsworth, Mr. Weir, Mr. J. Cathcart Wason, Mr. Jordan, and Mr. Leveson-Gower.

Trawlers' Certificates Suspension Bill.—"To enable Courts to suspend the Certificates of Trawlers convicted of Illegal Trawling," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 17.] 454

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE).—Bill to grant certificates to persons in charge of Steam Engines and Boilers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Bell, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Helder, Colonel Denny, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Paulton, Mr. Joseph Walton, and Mr. Holland.

Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge) Bill.—"To grant certificates to persons in charge of Steam Engines and Boilers," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 1st May, and to be printed. [Bill 18.] 454

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (IRELAND).—Bill to provide for improving and extending the procedure for obtaining Parliamentary powers by way of Provisional Orders in matters relating to Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hemphill, Mr. Field, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Caldwell, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Condon, and Colonel Nolan.

Private Legislation Procedure (Ireland) Bill.—"To provide for improving and extending the procedure for obtaining Parliamentary powers by way of Provisional Orders in matters relating to Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 1st May, and to be printed. [Bill 19.] 455

OLD AGE PENSIONS.—Bill to provide Pensions for the aged poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Channing, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Burns, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Sir Walter Foster, and Mr. Broadhurst.

Old Age Pensions Bill.—"To provide Pensions for the aged poor," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 15th May, and to be printed. [Bill 20.] 455

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend the Law relating to Local Government in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Crean, Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. J. P. Farrell, Mr. Daly, Mr. O'Shee, Mr. Nannetti, and Mr. Tully.

Local Government (Ireland) Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to Local Government in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 12th June, and to be printed. [Bill 21.] 455

LAND TENURE (WALES).—Bill to amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Agricultural Land in Wales and Monmouthshire, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Osmond Williams, Mr. Alfred Thomas, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Ellis Griffith, and Mr. Edwards.

February 19.] *Page*

Land Tenure (Wales) Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Agricultural Land in Wales and Monmouthshire," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 22.] 456

TENANTS' IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND).—Bill for improving the condition of Tenants in Cities, Towns, and Villages in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Major Jameson, Mr. Field, Captain Donelan, and Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh.

Tenants' Improvement (Ireland) Bill.—"For improving the condition of Tenants in Cities, Towns, and Villages in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 19th June, and to be printed. [Bill 23.] 456

CRIMES ACT (IRELAND) REPEAL.—Bill to repeal certain criminal statutes relating to Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Abraham (Cork), Mr. William Redmond, Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Boland, and Mr. O'Shee.

Crimes Act (Ireland) Repeal Bill.—"To repeal certain criminal statutes relating to Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 26th June, and to be printed. [Bill 24.] .. 456

ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL.—Bill to remove certain Disabilities affecting Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tully, Mr. Daly, Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. O'Doherty, and Mr. M'Fadden.

Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Bill.—"To remove certain Disabilities affecting Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 25.] 456

SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend the Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Thorburn, and Colonel Lucas.

Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 5th June, and to be printed. [Bill 26.] 457

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE (IRELAND).—Bill to establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Fadden, Mr. Murnaghan, Mr. Daly, Mr. Roche, Mr. Tully, Mr. Barry, Mr. Cullinan, Mr. O'Doherty, and Mr. Boyle.

Manhood Suffrage (Ireland) Bill.—"To establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 27.] 457

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 2).—Bill to provide Pensions for aged deserving poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bull, Mr. Goulding, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Mr. John Hutton, Mr. Remnant, Mr. T. L. Corbett, and Mr. Hay.

Old Age Pensions (No. 2) Bill.—"To provide pensions for aged deserving poor," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 28.] 457

February 19.]

Page

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (RESIGNATION OF SEATS).—Bill to enable Members of Parliament to resign their seats, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Loder, Sir Francis Powell, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Fison, Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale.

Members of Parliament (Resignation of Seats) Bill.—" To enable Members of Parliament to resign their seats," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 29.] 458

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 4).—Bill to provide Pensions for aged deserving poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. J. W. Wilson, Mr. Goulding, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Gray, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Hay, and Mr. T. L. Corbett.

Old Age Pensions (No. 4) Bill.—" To provide Pensions for aged deserving poor," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 30.] 458

JURORS' EXPENSES.—Bill to provide for the payment of the expenses of Jurors attending Assizes and Quarter Sessions, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lloyd Morgan, Mr. Wharton, Mr. John Hutton, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Abel Thomas, and Mr. Edwards.

Jurors' Expenses Bill.—" To provide for the payment of the expenses of Jurors attending Assizes and Quarter Sessions," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 31.] 458

IRISH LIGHTS.—Bill dealing with the Irish Lights Board, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Patrick White, Mr. Field, Mr. Cogan, Captain Donelan, Mr. Nannetti, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, and Mr. Conor O'Kelly.

Irish Lights Bill.—" Dealing with the Irish Lights Board," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 32.] 458

CONSTABULARY (IRELAND).—Bill dealing with the Royal Irish Constabulary control, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Condon, Mr. Kendal O'Brien, Mr. P. J. O'Brien, Mr. Cullinan, and Mr. O'Shee.

Constabulary (Ireland) Bill.—" Dealing with the Royal Irish Constabulary control," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 33.] 459

VOLUNTEERS (IRELAND).—Bill for the establishment of a Volunteer force in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, Mr. Boland, Mr. Cullinan, Mr. Barry, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Flavin, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Condon, and Mr. John Redmond.

Volunteers (Ireland) Bill.—" For the establishment of a Volunteer force in Ireland," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 34.] 459

WATER AND LIGHT SUPPLY (IRELAND).—Bill to amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, so far as regards the Supply of Light and Water to Towns in Rural Districts in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Flynn, Mr. M'Fadden, Mr. O'Doherty, and Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh.

Page

Water and Light Supply (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, so far as regards the Supply of Light and Water to Towns in Rural Districts in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 35.] 459

BOROUGH FUNDS ACTS (AMENDMENT).—Bill to amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Sir James Woodhouse, Sir Harry Bullard, and Sir Thomas Roe.

Borough Funds Acts (Amendment) Bill.—"To amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 25th February, and to be printed. [Bill 36.] 460

ELECTORAL DISABILITIES REMOVAL.—Bill for the removal of certain electoral disabilities, ordered to be brought in by Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Mooney, Mr. Hemphill, Mr. M'Fadden, Mr. Tully, Mr. O'Malley, Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Flynn.

Electoral Disabilities Removal Bill.—"For the removal of certain electoral disabilities," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 37.] .. 460

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT (1899) AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend Section 1 of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Horner, Sir Benjamin Stone, Mr. Harry Samuel, Mr. Ernest Gray, Mr. Boulnois, and Mr. Thomas Dewar.

Small Dwellings Acquisition Act (1899) Amendment Bill.—"To amend Section 1 of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 38.] 460

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend and extend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sydney Buxton, Captain Norton, and Mr. John Burns.

Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment Bill.—"To amend and extend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed [Bill 39.] 460

COAL MINES REGULATION.—Bill to amend the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Bell, Mr. Bolton, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Jacoby, and Mr. Pickard.

Coal Mines Regulation Bill.—"To amend the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 40.] 461

SHOPS.—Bill to amend the Law relating to Shops, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Gower, Mr. Lloyd-George, Colonel Hughes, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Melville, Mr. Nannetti, Sir Barrington Simeon, and Mr. Tennant.

February 19.] *Page*

Shops Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to Shops," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 41.] 461

FRANCHISE AND REMOVAL OF WOMEN'S DISABILITIES.—Bill to establish a single franchise at all elections, and thereby to abolish University representation, and to remove the disabilities of Women, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Logan, and Captain Norton.

Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities Bill.—"To establish a single franchise at all elections, and thereby to abolish University representation, and to remove the disabilities of Women," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 3rd April, and to be printed. [Bill 42.] 467

WAGES BOARDS.—Bill to provide for the establishment of Wages Boards, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Mr. M'Kenna, Mr. Tennant, and Mr. Trevelyan.

Wages Boards Bill.—"To provide for the establishment of Wages Boards," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 26th June, and to be printed. [Bill 43.] 462

RE-AFFORESTING (IRELAND).—Bill to promote the Re-afforesting of Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Nolan, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. Edward Thompson, Mr. Patrick White, Mr. Tully, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, and Mr. Thomas O'Donnell.

Re-afforesting (Ireland) Bill.—"To promote the Re-afforesting of Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 44.] 462

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Bill to enable Leaseholders to become Freeholders, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Mr. Kenyon, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir George Fardell, Mr. Cohen, and Mr. Spear.

Leasehold Enfranchisement (England and Wales) Bill.—"To enable Leaseholders to become Freeholders," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 45.] 462

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.—Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Perks, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Compton Rickett, Mr. Firbank, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. John Wilson (Mid-Durham), Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Bell, Mr. Crawfurd Smith, and Mr. Hain.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill.—"To prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 46.] 462

PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT (1874) AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, ordered to be brought in by Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. Brynmor Jones, and Colonel Sandys.

Public Worship Regulation Act (1874) Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 3rd April, and to be printed. [Bill 47.] .. 463

CORONERS' INQUESTS (RAILWAY FATALITIES).—Bill to amend the Law relating to Coroners' Inquests in the case of Fatal Accidents on Railways, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Channing, Mr. Bell, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. Schwann.

Coroners' Inquests (Railway Fatalities) Bill. "To amend the Law relating to Coroners' Inquests in the case of Fatal Accidents on Railways," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th February, and to be printed. [Bill 48.] .. 463

JURORS (IRELAND).—Bill to make provision for the payment of Jurors in Ireland, and to amend the Jury Laws, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William M'Killop, Mr. M'Hugh, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Tully, and Mr. O'Dowd.

Jurors (Ireland) Bill.—"To make provision for the payment of Jurors in Ireland, and to amend the Jury Laws," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 22nd April, and to be printed. [Bill 49] .. 463

CONTEMPT OF COURT.—Bill to define and limit the power of Judges to imprison for Contempt of Court, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. Crean, Mr. Roche, Mr. M'Killop, and Mr. Condon.

Contempt of Court Bill.—"To define and limit the power of Judges to imprison for Contempt of Court," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 22nd April, and to be printed. [Bill 50.] 464

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL.—Bill to relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain Disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary relief, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Strachey, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Courtenay Warner, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Platt-Higgins, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Rigg, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Nussey.

Friendly Societies Disqualification Removal Bill.—"To relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain Disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary relief," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 26th February, and to be printed. [Bill 51.] .. 464

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICA—RECRUITING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY IN AUSTRALIA.—Questions, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.) and Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) .. 464

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW COLONIES.—Question, Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain .. 465

SOUTH AFRICAN LANDS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain .. 466

February 19.] *Page*

COST OF THE WAR—THE TRANSVAAL CONTRIBUTION.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) 466

ALLEGED ORDERS TO SHOOT BOERS IN KHAKI.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 467

GUILDFORD CORPORATION—RESERVISTS AS FIREMEN.—Question, General Laurie (Pembroke and Haverfordwest); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 467

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—LORD ROBERTS AND "THE CLOSE OF THE WAR."—Question, Mr. Black (Banffshire); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 467

REINFORCEMENTS OF MOUNTED TROOPS.—Questions, Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.) and Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 468

HORSES OVERWEIGHTED—LIGHT-WEIGHT MEN.—Questions, Sir H. Meysey-Thompson (Staffordshire, Handsworth), Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.), Mr. James Lowther (Kent, Thanet), and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 468

FARM BURNING.—Question, Mr. Trevelyan; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 470

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—RATES OF PAY.—Questions, Sir Joseph Leigh (Stockport), Mr. Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's), and Mr. Dillon; Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 470

MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS—SERGEANT-MAJOR GARNER'S SAVINGS.—Question, Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping); Answer, Lord Stanley 471

PROVISION FOR PERMANENTLY DISABLED SOLDIERS.—Question, Mr. Levy (Leicestershire, Loughborough); Answer, Lord Stanley 472

OFFICERS' WAR GRATUITIES.—Question, Mr. Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton); Answer, Lord Stanley.. 472

SOLDIERS' WIDOWS AND ORPHANS IN IRISH POORHOUSES.—Question, Mr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 473

MILITARY AID TO THE CIVIL POWER—BILLETING RATES.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Lord Stanley 473

UNDER-AGE ENLISTMENTS.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 474

THE PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY FOR WAR.—Question, Captain Norton; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 474

ROMAN CATHOLIC ARMY AND NAVY CHAPLAINS.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 474

NAVY—BOILER COMMITTEE'S REPORT.—Question, Mr. Penn (Lewisham); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) .. 475

INDIA—CHINA AND THE OPIUM TRADE.—Question, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing) 475

COOPER'S HILL COLLEGE.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Lord George Hamilton 476

February 19.]

Page

CHINA—PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN LEGATIONS IN PEKING.—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 476

THE BUDGET.—Questions, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Sir John Leng (Dundee), and Mr. Channing; Answers, Sir M. Hicks Beach 477

REVENUE RETURNS AND EXCHEQUER ISSUES.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Sir M. Hicks Beach 477

INCORPORATED LAW SOCIETY—DISCIPLINE COMMITTEE—CASE OF B. G. LAKE.—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Sir M. Hicks Beach 478

GIBRALTAR—ACCOMMODATION FOR NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES.—Questions, Mr. Stevenson (Suffolk, Eye) and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 479

HARBOUR DUES—TONNAGE MEASUREMENTS.—Questions, Mr. Ffrench (Wexford, S.), Mr. Gibson Bowles, and Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 480

CRUELTY IN CAPTURING SONG BIRDS AND ALBATROSS.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 480

TRIENNIAL BOROUGH COUNCIL ELECTIONS.—Question, Captain Jessel (St. Pancras, S.); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Long, Bristol, S.) 481

HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS—OFFICIAL RECOGNITION.—Question, Mr. Yoxall (Nottingham, W.); Answer, The Vice-President of the Board of Education (Sir John Gorst, Cambridge University) 481

STREET REFUGES IN PICCADILLY.—Question, Sir Barrington Simeon (Southampton); Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 482

DOG MUZZLING IN COUNTY CARMARTHEN.—Question, Mr. Lloyd Morgan (Carmarthenshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 482

IRISH AND SCOTCH REPRESENTATIVES AND THE DEMISE OF THE CROWN.—Questions, Mr. John Campbell and Mr. James Lowther; Answers, The Attorney General Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs) 483

LONDON TELEPHONE SYSTEM.—Question, Mr. Thomas Dewar; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 484

URBAN DISTRICT VALUATIONS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick's); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 484

ANNALLY (COUNTY LONGFORD) ESTATE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 486

IRISH HEAD LAND COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 486

RAILWAYS IN COUNTY MEATH.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 487

February 19.] *Page*

CRIME IN COUNTY DONEGAL—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 487

LONDONDERRY AND THE PEACE PROCLAMATION (IRELAND) ACT.—Questions, Mr. O'Doherty; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 488

LATE LONGFORD PETTY SESSIONS CLERK.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 489

TIPPERARY RENT APPEALS.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 489

TIPPERARY RENT APPEALS.—Questions, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.) and Mr. Flavin; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 490

DUBLIN POST OFFICE—SORTERS' GRIEVANCES.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 490

DUNGARVAN POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.—Question, Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 491

IRISH LIGHTS BOARD.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour .. 491

IRISH LIGHTSHIPS—REPAIRS.—Question, Captain Donelan (Cork, E.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 492

ESTATE DUTY IN IRELAND.—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Sir M. Hicks Beach 493

TREASURY GRANTS FOR IRISH HARBOUR CONSTRUCTION.—Questions, Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.) and Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, Sir M. Hicks Beach 493

ROYAL OPENINGS OF PARLIAMENT—ACCOMMODATION FOR MEMBERS.—Questions, Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.) and Mr. Stevenson; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 494

CAPRICIOUS DISMISSAL OF SCHOOL TEACHERS.—Question, Mr. Crombie (Kincardineshire); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 495

SCOTTISH EDUCATION BILL.—Questions, Mr. Crombie and Mr. Bartley; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 495

QUEEN VICTORIA'S FUNERAL—THE MEMBERS' STAND.—Questions, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.), Mr. Alfred Davies (Carmarthen Boroughs), and Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Akers Douglas 497

AGRICULTURAL LAND RATING ACT, 1896—TITHE RENT-CHARGE (RATES) ACT, 1899.—Question, Mr. George Whiteley (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 498

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (KING'S SPEECH).—Ordered, That the Proceedings of the Address in answer to His Majesty's Speech have precedence this day and to-morrow of all other business.—(*Mr. Balfour.*) 498

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (ASH WEDNESDAY).—Motion made, and Question put, "That this House do meet to-morrow at Two of the clock."—(*Mr. Balfour.*) 498

The House divided:—Ayes, 276; Noes, 153. (Division List No. 3.)

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—Fourth Day's Debate :—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February],

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed :—

Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.) 503
The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) .. 510
Mr. C. P. Scott (Lancashire, Leigh) 523
Mr. Law (Glasgow, Blackfriars) 527
Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) 530
Lord Alwyne Compton (Bedfordshire, Biggleswade) 536
Mr. Harwood (Bolton) 542

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present. House counted, and forty Members being found present—

Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.) 546
Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) 547
Mr. Daly (Monaghan, S.) 548
Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.) 552
Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.) 553

LICENSING LAWS.

Mr. Whittaker (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley) 557
Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.) 570

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words,—'But we humbly express our regret to Your Majesty that, having regard to the Reports of the recent Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws and the widespread desire which exists that some effort should be made to diminish the evil, which they describe as gigantic and a national degradation, there is no indication in Your Majesty's Gracious Speech of any intention to deal at all adequately with this subject.'"—(*Mr. Whittaker.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Discussion :—

Colonel Blundell (Lancashire, Ince) 575
Sir William Houldsworth (Manchester, N.W.) 575
Major Jameson (Clare, W.) 579
Sir Mark Stewart (Kirkcudbrightshire) 580
Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.) 582

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

February 19.] **Page**

DECLARATIONS OF HEADS OF STATES.—Address for "Return of the various Oaths or Declarations touching religion which are made on their accession to power by the Heads of the following States: Great Britain and Ireland, Empire of Germany, United States, France, Austro-Hungary."—(*Colonel Nolan.*) 586

Adjourned at two minutes after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

The House met at Two of the clock.

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.—Petitions in favour, from West Sussex; Newport (twenty); Cherrington (three); Tibberton (six); Kynnersley (two); Market Drayton; Great Chatwell (two); Horton; Donnington (two); Lilleshall (five); Heath Hill; Edgmond (six); Caynton (two); Edgmond Common; Chetwynd (two); Pickstock; and Chetwyn Park; to lie upon the Table.. 587

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.—Petition from Stroud Green, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 587

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Leicester; and Norwich; to lie upon the Table 587

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Sunderland; and Cannock; to lie upon the Table 587

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.—Petitions in favour, from Newport Pagnell; and Fenny Stratford; to lie upon the Table 587

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.—Petitions in favour, from Surbiton; and Glasgow (two); to lie upon the Table 587

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICE (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1900–1901).—Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 29.] 587

SAINT VINCENT.—Copy presented, of the Amending Prison Rules, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 588

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Minute of the Board of Education, dated 31st July, 1900, modifying Article 101 (g) of the Day School Code, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 588

SEA FISHERIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.—Copy ordered, of "Statistical Tables and Memorandum relating to the Sea Fisheries of the United Kingdom in the year 1900, including also a Return showing the Quantity of Fish carried by railway from each of the Principal Ports of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in each year from 1895 to 1900, inclusive (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 58, of Session 190)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 32.] 588

February 20.] *Page*

FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMERCE.—Copy ordered, "of Monthly Accounts relating to the Trade and Commerce of certain Foreign Countries and British Possessions."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 33.] 588

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—Fifth Day's Debate :—

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [19th February] to Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question to add the words—'But we humbly express our regret to Your Majesty that, having regard to the Reports of the recent Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws and the widespread desire which exists that some effort should be made to diminish the evil, which they describe as gigantic and a national degradation, there is no indication in Your Majesty's Gracious Speech of any intention to deal at all adequately with this subject.'"—(*Mr. Whittaker.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

LICENSING LAWS.

Discussion :—

Mr. Tully (*Leitrim, S.*) 589
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 592
Mr. Caine (*Cornwall, Camborne*) 595
Sir John Kennaway (*Devonshire, Honiton*) 607
Mr. Douglas (*Lanarkshire, N.W.*) 610
Mr. Randles (*Cumberland, Cockermouth*) 613
The Secretary of State for the Home Department (*Mr. Ritchie, Croydon*) 614
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 628
Colonel Pilkington (*Lancashire, Newton*) 633
Mr. Bell (*Derby*) 636
Mr. J. W. Wilson (*Worcestershire, N.*) 638
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 639

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 146; Noes, 272. (Division List No. 4.)

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising; and, it being half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

February 20.] Page

NEW BILLS.

Evicted Tenants (Ireland).—Bill for the reinstatement of the Evicted Tenants in Ireland, and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. James O'Kelly.

Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill.—"For the reinstatement of the Evicted Tenants in Ireland, and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 52.] 645

Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment (No. 2).—Bill to Amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Kenna, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Bell, Mr. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Markham, and Mr. Broadhurst.

Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment (No. 2) Bill.—"To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th February, and to be printed. [Bill 53.] 645

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland).—Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays and Sundays, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Jordan, Colonel Saunderson, and Mr. Kennedy.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays and Sundays," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 54.] .. 646

Ulster Custom.—Bill to provide a further remedy for enforcing the Ulster Tenant-right Custom in the case of sales thereunder, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Moore, Mr. Lonsdale, and Mr. Archdale.

Ulster Custom Bill.—"To provide a further remedy for enforcing the Ulster Tenant-right Custom in the case of sales thereunder," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th March, and to be printed. [Bill 55.] 646

Tied Houses Abolition.—Bill to provide for the abolition of Tied Houses, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Broadhurst, Sir John Brunner, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Levy, and Mr. Thomas Bayley.

Tied Houses Abolition Bill.—"To provide for the abolition of Tied Houses," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed [Bill 56.] .. 646

Adjourned at a quarter before Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 21st FEBRUARY, 1901.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK :—

Petition of Charles Botolph Joseph, Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton, for leave to lodge his printed case ; read, and ordered as prayed.

Petition of Charles Botolph Joseph, Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton, praying that he may be permitted to refer in his printed case, and in any proceedings which may follow in their Lordships' House, to the printed evidence adduced in support of the Petition of Alfred Joseph, then Baron and Lord Stourton, presented on the 11th of May, 1876 ; read and referred to the Committee for Privileges 647

DARCY DE KNAYTH, MEYNILL, AND FAUCONBERG BARONIES.—Petition of (1) Marcia Amelia Mary Countess of Yarborough, and in her own right Baroness Conyers, the wife of Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough, and of (2) Violet Ida Elvyn, the wife of George Charles Earl of Powis ; praying that they may be allowed to refer in their printed case and in any proceedings which may follow in their Lordships' House, to the evidence adduced in support of the Petition of George William Frederick Marquess of Carmarthen, claiming the Barony of Conyers, presented on the 25th of April, 1797, and also to the evidence adduced in support of the Petition of Sir Henry Paston Bedingfeld, claiming the Barony of Grandison, presented on the 20th February, 1854 ; read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges 647

Several Lords took the Oath.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS :—

I. Annual Series : No. 2556. Yucatan No. 2557. Thessaly (Trade and Agriculture).

II. Miscellaneous Series ; No. 548. United States (Beet Sugar Industry). 647

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACTS, 1854–1894.—Twelfth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission ; with appendix 648

ARMY :—

I. Return of Military Forces in South Africa : 1899–1901.

II. Correspondence between Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, Commanding-in-Chief South African Field Force, and Acting Commandant-General Botha, dated 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th June, 1900 648

AGRICULTURAL SEEDS.—Report and evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire into the conditions under which agricultural seeds are at present sold ; together with appendices and index 648

INDIA (ROYAL INDIAN ENGINEERING COLLEGE).—Correspondence relating to the remodelling of the studies and the retirement of certain of the Professors and Lecturers 648

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

February 21.] Page

SAINT VINCENT.—Amending Prison Rules, 1900 648

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION SCHEMES, INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETIES, AND TRADE UNIONS.—Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1900 648

PUBLIC RECORDS :—

I. Court of Common Pleas: Further schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents of His Majesty's late Court of Common Pleas, at Westminster, which are now in the Public Record Office, but are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein;

II. Paymaster General's Department: Second Schedule, containing a list and particulars of classes of documents which have been removed from the Office of His Majesty's Paymaster General, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein 648

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA (CAMPAIGN).—Return stating the number of sailors and soldiers, giving their names and description, who have been invalided home since the commencement of the South African campaign, and have died from wounds or disease—Address for (*The Marquess of Ailesbury*) .. 649

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Berwickshire County Town Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to constitute the town of Duns to be the head burgh or county town of Berwickshire—was presented by the Lord Balfour; read 1*a*; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 9.) 649

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons—

1. That provisions of the Caledonian Electric Power Order, the Caledonian Railway Order, the Cyde Valley Electrical Power Order, the Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Transfer Order, the Glasgow and South Western Railway Order, and the North British Railway Order, are of such a character that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bills and not by Provisional Orders.

2. That the provisions of the Paisley Police Public Health and Tramways Order (other than those relating to Tramways) raise such questions of policy and principle, that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bill, but that the Provisional Order so far as it relates to Tramways may proceed.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 649

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Cremation Bill [H.L.]. A Bill for the regulation of the burning of human remains, and to enable burial authorities to establish crematoria—was presented by the Lord Monkswell; read 1 ; and to be printed. [No. 10.] 650

February 21.] *Page*

Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, Amendment Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894—was presented by the Lord Muskerry; read 1^a; and to be printed. [No. 11.] 650

House adjourned during pleasure; and resumed by the Lord Chancellor.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—HOSPITALS COMMISSION.

Discussion :—

The Earl of Kilmorey 650
The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Raglan) 651
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 651
Lord Tweedmouth 652

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, THURSDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PETITIONS.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).—Petition from Newchurch, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 654

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Woking; Northwich; Torquay; and Paignton; to lie upon the Table 655

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACTS, 1854 TO 1894.—Copy presented, of Twelfth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission, with Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 655

AGRICULTURAL SEEDS.—Copy presented, of Report and Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire into the conditions under which Agricultural Seeds are at present sold, together with Appendices and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 655

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.—Account presented, showing the gross amount received and expended on account of the Telegraph Service during the year ended 31st March, 1900, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 34.] 655

EAST INDIA (ROYAL INDIAN ENGINEERING COLLEGE).—Copy presented, of Correspondence relating to the re-modelling of the Studies, and the retirement of certain of the Professors and Lecturers [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 655

February 21.] Page

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2556 and 2557 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 655

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 548 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 655

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE:—

1. Friendly Societies, Workmen's Compensation Schemes, Industrial and Provident Societies, and Trade Unions.—Reports of the Chief Registrar for the year ending 31st December, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 35.]
2. Irish Land Commission (Account).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission for the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 36.]
3. Public Records (Court of Common Pleas).—Copy of Further Schedule of Documents (of the Court of Common Pleas) which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].
4. Public Records (Paymaster General's Department).—Copy of Second Schedule of Documents (of the Paymaster General's Department) which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].
5. Charitable Endowments (West Riding of the County of York), Charitable Endowments (Bradford), Inquiry into Charities (Parish of Halifax, including County Borough of Halifax), Inquiry into Charities (City of Sheffield), Leeds (Inquiry into Charities), Huddersfield County Borough (Charities).—Further Returns relative thereto [ordered 10th August, 1894; 13th May, 1896; 8th February, 1897; 8th April, 1897; 29th July, 1897; *Mr. Francis Stevenson* and *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 37.] 656

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.—Copy ordered, "of account showing the gross amount received and the gross amount expended in respect of the Telegraph Service from the date of the transfer of the Telegraphs to the State to the 31st day of March, 1900 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 61, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 38.] 656

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—PROPOSED IMPERIAL MEMORIAL TO THE TROOPS.—Question, Sir Arthur Hayter (Walsall); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 657

ALLEGED OUTRAGES BY BRITISH TROOPS—LIEUTENANT MORRISON'S LETTER.—Questions, Major Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) and Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 657

COMMISSION ON EMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Mr. Crombie (Kincardineshire); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 658

MONEY GRANTS TO BRITISH GENERALS.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 658

February 21.]

Page

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANNEXATION PROCLAMATIONS AND PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.—Question, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 658

THE REV. A. HOFMEYR'S MISSION.—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 659

SIR A. MILNER'S SALARY.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 660

ALLEGED MURDER OF A NATIVE BY A BRITISH OFFICER'S ORDERS.—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain .. 660

ALLEGED ESCAPE OF BOER PRISONERS.—Question, Sir H. Meysey-Thompson (Staffordshire, Handsworth); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 661

AWARDS OF VICTORIA CROSSES.—Question, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 661

REWARDS FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN THE FIELD.—Question, Lieut.-Colonel Lee (Hampshire, Fareham); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 661

PAARDEBERG DESPATCHES.—Questions, The Master of Elibank (Midlothian) and Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 662

SOLDIERS JOINING THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY.—Question, Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 663

ALLEGATIONS OF BOER BRUTALITY—CASE OF ESAU, ETC.—Questions, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton), Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee), Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.), and Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 665

SUPPRESSION OF ENGLISH PAPERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Questions, Mr. Labouchere and Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 665

FARM BURNING.—Question, Mr. M'Govern (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 666

PURSUIT OF DE WET—ABANDONED HORSES.—Question, Sir H. Meysey-Thompson; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 666

BRABANT'S HORSE—TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT.—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 667

THE WELSH HOSPITAL AT THE FRONT.—Question, Mr. Brynmor Jones (Swansea District); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 667

RATE OF PAY FOR NEW RECRUITS.—Question, Mr. Renwick (Newcastle-on-Tyne); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 668

RATES OF PAY FOR VARIOUS FORCES.—Question, Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.); Answer, Lord Stanley 668

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES OF IRISH HORSES.—Questions, Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.), Mr. Flavin, and Mr. Cullinan; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 669

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES OF HUNGARIAN HORSES.—Question, Mr. Beaumont (Northumberland, Hexham); Answer, Lord Stanley 670

TREATMENT OF YEOMANRY RECRUITS AT ALDERSHOT.—Question, Mr. Herbert Lewis (Flint Boroughs); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 670

February 21.] *Page*

OFFICERS' PAY.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Brodrick .. 670

GRATUITIES TO MILITIA OFFICERS.—Question, Mr. Edwards (Radnorshire); Answer, Lord Stanley 670

MILITIA EMBODIMENT.—Questions, Mr. Bill (Staffordshire, Leek) and Mr. Lambert; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 671

WAR OFFICE REORGANISATION COMMITTEE.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 671

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS IN DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Lord Stanley 672

ARMY CONTRACT SYSTEM IN IRELAND.—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 673

ARMY BEER CONTRACTS IN IRELAND.—Questions, Mr. Daly (Monaghan, S.) and Mr. Nannetti; Answers, Lord Stanley 674

IRISH FORAGE FOR ARMY HORSES.—Questions, Mr. Daly and Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick's); Answers, Lord Stanley 675

HONOURS FOR WARRANT OFFICERS OF THE NAVY.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 675

SUBMARINE BOATS.—Question, Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 676

WARRANT OFFICERS' WIDOWS' ANNUITIES—CASE OF MRS. BALL.—Question, Mr. Kearley; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 676

CASE OF THOMAS REYNOLDS—H.M. NAVAL RESERVE.—Question, Mr. Lloyd Morgan (Carmarthenshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 677

NAVAL CADETS' GREAT COATS—Question, Mr. Norman (Wolverhampton, S.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 677

TIME-EXPIRED SOLDIERS IN INDIA.—Question, Mr. Cochrane; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing) 677

NEW INDIAN PROVINCE.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Lord George Hamilton 677

CHINA—COUNT VON WALDERSEE'S EXPEDITION.—Questions, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Yerburgh (Chester), Mr. James O'Kelly (Roscommon, N.), and Mr. James Lowther (Kent, Thanet); Answers, Lord George Hamilton .. 678

RUSSO-CHINESE AGREEMENT REGARDING MANCHURIA.—Question, Mr. Yerburgh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 679

PUNISHMENT OF CHINESE OFFICIALS.—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, Viscount Cranborne 680

ITALY AND BRITISH PROPERTY IN PEKING.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Viscount Cranborne 680

LOOT FROM PEKING.—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 680

SUGAR BOUNTIES CONFERENCE.—Question, Colonel Milward (Warwickshire, Stratford-upon-Avon); Answer, Viscount Cranborne 681

WEST INDIAN PRISONS—PENAL LABOUR.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answer Mr. J. Chamberlain 681

February 21.]

Page

OLD AGE PENSIONS IN THE COLONIES.—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 682

THE NEW COINAGE.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) .. 682

POLICE PROSECUTIONS FOR PALMISTRY, ETC.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) 683

JUSTICES AND THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.—Question, Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Ritchie 683

NATURALISATION OF ALIENS—FEES.—Question, Mr. Lough; Answer, Mr. Ritchie 683

COLLISIONS AT SEA.—Question, Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) .. 683

ELECTRIC TRAMS—STANDARD GAUGE.—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 684

MANNING OF MERCHANT VESSELS—THE "PRIMROSE HILL."—Question, Mr. Hoult (Cheshire, Wirral); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 685

RAILWAY CARRIAGE COMPARTMENTS—CORRIDOR TRAINS.—Question, Mr. Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 686

HOLYHEAD PIER.—Question, Mr. Ellis Griffith (Anglesey); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 686

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT, 1899.—Question, Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 687

DEATHS FROM BEER POISONING IN ENGLAND.—Question, Mr. Flavin; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 687

PRECAUTION AGAINST SMALL-POX.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 687

SWINE FEVER.—Question, Mr. Lambert; Answer, Mr. Walter Long.. .. 688

POSTMEN CANDIDATES FOR POSTMASTERSHIPS.—Question, Mr. Lough; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 688

OVERTIME IN THE POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 688

SPORTING RIGHTS ON GOVERNMENT LAND IN WALES.—Question, Mr. Edwards (Radnorshire); Answer ,Mr. Austen Chamberlain 689

MAIDSTONE ELECTION PETITION.—Questions, Mr. Channing and Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.); Answers, The Attorney General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs) 690

REFORM OF THE CIRCUIT SYSTEM.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Sir Robert Finlay 691

LEGAL PROCEDURE—SUPPRESSION OF WITNESSES' NAMES.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Sir Robert Finlay 691

EDUCATION—REGINA v. COCKERTON.—Question, Mr. Kenyon (Lancashire, Bury); Answer, The Vice-President of the Board of Education (Sir John Gorst, Cambridge University) 692

February 21.]

Page

ALLEGED ORANGE OUTRAGES IN LONDONDERRY.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 692

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 693

OWENMORE RIVER (CO. SLIGO) DRAINAGE.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 694

LAND JUDGES' COURT RETURN.—Questions, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.) and Mr. Cullinan; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 695

IRISH POLICE—SICK REGULATIONS.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 695

IRISH CONSTABULARY FORCE FUND.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 699

THE RECENT "DAY OF GENERAL MOURNING"—IRISH POLICE AND SHOPKEEPERS. —Questions, Mr. M'Fadden (Donegal, E.) and Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 698

STEAM TRAWLING IN GALWAY BAY.—Question, Mr. Morris (Galway); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 698

ARTERIAL DRAINAGE AND REAFFORESTATION (IRELAND).—Question, Mr. M'Govern (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 698

BEER POISONING IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Flavin; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 699

DONEGAL LAND APPEALS.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 699

LETTERKENNY LAND APPEALS.—Question, Mr. M'Fadden; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 701

AGRARIAN DISPUTE IN SOUTH SLIGO.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 701

CORK ASSIZES SUB-LAND COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. Barry (Cork County, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 701

OGILBY ESTATE, CO. TYRONE.—Question, Mr. Murnaghan (Tyrone, Mid); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 702

KENNY ESTATE, CO. GALWAY.—Question, Mr. Roche (Galway, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 702

IRISH DAIRY INDUSTRY.—Question, Mr. O'Mara (Kilkenny, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 702

DUAL OWNERSHIP OF IRISH LAND.—Question, Captain Donelan (Cork, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 703

IRISH ASSESSMENTS.—Questions, Mr. Field and Mr. O'Shee; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 704

IRISH LABOURERS' COTTAGES—UNEXTENDED GRANTS.—Question, Mr. O'Shee; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 704

REPAIR OF IRISH ROADS.—Question, Mr. Lundon (Limerick, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 705

ENNISCORTHY ASYLUM—ACCOUNTS AUDIT.—Question, Mr. Ffrench (Wexford, S.); Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 706

Working-Class Houses in Boyle.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 706

St. Mel's Cathedral.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 707

Irish Solicitors and Somerset House Appointments.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 708

Ballybofey Sub-Postmastership.—Question, Mr. Boyle (Donegal, W.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 708

Agricultural Rating and Tithe Rent-charge Bills.—Question, Mr. George Whiteley (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 709

Royal Academy—Proposed Royal Commission.—Question, Mr. Stevenson (Suffolk, Eye); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 709

The Civil List.—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 709

Municipal Trading.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 710

Cost of the Coronation.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 710

Address in Answer to His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech.—Sixth Day's Debate:—

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

Irish Land Acts.

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 711
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 728

Amendment proposed—
"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the administration of the Irish Land Acts is not satisfactory to any class of Your Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and that the only permanent solution of the Irish Land Question must be found in a measure providing for the general and immediate creation of an occupying proprietary by the establishment of a system of compulsory sale and purchase.'"—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

February 22.] *Page*

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Discussion :—

The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) .. 746
Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*) 758
Mr. Lonsdale (*Armagh, Mid*) 761
Mr. J. P. Farrell (*Longford, N.*) 762
Mr. John Gordon (*Londonderry, S.*) 765
Mr. Barry (*Cork, S.*) 769
Colonel Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) 771
Dr. Thompson (*Monaghan, N.*) 779
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Wyndham, Dover*) 781
Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) 794
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 800
Mr. Macartney (*Antrim, S.*) 802

Mr. T. W. Russell rose in his place and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 251 ; Noes, 132. (Division List No. 5.)

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there added."

The House divided :—Ayes, 140 ; Noes, 235. (Division List No. 6.)

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising ; and, it being after midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 22ND FEBRUARY, 1901.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Aire and Calder Navigation ; Albion Steam Coal Company ; Aldeburgh Corporation (Water) ; Aldershot Gas and Water ; Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railways ; Alfreton Gas ; Arlesey Gas ; Aspatria, Silloth, and District Water ; Barrow-in-Furness Corporation ; Bath Gas Light and Coke ; Belfast Harbour ; Bethlem Hospital ; Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment); Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Extension of Time, etc.) ; Bingley Urban District Council ; Blackburn Corporation ; Blackpool Improvement ; Bolton Corporation ; Bournemouth Corporation ; Bradford Corporation ; Bridewell Hospital ; Brighton Corporation ; Bristol, Clifton, and West of England Zoological Society ; Bristol Corporation Cemetery ; Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.) ; British Gas Light Company (Hull Station) ; British Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company ; Broadstairs and St Peter's Water and Improvement ; Burgess Hill Water ; Burton-upon-Trent Corporation ; Bury Corporation ; Bury Corporation Tramways ; Cardiff Corporation ; Cardiff Railway ; Central London Railway ; Charing Cross, Euston,

February 22.] *Page*

and Hampstead Railway (No. 1); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No 2); Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and District Electric Railway; Chester Gas; Chesterfield Improvement; Christ's Hospital (London); City and Brixton Railway; City and North-East Suburban Electric Railway; City and South London Railway; City of London (Spitafields Market); Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power; Colwyn Bay and Colwyn Urban District Gas; Cork, Blackrock, and Passage Railway; Crawley Gas; Cromer Water; Derby Corporation; Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power; Derwent Valley Water Board; Devonport Corporation (Gas); Devonport Gas and Coke; District Messenger and Theatre Ticket Company; Doncaster Tithe Trust; Dorking Gas; Dover Corporation; Dover Gas; Dover Harbour; Dublin Corporation (Markets, etc.); Dublin (Equalisation of Rates); Dublin Port and Docks Board; Dublin St. James' Gate Brewery Tramways; East Middlesex Electricity (District Councils); Easton and Church Hope Railway; Eccles Corporation; Elland Gas; Fairford and Cirencester Railway; Faversham Water; Folkestone Corporation; Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway; Gas Light and Coke Company; Gateshead and District Tramways; Golborne Gas; Gravesend Gas; Great Central Railway; Great Eastern Railway; Great Northern Railway; Great Southern and Western Railway; Great Western Railway; Handsworth Urban District Council; Harpenden District Gas; Harrogate Water; Hartlepool Gas and Water (Transfer); Heckmondwike Gas (Transfer); Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants); Heywood and Middleton Water Board; Honley Urban District Council (Gas); Horley District Gas; Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock; Humber Commercial Railway and Dock; Ilkeston and Heanor Water Board; Irish Presbyterian Church; Islington and Euston Railway; Kettering Urban District Water; Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway; King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways; King's Road Railway; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Dearne Valley Junction Railways); Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers); Leatherhead Gas; Leeds Churches; Leeds Corporation (General Powers); Leeds Corporation Water; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Water; Llandrindod Wells Water; Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway; Llanelly Harbour; London and India Docks (Lighterage Rates, etc.); London and India Docks (New Works, etc.); London and North-Western Railway; London Bridge Widening; London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway; London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen; London County Council (General Powers); London County Council (Spitalfields Market); London Riverside Fish Market; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway; London Water (Purchase of Companies); Long Eaton Gas; Lowestoft Corporation; Lynton and Barnstaple Railway; Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway; Manchester Corporation; Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements; Mansfield Corporation; Margate Corporation; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board; Metropolitan District Railway; Metropolitan Electric Supply; Metropolitan Railway; Metropolitan Water Companies (Amendment of Acts); Midland Railway; Milford Docks; Mond Gas; Neath Harbour; Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas; Newport (Isle of Wight) Gas; Nitrate Railways Company; North-East London Railway; Newry Port and Harbour Trust; New Swindon Gas; North-Eastern Railway; Nottingham Corporation; Notting Hill Electric Lighting; Oakham Water; Omagh Gas; Otley Gas; Pembroke Urban District Council (County of Dublin); Petersfield and Selsey Gas; Piccadilly and City Railway; Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway; Poulton le-Fylde Gas; Prestatyn Water;

February 22.] *Page*

Rhyl Bridge; Rhyl Improvement; Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water; Richmond Gas; Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water; Ripon Corporation; Royal Exchange Assurance; Rugby Water and Improvement; St Bartolomew's Hospital; Salford Corporation; Shannon Water and Electric Power; Sheffield Corporation; Sheffield District Railway; Shields Bridge; Shipley Improvement; Shireoaks, Laughton, and Maltby Railway; Shrewsbury Gas; Smethwick Corporation; Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways; South Essex Water; South Metropolitan Gas; Southport Water (Transfer); South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway; Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield Tramways and Electricity Board; Stockport Corporation Water; Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction, East and West Junction and Evesham, Redditch and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway Companies; Stratton and Bude Gas; Stratton and Bude Improvement; Stroud Gas; Swanage Gas and Water; Swansea Harbour; Taff Vale Railway; Tees Valley Water Board; Tendring Hundred Water; Thames Deep Water Dock; Thames Lightermen; Thames Piers and River Service; Torrington and Okehampton Railway; Tottenham and Hampstead Junction Railway; Wallasey Improvement; Warkworth Harbour; Wells Corporation Water; Wells Water; West Cumberland Electric Tramways; West Surrey Water; Weston-Super-Mare Gas; Wisbech Water; Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway; Wolverhampton Corporation Water; Yorkshire Electric Power.

And the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with:—Birmingham City Tramways; Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway; Cambrian Railways; Cowes Ferry; Harrogate Corporation; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.); Scarborough Electric Tramways; South Yorkshire Electric Power; Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water); Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads; West and South London Junction Railway 811

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table. The same was ordered to be printed. (No. 12.) 816

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPHS).—Accounts showing the gross amount received and expended on account of the Telegraph Service during the year ended 31st March, 1900. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 816

THE ROYAL DECLARATION AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

Discussion:—

Lord Braye 816
The Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 816
Earl Spencer 817
Lord Herries 819
Lord Braye 820

MANNING OF MERCHANT VESSELS—THE LOSS OF THE "PRIMROSE HILL."—Question, Lord Muskerry; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (The Earl of Dudley) 821

House adjourned at five minutes before Five of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, 22ND FEBRUARY, 1901.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Private Bill Petitions (Standing Orders not Complied with).—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz:—Cambrian Railway Bill; Scarborough Electric Tramways Bill; South Yorkshire Electric Power Bill.

Ordered, That the Reports be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 822

Private Bills [Lords].—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz:—Aire and Calder Navigation; Albion Steam Coal Company; Alfreton Gas; Arlesey Gas; Aspatria, Silloth, and District Water; Barrow-in-Furness Corporation; Bath Gas Light and Coke; Belfast Harbour; Bethlem Hospital; Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment); Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Extension of Time, etc.); Bolton Corporation; Bournemouth Corporation; Bridewell Hospital; Bristol, Clifton, and West of England Zoological Society; Bristol Corporation Cemetery; Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.); Broadstairs and St. Peter's Water and Improvement; Cardiff Railway; Central London Railway; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 1); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 2); Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and District Electric Railway; Chesterfield Improvement; Chester Gas; Christ's Hospital (London); City and Brixton Railway; City and North East Suburban Electric Railway; City and South London Railway; Cork, Blackrock, and Passage Railway; Doncaster Tithe Trust; Dover Corporation; Dover Gas; Dover Harbour; Easton and Church Hope Railway; Elland Gas; Faversham Water; Folkestone Corporation; Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway; Great Southern and Western Railway; Handsworth Urban District Council; Harpenden District Gas; Harrogate Water; Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants); Heywood and Middleton Water Board; Islington and Euston Railway; King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways; King's Road Railway; Leeds Churches; Leeds Corporation (General Powers); Leeds Corporation Water; Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway; Llanelly Harbour; London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway; London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen; Lowestoft Corporation; Lynton and Barnstaple Railway; Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway; Manchester Corporation; Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board; Milford Docks; Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas; Newport (Isle of Wight) Gas; New Swindon Gas; Nitrate Railways Company; North East London Railway; Nottingham Corporation; Oakham Water; Omagh Gas; Otley Gas; Piccadilly and City Railway; Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway; Poulton-le-Fylde Gas; Prestatyn Water; Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water; Ripon Corporation; Royal Exchange Assurance; Rugby Water and Improvement; St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Salford Corporation; Sheffield Corporation; Sheffield District Railway; Shields Bridge; Shrewsbury Gas; Smethwick Corporation; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways; South Essex Water; Southport Water (Transfer); South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway; Stockport Corporation Water; Stratton and Bude Gas; Stratton and Bude Improvement; Workworth Harbour; Weston-super-Mare Gas; Wisbech Water

And that they have certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following cases, viz.:—Birmingham (City) Tramways; Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway; Cowes Ferry; Harrogate Corporation; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.); Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water); Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads; West and South London Junction Railway 823

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [Lords] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Birmingham (City) Tramways Bill [Lords]; Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway Bill [Lords]; Cowes Ferry Bill [Lords]; Harrogate Corporation Bill [Lords]; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.,) Bill [Lords]; Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water) Bill [Lords]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [Lords]; West and South London Junction Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 825

ALDEBURGH CORPORATION (WATER).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pretyman and Mr. Stevenson 825

ALDERSHOT GAS AND WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bramston Beach and Mr. Jeffreys 826

ALEXANDRA (NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES) DOCKS AND RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Kenna and Mr. Alfred Thomas 826

BINGLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Duncan and Mr. Alfred Hutton 826

BLACKBURN CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hornby and Sir William Coddington 826

BLACKPOOL IMPROVEMENT.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Helme 826

BRADFORD CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Captain Greville, Mr. Wanklyn, and Mr. Flower 826

BRIGHTON CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Loder, Mr. Wentworth, and Sir Henry Fletcher 826

BRITISH GAS LIGHT COMPANY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Joicey and Mr. Skewes-Cox 826

BRITISH WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. W. F. D. Smith and Mr. Carvill.. 826

BURGESS HILL WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Henry Fletcher and Mr. Goschen 826

February 22.]

Page

BURTON-UPON-TRENT CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Gretton and Mr. Radcliffe 826

BURY CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. James Kenyon, Mr. Mather, and Mr. Cawley 826

BURY CORPORATION TRAMWAYS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. James Kenyon, Mr. Mather, and Mr. Cawley 827

CALEDONIAN ELECTRIC POWER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Renshaw, Mr. Baird, Sir William Arrol, and Mr. Colville 827

CALEDONIAN RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Renshaw and Mr. Hozier 827

CARDIFF CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Edward Reed and Mr. Alfred Thomas 827

CITY OF LONDON (SPITALFIELDS MARKET).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Horatio Davies, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale 827

CLEVELAND AND DURHAM COUNTY ELECTRIC POWER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pike Pease, Sir Christopher Furness, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), and Mr. Lambton 827

CLYDE VALLEY ELECTRICAL POWER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. Colville, Mr. John Baird, and Mr. Shaw-Stewart 827

COLWYN BAY AND COLWYN URBAN DISTRICT GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. George Kenyon and Mr. Herbert Roberts 827

CRAWLEY GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Heywood Johnstone, Sir John Brunner, and Mr, Humphreys-Owen 827

CROMER WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Gurdon and Mr. Price 827

DERBY CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Roe, Mr. Bell, Mr. Victor Cavendish, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Jacoby, and Mr. T. D. Bolton 827

DERBYSHIRE AND NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Rolleston and Mr. T. D. Bolton.. 828

DERWENT VALLEY WATER BOARD.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Roe, Mr. Broadhurst, Lord Henry Bentinck, and Mr. Stuart-Wortley 828

DEVONPORT CORPORATION (GAS).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Kearley and Mr. E. J. C. Morton 828

DEVONPORT GAS AND COKE.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. E. J. C. Morton and Mr. Fletcher Moulton 828

DISTRICT MESSENGER AND THEATRE TICKET COMPANY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Boulnois, Mr. Channing, Mr. Frederick Wilson, and Sir Thomas Esmonde 828

DORKING GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Skewes-Cox and Mr. Leigh-Bennett 828

February 22.] *Page*

Dublin Corporation (Markets, Etc.).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clancy, Mr. M'Cann, and Mr. Nannetti 828

Dublin (Equalisation of Rates).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clancy, Mr. Field, Mr. M'Cann, Mr. Mooney, and Mr. Nannetti .. 828

Dublin St. James' Gate Brewery Tramways.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harrington, Mr. Nannetti, and Mr. M'Cann 828

Eccles Corporation.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clare and Mr. Knowles 828

Fairford and Cirencester Railway.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and Sir John Aird 828

Gas Light and Coke Company.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Aird and Mr. Boulnois 829

Gateshead and District Tramways.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Atherley-Jones, and Mr. Lyttelton 829

Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Transfer.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Renshaw and Mr. Parker Smith 829

Glasgow and South Western Railway.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Baird, and Sir William Arrol .. 829

Golborne Gas.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Lord Balcarres and Mr. Tomlinson 829

Gravesend Gas.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alexander Brown and Captain Howard 829

Great Central Railway.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Chapman 829

Great Eastern Railway.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Lockwood and Mr. Penn 829

Great Northern Railway.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jackson and Mr. Fison 829

Great Western Railway.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. David M'Iver and Mr. Brassey 829

Hartlepools Gas and Water Transfer.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Christopher Furness and Mr. Lambton 829

Heckmondwike Gas (Transfer).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Whittaker and Mr. Oldroyd 829

Honley Urban District Council (Gas).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Kitson and Sir James Woodhouse 830

Horley District Gas.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs and Sir Joseph Dimsdale 830

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Seymour King, Mr. Firbank, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Sir James Woodhouse.. 830

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Lord Willoughby de Eresby and Mr. Doughty 830

ILKESTON AND HEANOR WATER BOARD.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Walter Foster and Mr. Victor Cavendish 830

IRISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Haslett, Mr. Wolff, and Mr. John Gordon 830

KETTERING URBAN DISTRICT WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Sackville and Mr. Channing 830

KINGSCOURT, KEADY, AND ARMAGH RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Haslett and Mr. John Gordon 830

KINGSTON-UPON HULL CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Firbank, Sir Henry Seymour King, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Sir James Woodhouse 830

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY (DEARNE VALLEY JUNCTION RAILWAYS).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hornby and Mr. Fielden 830

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY (VARIOUS POWERS).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hornby and Mr. Fielden .. 831

LEATHERHEAD GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. St. John Brodrick, Mr. Keswick, and Mr. Skewes-Cox 831

LLANDRINDOD WELLS URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Edwards, Lieutenant-Colonel Pryce-Jones, and Mr. Charles Morley 831

LLANDRINDOD WELLS WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bull and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree 831

LONDON AND INDIA DOCKS (NEW WORKS).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Dimsdale and Mr. Keswick 831

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Houldsworth, Colonel Lockwood, and Mr. Macartney 831

LONDON BRIDGE WIDENING.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Horatio Davies, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale 831

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bond, Mr. Bull, and Colonel Legge 831

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (SPITALFIELDS MARKET).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough and Mr. John Burns 831

LONDON RIVERSIDE FISH MARKET.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Horatio Davies, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale .. 831

LONDON, TILBURY, AND SOUTHEND RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Round and Mr. Courtenay Warner 831

LONDON WATER (PURCHASE).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough and Mr. John Burns 832

LONG EATON GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bond and Mr. Gretton 832

MANSFIELD CORPORATION.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Markham, Lord Henry Bentinck, Sir Frederick Milner, and Mr. Thomas Bayley 832

February 22.] *Page*

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Aird and Sir Charles Dalrymple 832

METROPOLITAN ELECTRIC SUPPLY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in Mr. Frederick Harris and Sir Fortescue Flannery 832

METROPOLITAN RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Nussey and Mr. M'Laren 832

METROPOLITAN WATER COMPANIES (AMENDMENT OF ACTS).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough and Mr. John Burns 832

MIDLAND RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Frederick Mappin and Sir William Coddington 832

MOND GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Robinson, Mr. Walford Green, and Colonel Webb 832

NEATH HARBOUR.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Brynmor Jones and Mr. Samuel Evans 832

NEWRY PORT AND HARBOUR TRUST.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Macartney, Mr. Archdale, Mr. M'Cann, and Mr. Carvill 832

NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by the Earl of Dalkieth and Mr. Anstruther 832

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Pease, Sir James Kitson, and Mr. Wharton 833

NOTTING HILL ELECTRIC LIGHTING.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stuart Samuel and Mr. Sinclair 833

PAISLEY POLICE AND PUBLIC HEALTH.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Dunn, Sir William Arrol, Mr. James M'Killop, and Mr. Wallace 833

PEMBROKE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (COUNTY OF DUBLIN).—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Gordon and Mr. M'Cann 833

PETERSFIELD AND SELSEY GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Leese and Mr. Goulding 833

RHYL BRIDGE.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bull, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Skewes-Cox 833

RHYL IMPROVEMENT.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Samuel Smith and Mr. Herbert Lewis 833

RICHMOND GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Barrington Simeon and Mr. Thornton 833

RICKMANSWORTH AND UXBRIDGE VALLEY WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Aird and Mr. Alban Gibbs 833

SHANNON WATER AND ELECTRIC POWER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harrington, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. William Johnston, and Mr. John Gordon 833

SHIPLEY IMPROVEMENT.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Fortescue Flannery and Mr. Duncan 833

February 22.]

Page

SHIREOAKS, LAUGHTON, AND MALTBY RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Holland and Mr. Langley 834

SOUTHAMPTON AND WINCHESTER GREAT WESTERN JUNCTION RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Mount and Mr. Arthur Morton 834

SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Banbury and Mr. Kimber 834

STALYBRIDGE, HYDE, MOSSLEY, AND DUKINFIELD TRAMWAYS AND ELECTRICITY BOARD.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. White Ridley, Mr. Cawley, Sir James Kitson, and Platt-Higgins. 834

STRATFORD-UPON-AVON, TOWCESTER, AND MIDLAND JUNCTION, EAST AND WEST JUNCTION, AND EVESHAM, REDDITCH, AND STRATFORD-UPON-AVON JUNCTION RAILWAY COMPANIES.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Dimsdale and Colonel Milward. 834

STROUD GAS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Dorington and Mr. Agg-Gardner 834

SWANAGE GAS AND WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sturt and Mr. James Bailey 834

SWANSEA HARBOUR.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir George Newnes, Mr. Brynmor Jones, and Mr. Aeron Thomas 834

TAFF VALE RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Edward Reed and Mr. D. A. Thomas 834

TEES VALLEY WATER BOARD.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Sadler and Colonel Ropner 834

TENDRING HUNDRED WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Round and Mr. Alexander Brown 834

THAMES DEEP WATER DOCK.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Louis Sinclair and Mr. Fletcher Moulton 835

THAMES LIGHTERMEN.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs and Mr. Charles Wilson 835

THAMES PIERS AND RIVER SERVICE.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Burns, Mr. Lough, and Mr. Whitmore 835

TORRINGTON AND OKEHAMPTON RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lambert and Mr. Soares 835

TOTTENHAM AND HAMPSTEAD JUNCTION RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Frederick Mappin and Mr. Penn 835

WALLASEY IMPROVEMENT.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hoult and Mr. Charles M'Arthur 835

WELLS CORPORATION WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Henry Hobhouse and Mr. Dickinson 835

WELLS WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Henry Hobhouse 835

WEST CUMBERLAND ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Helder, Colonel Bain, and Mr. Randles 835

February 22.] *Page*

WEST SURREY WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Seale-Hayne and Mr. Brassey 835

WOLVERHAMPTON AND CANNOCK CHASE RAILWAY.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Charles Shaw and Mr. Walford Green 835

WOLVERHAMPTON CORPORATION WATER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Henry Fowler, Sir Alfred Hickman, and Mr. Norman 835

YORKSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER.—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Fison, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Beckett 836

CAMBRIAN RAILWAYS.—Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 836

SCARBOROUGH ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS.—Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 836

SOUTH YORKSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER.—Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 836

STANDING ORDERS.—Ordered, That the Select Committee on Standing Orders do consist of thirteen Members:—Sir John Brunner, Sir William Coddington, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Halsey, Mr. Humphreys-Owen, Mr. James Lowther, Sir James Rankin, Mr. William Redmond, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Wodehouse, were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*) 836

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.—Petition from York, in favour; to lie upon the Table 836

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Weston-super-Mare; Goole; Merthyr Tydfil; Folkestone; and Long Eaton; to lie upon the Table .. 836

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Salford; and Folkestone; to lie upon the Table 836

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.—Petition from Camden Town, in favour; to lie upon the Table 836

JOHN ARMSTRONG AND OTHERS v. JOHN SCURRAH RANDLES.—A Petition of Thomas Wootton, Solicitor, for leave to the proper Officer of the House to attend a trial and produce documents and give evidence in the High Court of Justice. Leave to the proper officer to attend accordingly 837

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.—Return ordered, "of the Shorthand Writers' Notes of the Evidence which has been or may be taken at the trial of Election Petitions under the Acts relating thereto since the last General Election and during the present Session of Parliament; together with a Copy of the Shorthand Writers' Notes of the Judgments delivered by the Judges selected for the trial of Election Petitions, in pursuance of the said Acts; and Copies of Special Cases reserved and of all Election Petitions." (*Mr. Attorney General.*) 837

RMY (MILITARY FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA).—Copy presented, of Return of Military Forces in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 837

February 22.]

Page

ARMY (SOUTH AFRICA) (CORRESPONDENCE.)—Copy presented, of Correspondence between Field Marshal Lord Roberts, Commanding-in-Chief South African Field Force, and Acting-Commandant-General Botha, dated 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th June, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 837

ROYAL NIGER COMPANY.—Account presented, of the Money expended and borrowed and the Securities created under the Royal Niger Company Act, 1899, during the year ended 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 39.] 837

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Copy presented, of Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 837

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK ASSISTANT.—Controverted Elections. —Return relative thereto [ordered 22nd February; *Mr. Attorney General*]. 838

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—RECRUITING IN AUSTRALIA FOR SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE FORCES.—Question, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 838

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS AT THE CAPE.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 838

BOER MURDER OF ESAU AT CALVINIA.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) .. 839

GENERAL COLVILE'S RECALL.—Questions, Mr. Mansfield (Lincolnshire, Spalding), Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.), and Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 840

PROHIBITION OF ENGLISH PAPERS IN CAPE COLONY.—Questions, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.), Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.), and Mr. Flavin; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 841

PAY OF SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT.—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer Mr. Brodrick 842

FARM BURNING.—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 843

HOSPITAL COMMISSION—CASE OF CAPTAIN SHIPWITH, R.A.—Questions, Major Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) and Mr. Burdett-Coutts (Westminster); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 843

STRENGTH OF THE BOER FORCES—NUMBER OF PRISONERS.—Question, Mr. Atherley-Jones (Durham, N.W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 844

COST OF THE WAR.—Question, Mr. Herbert Lewis (Flint Boroughs); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M, Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) .. 844

ARBITRATION—ALLEGED OFFER OF MEDIATION FROM THE GERMAN EMPEROR.—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 845

PURCHASES OF HORSES.—Questions, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett, Captain Donelan (Cork, E.), Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny), Colonel Sandys (Lancashire, Bootle), and Mr. Philipps (Pembrokeshire); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) .. 845

February 22.]

PAGET'S HORSE—ARRANGEMENTS FOR RECRUITS AT ALDERSHOT.—Question, Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 847

GERMAN GUNS FOR THE ARMY.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Lord Stanley 848

GERMAN SADDLES FOR THE ARMY.—Question, Mr. Flavin; Answer, Lord Stanley 848

BARRACK FURNITURE.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 848

COMMITTEE ON YEOMANRY CAVALRY.—Question, Mr. W. F. D. Smith (Strand); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 849

THE WAR OFFICE AND INVENTIONS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Lord Stanley 849

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS—SCHOOLS OF INSTRUCTION.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Lord Stanley 850

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION—COMPARATIVE COST OF CIVIL AND MILITARY WORK.—Question, Captain Norton; Answer, Lord Stanley 850

MILITARY BEER CONTRACTS IN DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick's); Answer, Lord Stanley 850

ARMY VEGETABLE CONTRACTS.—Question, Mr. Flavin; Answer, Lord Stanley .. 850

WATER-TUBE BOILERS—OCEAN TRIALS.—Questions, Sir Fortescue Flannery (Yorkshire, W.R., Shipley), Sir James Joicey (Durham, Chester-le-Street), Mr. William Allan (Gateshead), and Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 851

NAVAL ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS.—Questions, Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and Captain Donelan; Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 853

WAGES IN GOVERNMENT DOCKYARDS.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 854

NEW ADMIRALTY BUILDINGS.—Question, Mr. Whitmore (Chelsea); Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 854

THE WAIMA INCIDENT—APPOINTMENT OF ARBITRATORS.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Viscount Cranborne .. 855

NORTH SEA FISHERIES—INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS.—Questions, Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.) and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Viscount Cranborne 855

VALUE OF PUBLICANS' LICENCES.—Question, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answer, Sir M. Hicks Beach 855

CRUELTY IN CAPTURING SONG BIRDS.—Question, Mr. Alexander Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) 856

MILITARY AID TO THE CIVIL POWER—LOCAL LIABILITY.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. Ritchie 856

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—CASE OF ROSE SUMNER.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Ritchie 857

February 22.]

Page

BURIAL LAWS CONSOLIDATION.—Question, Mr. Goddard (Ipswich); Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) 857

ROYAL PARKS—COST OF MAINTENANCE.—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 858

ASSISTANTS OF EXCISE—AGE LIMITS.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 858

MAIDSTONE ELECTION PETITION.—Question, Mr. Disraeli (Cheshire, Altrincham); Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs) .. 859

LIMERICK LUNATIC ASYLUM—RATE IN AID FOR PAUPER INMATES.—Question, Mr. Lundon (Limerick, E.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 860

INNISHOWEN DISTRICT COUNCIL—GRANT FOR LABOURERS' COTTAGES.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 860

PORTNALING (CO. DONEGAL) FISHING INDUSTRY.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 861

ROMAN CATHOLIC MAGISTRATES.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 862

IRISH NATIONAL EDUCATION—TEACHERS' SALARIES AND RESIDUAL GRANT.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 862

JUDICIAL RENTS ON COUNTY MONAGHAN ESTATES.—Question, Mr. Daly (Monaghan, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 863

DISTRIBUTION OF SEEDS TO IRISH FARMERS.—Question, Mr. O'Mara (Kilkenny, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 863

NEWBRIDGE PORT, CO. DONEGAL.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 864

INNISHOWEN COUNCIL AND COMPULSORY LAND PURCHASE.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 864

LABOURERS ACTS—DELAYS IN COMPLETING SCHEMES.—Question, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 865

LOANS TO IRISH FISHERMEN.—Question, Mr. Clancy (Dublin Co., N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 866

DAVID FINLAY'S ESTATE, CAVAN.—Question, Mr. M'Govern (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 866

PROCLAIMED LEAGUE MEETING AT FOXFORD.—Questions, Mr. Dillon and Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 867

FAIR RENT APPLICATIONS—DELAY.—Questions, Mr. Cullinan and Mr. Clancy; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 868

TOBACCO CULTIVATION IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 869

GRANARD POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 869

NORTH TYRONE POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.—Question, Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 870

February 22.] Page

FISH CULTURE—EXPERIMENTAL ESTABLISHMENT.—Question, Mr. Norman (Wolverhampton, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 870

ARDAGH NATIONAL SCHOOL—BUILDING ESTIMATES.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 870

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.—Questions, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 872

THE ROYAL DECLARATION AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICISM.—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr. William Redmond; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 872

PENSIONS FOR AGED AND DESERVING POOR.—Question, Mr. Herbert Lewis; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 874

COST OF THE CORONATION.—Questions, Mr. John Campbell and Mr. Flavin; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 874

NEW WRIT FOR THE BOROUGH OF MAIDSTONE:—

Motion made, and Question proposed—

"That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Maidstone, in the room of John Barker, esquire, whose election has been declared to be void."—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

Mr. Caine (*Cornwall, Camborne*) 875
Mr. Henry Hobhouse (*Somersetshire, E.*) 877

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all the words from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'no new writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Maidstone ought to be issued until the House is in possession of the printed evidence and judgment taken by the deputies of the shorthand writer of the House of Commons.'"—(*Mr. Caine.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Discussion:—

Sir F. Dixon-Hartland (*Middlesex, Uxbridge*) 879
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 880
The Attorney General (*Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs*) 880
Mr. Asquith (*Fifeshire, E.*) 882
Major Rasch (*Essex, Chelmsford*) 883
Mr. John Ellis (*Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe*) 884
Mr. Stuart Wortley (*Sheffield, Hallam*) 884
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 885
The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 886
Mr. James Lowther (*Kent, Thanet*) 889
Sir Robert Finlay 891
Mr. Blake (*Longford, S.*) 892
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 894
Mr. Wallace (*Perth*) 895

February 22.] Page

Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) 896
Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*) 897
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 898

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 224 ; Noes, 157. (Division List No. 7.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Maidstone, in the room of John Barker, esquire, whose election has been declared to be void.

NEW BILLS.

Old Age Pensions (No. 4).—Bill to confer Pensions upon aged persons, ordered to be brought in by Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir James Rankin, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Flower, Mr. Bousfield, Colonel Denny, Mr. Carlile, Mr. Rothschild, Mr. Sinclair, and Sir Howard Vincent.

Old Age Pensions (No. 4) Bill.—"To confer Pensions upon aged persons," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 57.] 901

Merchandise Marks Act (1887) Amendment.—Bill to amend the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887, ordered to be brought in by Sir Howard Vincent, Majo Rasch, Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Field, and Mr. Seton-Karr.

Merchandise Marks Act (1887) Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Merchandise Marks Acts, 1887," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 58.] 902

Conveyance of Cycles.—Bill to provide greater facilities for the Conveyance of Cycles by Railway in the United Kingdom, ordered to be brought in by Sir Howard Vincent, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Sir Albert Rollit, and Major Evans-Gordon.

Conveyance of Cycles Bill.—"To provide greater facilities for the Conveyance of Cycles by Railway in the United Kingdom," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 59.] 903

Public Trustee and Executor.—Bill for the prevention of fraud upon widows and orphans by the appointment of a Public Trustee and Executor, and the amendment of the Judicial Trustees Act, 1896, ordered to be brought in by Sir Howard Vincent, Mr. Henry David Greene, Mr. Howard, and Colonel Tufnell.

Public Trustee and Executor Bill.—"For the prevention of fraud upon widows and orphans by the appointment of a Public Trustee and Executor, and the amendment of the Judicial Trustees Act, 1896," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 60.] 903

Teachers of Music (Registration).—Bill for the registration of Teachers of Music, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Agg-Gardner, Sir William Houldsworth, Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir John Brunner, and Sir Thomas Roe.

February 22.] *Page*

Teachers of Music (Registration) Bill.—"For the registration of Teachers of Music," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 61.] 903

BENEFICES.—Bill to amend the law relating to Ecclesiastical Benefices, ordered to be brought in by Major Rasch, Mr. Vicary Gibbs, Colonel Tufnell, and Mr. Banbury.

Benefices Bill.—"To amend the law relating to Ecclesiastical Benefices," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 62.] 903

MEDICAL ACT (1858) EXTENSION.—Bill to extend the provisions of the Medical Act, 1858, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Mr. Rothschild, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Colonel Wyndham Murray, Sir James Fergusson, and Mr. Middlemore.

Medical Act (1858) Extension Bill.—"To extend the provisions of the Medical Act, 1858," presented, and read the first time; to be read the second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 63.] .. 903

COLONIAL MARRIAGES.—Bill to legalise certain Colonial Marriages, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Sir William Dunn, Mr. Lyttelton, Sir Barrington Simeon, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Rothschild, and Captain Jessel.

Colonial Marriages Bill.—"To legalise certain Colonial Marriages," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 64.] 904

WORKMEN'S HOUSES TENURE.—Bill to make provision with respect to the tenure of the Houses of Workmen in certain employments, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Colville, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Caldwell, and Mr. Bell.

Workmen's Houses Tenure Bill.—"To make provision with respect to the Tenure of the Houses of Workmen in certain employments," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 65.] 904

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.—Bill to amend the Church Discipline Act, 1840, and the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Charles M'Arthur, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Brand, and Sir John Willox.

Church Discipline Bill.—"To amend the Church Discipline Act, 1840, and the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 5th June, and to be printed. [Bill 66.] 904

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—Seventh Day's Debate:—

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

IRISH GRIEVANCES.

Mr. William O'Brien (Cork) 905
Mr. Burke (King's County, Tullamore) 922

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'Humbly to represent to Your Majesty that this House has observed that a combination of the agricultural classes in Ireland has been formed, under the name of the United Irish League, with the object of accomplishing reforms which alone, in the opinion of nine-tenths of the constitutional representatives of Ireland, can arrest the continued depopulation of that country and the decay of its only great national industry. These reforms being, first, the creation of an occupying proprietary in substitution for the present unsettled and vexatious system of dual ownership of land; and, secondly, the utilisation of extensive tracts, at present lying practically waste in the congested districts, for the purpose of supplying holdings of sufficient extent to a hard-working and deserving population, who for want of land are compelled to live in a condition of chronic privation and even famine on the borders of those fertile depopulated areas; that the movement which has been carried on for the past three years for the promotion of these objects has been marked by the disappearance of those crimes of violence and secret conspiracies which were used to the discredit of all former agrarian combinations in Ireland, and the League, basing itself on the principle that its struggle is in the nature of a great economic industrial dispute between the tillers of the soil on the one side and the rent-owners supported by a vast capital and territorial influence on the other, has relied for success upon those combinations for mutual protection and appeals to public opinion which the trades union laws have expressly authorised in the case of disputes between capital and labour of a non-agricultural character; that, nevertheless, this House has observed that the forces of the Crown have been unconstitutionally employed, and public justice has been polluted in the interest of one of the parties to the dispute; that the right of public meeting has been capriciously suppressed; that prosecutions for conspiracy and Whiteboyism have been instituted in reference to open and advised appeals to public opinion and measures of mutual protection, which are indisputably within the right of trades unions in ordinary industrial struggles; that the power of contempt of court has been unconstitutionally and oppressively abused for the purpose of inflicting prolonged sentences of imprisonment without trial; that the right of trial by jury has been outraged by the systematic exclusion from the jury box of all jurors sharing the politics or creed of the accused, and the empannelling of juries composed exclusively of sympathisers with the territorial class; that the liberty of the press in Ireland has been assailed, and influential organs of opinion prosecuted in the endeavour to silence public comment on this iniquitous system; that grievous and vindictive fines have been exacted from districts obnoxious to the landlord interest by means of charges for extra police quartered upon peaceful populations, and that the people of Ireland have been subjected to divers others the like cruel oppressions and provocations. And humbly to represent to Your Majesty that it being of the highest constitutional import to encourage the Irish people to seek the redress of their grievances by the fullest freedom of speech and of combination which is warranted by the example of the trades unions of Great Britain, this House is of opinion that the attacks at present directed by the Executive against the rights of free speech and of combination in Ireland should cease, and that the legis-

February 22.] Page

lation protecting the trades unions in the exercise of their rights of combination against capital and non-union labour should be extended to all agricultural combinations of a similar character in that country.' " —(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there added."

Discussion :—

Mr. O'Doherty (*Donegal, N.*) 927

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present (Mr. John Campbell). House counted, and, forty Members being found present—

Mr. J. P. Farrell (*Longford, N.*) 931
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 938
The Attorney General for Ireland (*Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.*) 940
Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Liverpool, Scotland*) 949
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Wyndham, Dover*) 956
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 964

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 109 ; Noes, 203. (Division List No. 8.)

Main Question proposed.

Debate arising ; and it being after midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors.—Resolved, That it is expedient that a Select Committee of Five Members of this House be appointed to join with a Committee of the Lords to consider the various charitable agencies now in operation, and the funds available, or which can properly be made available, for relieving Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors, with a view to ensuring that the funds subscribed by local and private benevolence are applied to the best advantage in supplementing a scheme of Government pensions for Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors who have lost their lives in war.

Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) 969

Adjournment.—Motion made, and Question, " That this House do now adjourn till Monday next " —(*Sir William Walrond*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS : MONDAY, 25th FEBRUARY, 1901.

Earldom of Norfolk.—Cross Petition of Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Surrey, Earl of Norfolk, Lord Maltravers, Lord Fitzalan of Clun and Oswaldestre, and Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Garter, praying (1) That he may be permitted to appear before their Lordships, by his counsel and agents, to be heard on the petition of Charles Botolph Joseph, Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton, presented on the 21st of this instant February : and (2) That their Lordships will be pleased to signify to the Petitioner whether or not their Lordships will

require him, under the circumstances of the case, to lodge a printed case and to produce evidence of his descent from Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, in 1644 to the present time, in order to prove his title to the Earldom of Norfolk, alleged to have been conferred on the said Thomas in 1644; read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges 971

HER LATE MAJESTY THE QUEEN.—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that he had received from the Portuguese Minister the report of the proceedings in the House of Peers of Portugal relating to the vote of condolence on the death of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria 971

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Arlesey Gas Bill [H.L.]; Aspatria, Silloth, and District Water Bill [H.L.]; Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Belfast Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Bethlem Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Bolton Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Bournemouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Bridewell Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Corporation Cemetery Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.) Bill [H.L.]; Broadstairs and St. Peter's Water and Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and District Electric Railway Bill [H.L.]; Chesterfield Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Christ's Hospital (London) Bill [H.L.]; City and North East Suburban Electric Railway Bill [H.L.]; Cowes Ferry Bill [H.L.]; Doncaster Tithe Trust Bill [H.L.]; Dover Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Dover Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Folkestone Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Handsworth Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Harrogate Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Harrogate Water Bill [H.L.]; Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants) Bill [H.L.]; Heywood and Middleton Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Islington and Euston Railway Bill [H.L.]; King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways Bill [H.L.]; King's Road Railway Bill [H.L.]; Leeds Churches Bill [H.L.]; Leeds Corporation (General Powers) Bill [H.L.]; Leeds Corporation Water Bill [H.L.]; Llanelly Harbour Bill [H.L.]; London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen Bill [H.L.]; Lowestoft Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill [H.L.]; Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.) Bill [H.L.]; North-East London Railway Bill [H.L.]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Oakham Water Bill [H.L.]; Piccadilly and City Railway Bill [H.L.]; Poulton-le-Fylde Gas Bill [H.L.]; Prestatyn Water Bill [H.L.]; Ripon Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Rugby Water and Improvement Bill [H.L.]; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Salford Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Shields Bridge Bill [H.L.]; Smethwick Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Southport Water (Transfer) Bill [H.L.]; Stockton Corporation Water Bill [H.L.]; Stratton and Bude Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water) Bill [H.L.]; Warkworth Harbour Bill [H.L.].—Presented, and read 1^{a}. 973

Aire and Calder Navigation Bill [H.L.]; Albion Steam Coal Company Bill [H.L.]; Alfreton Gas Bill [H.L.]; Bath Gas Light and Coke Bill [H.L.]; Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment) Bill [H.L.]; Birmingham (City) Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Bristol, Clifton, and West of England Zoological Society Bill [H.L.]; Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway Bill [H.L.]; Cardiff Railway Bill [H.L.]; Central London Railway Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Chester Gas Bill [H.L.]; City and Brixton Railway Bill [H.L.]; City and South London Railway Bill [H.L.]; Dover Gas Bill [H.L.]; Elland Gas Bill [H.L.]; Faversham Water Bill [H.L.]; Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway

February 25.] Page

Bill [H.L.]; Great Southern and Western Railway Bill [H.L.]; Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway Bill [H.L.]; London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [H.L.]; Lynton and Barnstaple Railway Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas Bill [H.L.]; Newport (Isle of Wight) Ga Bill [H.L.]; New Swindon Gas Bill [H.L.]; Nitrate Railways Company Bill [H.L.]; Omagh Gas Bill [H.L.]; Otley Gas Bill [H.L.].—Presented; read 1^{a}, and referred to the Examiners 974

Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water Bill [H.L.]; Royal Exchange Assurance Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield District Gas Bill [H.L.]; Shrewsbury Gas Bill [H.L.]; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill [H.L.]; South Essex Water Bill [H.L.]; South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [H.L.]; Weston-super-Mare Gas Bill [H.L.]; Wisbech Water Bill [H.L.].—Presented; read 1^{a}, and referred to the Examiners 975

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:—D. Bedford, D. Marlborough, D. Northumberland, M. Lansdowne, E. Derby, E. Denbigh, E. Chesterfield, E. Jersey, E. Lauderdale, E. Waldegrave, E. Cadogan, E. Howe, E. Amherst, E. Camperdown, E. de Montalt, E. Carrington, E. Crewe, V. Sidmouth, V. Knutsford, V. Ridley, L. Clinton, L. Zouche of Haryngworth, L. Balfour, L. Boyle (*E. Cork and Orrery*), L. Ribblesdale, L. Churchill, L. Colchester, L. Wigan (*E. Crawford*), L. Poltimore, L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*), L. Belper, L. Brougham and Vaux, L. Fermanagh (*E. Erne*), L. Sudley (*E. Arran*), L. de Vesci (*V. de Vesci*), L. Herries, L. Monkswell, L. Colville of Culross, L. Welby, L. Ludlow. All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Committee unless otherwise ordered 975

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SOUTH AFRICA.—I. Supplementary Despatches; II. Telegram from Sir A. Milner to the Secretary of State for War, relating to reported outrage on Esau at Calvinia 976

TREATY SERIES No. 3 (1901).—Accession of the Kingdom of Sweden to the Venice Sanitary Convention of 19th March, 1897, and to the Declaration additional thereto of 24th January, 1900. (9th December, 1900) .. 976

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.—Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of regulations under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for milk and cream; with Minute appointing the Committee 976

STATISTICS.—Statistical Tables relating to the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom. Part XXIII. for the years 1897–98 976

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

INEBRIATES RETREATS (RULES AS TO MANAGEMENT).—Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the domestic management of the Corngreaves Hall Retreat, licensed as a retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879–1899. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 976

February 25.] *Page*

CHARITABLE AGENCIES FOR THE RELIEF OF WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.—Message from the Commons, That they have come to the following resolution to which they desire the concurrence of this House, viz. :—" That it is expedient that a Select Committee of five Members of their House be appointed to join with a Committee of the Lords to consider the various charitable agencies now in operation, and the funds available for relieving widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors, with a view to insuring that the funds subscribed by local and private benevolence are applied to the best advantage in supplementing a scheme of Government Pensions for widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors who have lost their lives in war."

The said Message to be taken into consideration on Friday next . .. 977

STANDING COMMITTEE.—Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of such Public Bills as may be committed to it by the House 977

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE.—Appointed : The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—E. Cowper, E. Stanhope, E. Waldegrave, L. Balfour, L. Boyle (*E. Cork and Orrery*), L. Ribblesdale, L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*), L. Colville of Culross.

The Committee to meet To-morrow at Four o'clock 977

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.—Select Committee appointed : The Lords following, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—D. Richmond, D. Northumberland, M. Cholmondeley, M. Ripon, M. Breadalbane, E. Clarendon (*L. Chamberlain*), E. Chesterfield, E. Waldegrave, E. Mount Edgcumbe, E. Cawdor, E. Camperdown, E. Kimberley, E. de Montalt, E. Cranbrook, E. Ancaster, V. Cross, V. Peel, V. Knutsford, L. Balfour, L. Boyle (*E. Cork and Orrery*), L. Ribblesdale, L. Churchill, L. Colchester, L. Rosebery (*E. Rosebery*), L. Belper, L. Rowton, L. Tweedmouth, L. Monk Bretton, L. Colville of Culross, L. Macnaghten, L. Welby 978

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION.—The Lords following, viz. :—E. Chesterfield, E. Waldegrave, L. Ribblesdale, L. Colville of Culross, with the Chairman of Committees, were appointed a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the Five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill 978

Trawlers' Certificates Suspension Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to enable Courts to suspend the certificates of trawlers convicted of illegal trawling, was presented by the Earl of Camperdown; read 1ª; and to be printed. [No. 13] 978

EDUCATION—REGINA *v.* COCKERTON,

Discussion :—

Lord Reay 978
The Lord President of the Council (*The Duke of Devonshire*) 981
Earl Spencer 985
Lord Norton 987

House adjourned at quarter past Five of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 25TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

POINT OF PRACTICE—QUESTIONS AND NOTICES OF MOTION :—

Mr. George Whiteley (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) 988

Ruling—

Mr. Speaker 988

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Aldeburgh Corporation (Water) Bill.—"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Aldeburgh to acquire the undertaking of the Aldeburgh Waterworks Company, Limited; and to construct waterworks and supply water; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 989

Aldershot Gas and Water Bill.—"To empower the Aldershot Gas and Water Company to enter into agreements for the acquisition of the undertaking of the York Town and Blackwater Gas and Coke Company, Limited: and to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 989

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill.—"To empower the Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Company to extend their existing South Dock, and to construct an entrance lock basin, river walls, railways, and other works; for changing the name of the company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 989

Bingley Urban District Council Bill.—"To authorise the Urban District Council of Bingley to purchase the undertaking of the Cullingworth Gas Company, Limited; to make certain street works; and to make better provision for the health, local government, and improvement of the district; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 989

Blackburn Corporation Bill.—"For extending the boundaries of the County Borough of Blackburn; and to authorise the Corporation of that borough to reconstruct tramways and to construct new tramways in the borough; to make street works; to enlarge the Town Hall and to erect an Assembly Room; to erect a new Sessions House, Police, and Fire Brigade Stations; to borrow money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 990

Blackpool Improvement Bill.—"To enable the Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the Borough of Blackpool to construct additional Tramways and improvements in that borough; and to make further provisions for the improvement and good government of the said borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 990

Bradford Corporation Bill.—"To authorise the Mayor, Alderman, and Citizens of the city of Bradford, in the west riding of the county of York, to construct additional tramways, street improvements, and an outfall sewer, to acquire lands for sewage works, and to extend their gas works, to extend the city, and to make further provision for the health and good government of the city; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 990

February 25.] *Page*

Brighton Corporation Bill—"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Brighton to purchase the Brighton Aquarium; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 990

British Gas Light Company Bill—"For empowering the British Gas Light Company, Limited, to enlarge their works and to expend further capital at Kingston-upon-Hull," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 990

British Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company Bill—"To facilitate the adaptation for working by electrical power of the railways of the Metropolitan Railway Company and the Metropolitan District Railway Company, and for that purpose to confer powers on those Companies and on the British Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, Limited; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 991

Burgess Hill Water Bill—"To authorise the Burgess Hill Water Company to construct additional waterworks, acquire lands, and raise further moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 991

Burton-upon-Trent Corporation Bill—"To alter the numbers and boundaries of the wards of the boundaries of the borough of Burton-upon-Trent; and to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the said borough to construct tramways in the borough; and to make further provisions for the good government of the borough," read the first time; to be read a second time 991

Bury Corporation Bill—"To authorise the Corporation of Bury to purchase and hold lands for the purposes of their sewage, gas, and other works, and to make further and better provision in relation to the Local Government of the Borough of Bury; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 991

Bury Corporation Tramways Bill—"To authorise the Corporation of Bury to construct additional tramways within and adjacent to the borough; to make certain street works and improvements; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 991

Caledonian Electric Power Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Caledonian Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time 991

Caledonian Railway Bill—"To confer further powers on the Caledonian Railway Company in relation to their undertaking: to extend the periods for the completion of works by the Caledonian, the Callander, and Oban, the Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, the Lochearnhead, St. Fillans, and Comrie, and the Paisley and Barrhead District Railway Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills. 992

Cardiff Corporation Bill—"To empower the Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the county borough of Cardiff to construct new intercepting and other sewers; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 992

February 25.] *Page*

City of London (Spitalfields Market) Bill—"To empower the Corporation of the city of London to acquire Spitalfields Market, with power to extend and improve the same and to maintain the said market or sell or lease the same; and for other purposes in reference thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time 992

Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time 992

Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Clyde Valley Electrical Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time 992

Colwyn Bill and Colwyn Urban District Gas Bill—"To provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Colwyn Bay and District Gas Company to the Colwyn Bay and Colwyn Urban District Council, and to authorise that Council to supply gas; and for other purposes," read the first time; and to be read a second time 992

Crawley Gas Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Crawley Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 993

Cromer Water Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Cromer Water Company; read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 993

Derby Corporation Bill—"To extend the boundaries of the borough of Derby and to empower the Corporation to construct tramways, additional waterworks, sewerage and sewage disposal works, street widenings and improvements; to repeal Sections 43 to 46, both inclusive, of the Derby Corporation Act, 1877; and to confer further powers in regard to the health, local government, and improvement of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time. 993

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Derbyshire and Nottinghamhamshire Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time 993

Derwent Valley Water Board Bill—"To confer further powers on the Derwent Valley Water Board with respect to their water undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 993

Devonport Corporotion (Gas) Bill—"To authrise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Devonport to purchase the undertaking of the Devonport Gas and Coke Company, and to supply gas within the borough of Devonport; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 993

Devonport Gas and Coke Bill—"To authorise the Devonport Gas and Coke Company to raise additional capital, to define and extend their limits of supply, to extend their powers; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 993

District Messenger and Theatre Ticket Company Bill—"To confer further powers upon the District Messenger and Theatre Ticket Company, Limited, with respect to the telegraphic or telephonic communications and the conveyance of letters; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 994

February 25.]

Page

Dorking Gas Bill—"For conferring further powers on the Dorking Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 994

Dublin Corporation (Markets, etc.) Bill.—"To authorise the Municipal Corporation of the City of Dublin to establish and maintain a market for the sale of old clothes and other commodities in certain market buildings to be constructed and conveyed to them as a free gift by the Right Honourable Edward Cecil, Baron Iveagh, K.P.; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 994

Dublin (Equalisation of Rates) Bill.—"To make provision for the equalisation of rates as between the City of Dublin and the urban districts of Rathmines and Rathgar and of Pembroke adjoining the said city," read the first time; to be read a second time 994

Dublin St. James' Gate Brewery Tramways Bill.—"To authorise Arthur Guinness, Son, and Company (Limited), to construct tramways in the City of Dublin in connection with St. James's Gate Brewery, and to work the same and their existing tramways by mechanical or other power, to construct certain street improvements; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 994

Eccles Corporation Bill.—"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Eccles to reconstruct their existing and to construct additional tramways; to make street improvements; to raise additional moneys by mortgage; and to make further provision for the good government of the borough," read the first time; to be read a second time 995

Fairford and Cirencester Railway Bill.—"For incorporating the Fairford and Cirencester Railway Company; and authorising the construction of a railway from Fairford to Cirencester; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 995

Gas Light and Coke Company Bill.—"To enable the Gas Light and Coke Company to raise additional moneys; and to purchase, take, and hold, lands; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 995

Gateshead and District Tramways Bill.—"To enable the Gateshead and District Tramways Company to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 995

Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Transfer Bill.—"For transferring to and vesting in the Caledonian Railway Company and the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company jointly the undertaking of the Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 995

Glasgow and South Western Railway Bill.—"For conferring further powers on the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company; for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands, and for the purchase of Troon Harbour; for empowering them to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 995

February 25.] *Page*

Golborne Gas Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Golborne Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 996

Gravesend Gas Bill.—"To convert and consolidate the existing capital of the Gravesend and Milton Gaslight Company; to confer further powers upon that company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 996

Great Central Railway Bill.—"To enable the Great Central Railway Company to make new railways and other works; to acquire additional lands; to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of certain lands, for the completion of certain railways, and for the sale of the superfluous lands of the Manchester, South Junction, and Altrincham Railway Company, and the Wrexham, Mold, and Connah's Quay Railway Company; to confer further powers upon the Nottingham Joint Station Committee; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 996

Great Eastern Railway Bill.—"To authorise the Great Eastern Railway Company to execute further works and to purchase additional lands; to sanction and confirm the purchase of certain lands; to confer further powers upon the Company and the Great Northern and Great Eastern Joint Committee; to extend the periods limited by former Acts for the purchase of lands and the construction of works by the Company; to provide for the consolidation of certain preference stocks of the Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 996

Great Northern Railway Bill.—"To confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 996

Great Western Railway Bill.—"For conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in respect of their own undertaking, and upon that Company and the London and North Western Railway Company in respect of undertakings in which they are jointly interested, and upon the Great Western and Great Central Railways Joint Committee in respect of their undertaking; for vesting the undertakings of the Devon and Somerset and the Bridport Railway Companies in the Great Western Railway Company; for transferring to that Company the powers of the Windsor and Ascot Railway Company and extending the time for the construction of the authorised railways of that Company; for empowering the Lambourn Valley Railway Company to raise further moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 996

Hartlepools Gas and Water Transfer Bill.—"To authorise the sale of the undertakings of the Hartlepool Gas and Water Company to the Corporations of Hartlepool and West Hartlepool; and to empower those Corporations to supply gas and water within the boroughs of Hartlepool and West Hartlepool and places adjacent thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time 997

Heckmondwike Gas (Transfer) Bill.—"To constitute and incorporate a joint Board for the urban districts of Heckmondwike and Liversedge, in the West Riding of the county of York, and to transfer to and vest in such joint Board the undertaking of the Heckmondwike Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 997

February 25.] *Page*

Honley Urban District Council (Gas) Bill.—"To transfer to and vest in the Honley Urban District Council the undertaking of the Honley Gas Company (Limited), and to confer upon that Council powers for the supply of gas; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 997

Horley District Gas Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Horley District Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 997

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill.—"To authorise the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company to construct new railways; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills. 998

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.—"For authorising the construction of a dock, sea walls, railways, and other works adjoining the existing docks at Grimsby, in the county of Lincoln, to be called the Humber Commercial Railway and Dock; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 998

Ilkeston and Heanor Water Board Bill. "To constitute a Joint Board representative of the Corporation of Ilkeston and the Heanor Urban District Council with power to acquire the undertaking of the Meerbrook Sough Company, and to construct works for the intercepting and distributing the waters of the Meerbrook Sough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 998

Irish Presbyterian Church Bill.—"To extend the powers of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland in relation to the investment of money and the accepting, taking, and holding of property; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 998

Kettering Urban District Water Bill.—"To empower the Urban District Council of Kettering to construct additional waterworks; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 998

Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway Bill.—"To empower the Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway Company to construct a new railway in the county of Monaghan, and to abandon a portion of their authorised railways; to change the name of the Company; to authorise the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) to work the undertaking of the Company and to subscribe towards their capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills. 998

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill.—"To empower the Corporation of Kingston-upon-Hull to make certain street works; to construct a bridge over the River Hull; to lay down tramways; and to confer further powers on the Corporation in regard to the water supply, health, local government, and improvement of the city; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 999

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Dearne Valley Junction Railways) Bill.—"For conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company with respect to the construction of Railways, in the West Riding of the county of York; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 999

February 25.] *Page*

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill.—"For conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company with relation to their own undertaking and upon that Company and the London and North Western Railway Company with relation to the Preston and Wyre Railway and the Great Northern Railway Company with relation to lands at Wakefield; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 999

Leatherhead Gas Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Leatherhead Gas and Lighting Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 999

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Water Bill.—"To authorise the Urban District Council of Llandrindod Wells to purchase the undertaking of the Llandrindod Wells Water Company; and to authorise the Council to construct additional waterworks and to supply water within the district and adjoining places," read the first time; to be read a second time 999

Llandrindod Wells Water Bill.—"To extend the limits of supply of the Llandrindod Wells Water Company and to authorise the Company to construct new works; to raise further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1000

London and India Docks (New Works) Bill.—"To authorise the London and India Docks Company to construct a new dock and other works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1000

London and North Western Railway Bill.—"For empowering the London and North Western Railway Company to construct additional dock works at Garston; and for conferring further powers upon that Company in relation to their own undertaking; and upon that Company and the Great Western Railway Company, and the Great Central Railway Company, in relation to their joint undertakings; and upon the Shropshire Union Railways and Canal Company in relation to their undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1000

London Bridge Widening Bill.—"To empower the Corporation of the City of London to widen London Bridge; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1000

London County Council (General Powers) Bill.—"To empower the London County Council to make street improvements and works and to purchase lands in the administrative county of London; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1000

London County Council (Spitalfields Market) Bill.—"To empower the London County Council to acquire Spitalfields Market, in the parish of Christchurch, Spitalfields; and to make various provisions with reference thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time 1001

London Riverside Fishmarket Bill.—"To confirm and give effect to an agreement for the sale and transfer of the London Riverside Fishmarket to the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1001

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—"To confer further powers upon the London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1001

February 25.]

Page

London Water (Purchase) Bill.—"To empower the London County Council to acquire the undertakings of the London Water Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.. 1001

Long Eaton Gas Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Long Eaton Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1001

Mansfield Corporation Bill.—"To empower the Corporation of Mansfield to make a street widening, to authorise the Corporation to acquire the undertaking of the Mansfield Woodhouse Gas Light and Coke Company, Limited, to make further provisions with respect to their gas, water, and electrical undertakings, to confer further powers in regard to streets, buildings, and sewers, and the health, local government, and improvement of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1001

Metropolitan District Railway Bill.—"To empower the Metropolitan District Railway Company to provide for the conversion and adaptation of their railway for being worked by electric traction; to create a debenture stock with a first charge upon the undertaking of the company; to limit the dividend on their five per cent. preference stock; to apply existing capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1002

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill.—"To confer further powers on the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company, Limited, with respect to the supply of electrical energy; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 1002

Metropolitan Railway Bill.—"To confer further powers upon the Metropolitan Railway Company in relation to their own undertaking, and upon that Company and the Harrow and Uxbridge Railway Company in relation to the Harrow and Uxbridge Railway; to revive and extend the powers for the purchase of land and the completion of certain authorised railways and works by the two Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 1002

Metropolitan Water Companies (Amendment of Acts) Bill.—"To extend the provisions of the Staines Reservoirs Acts of 1896 and 1898 relating to the purchase of the undertakings of certain metropolitan water companies by any public body or trustees," read the first time; to be read a second time 1002

Midland Railway Bill.—"To confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company and upon the Norfolk and Suffolk Joint Railways Committee and upon the Midland and Great Northern Railways Joint Committee, for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1002

Mond Gas Bill.—"To incorporate and confer powers on the South Staffordshire Mond Gas (Power and Heating) Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1003

Neath Harbour Bill.—"To reduce and regulate the amount of the debt upon the Neath Harbour Undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1003

February 25.] *Page*

Newry Port and Harbour Trust Bill.—"To incorporate trustees for the maintenance and improvement of the Port and Harbour of Newry, Newry River, and Newry Canal; to transfer to them the Undertaking of the Newry Navigation Company; to authorise the trustees to borrow money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1003

North British Railway Bill.—"To confer further powers on the North British Railway Company in connection with their undertaking; to authorise the widening of portions of their Monkland Railway and the construction of new railways; to authorise the said Company to acquire additional lands; to close and discontinue the Harbour of Leven; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1003

North Eastern Railway Bill.—"To confer additional powers upon the North Eastern Railway Company for the construction of new railways and other works and the acquisition of additional lands, and upon that Company and the Midland and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Companies in respect of their Normanton Station; and upon the Hull Joint Stock Committee for the execution of works and the acquisition of lands; and for vesting in the Company the Goole and Marshland Light Railway and the Isle of Axholme Light Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1003

Notting Hill Electric Lighting Bill.—"To empower the Notting Hill Electric Lighting Company, Limited, to acquire lands and to erect and work generating stations; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 1004

Paisley Police and Public Health Bill.—"To confer further powers on the Corporation of Paisley, and to make further provision for the regulation of streets and buildings and the police and public health administration of the burgh; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1004

Pembroke Urban District Council (County of Dublin) Bill.—"To confer powers on the Urban District Council of Pembroke in the county of Dublin with respect to sanitary matters, streets, buildings, and other matters for the good government of their district, and to borrow moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 1004

Petersfield and Selsey Gas Bill.—"For supplying with gas the urban district of Petersfield, the parish of Selsey, and other places in the counties of Southampton and Sussex," read the first time; to be read a second time 1004

Rhyl Bridge Bill.—"To authorise the reconstruction of the bridge over the River Clwyd constructed under the powers of the Rhyl Bridge Act, 1861; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1004

Rhyl Improvement Bill.—"To authorise the Urban District Council of Rhyl to construct additional waterworks and to make further provision in regard to the health, local government, improvement, and finance of the urban district; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1004

Richmond Gas Bill.—"To authorise the Richmond Gas Company to raise additional capital, to convert their existing capital, to enlarge their works, to amend their existing Acts; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 1005

Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water Bill.—"For extending the limits of supply of and conferring further powers upon the Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1005

Shannon Water and Electric Power Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Shannon Water and Electric Power Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 1005

Shipley Improvement Bill.—"To confirm the purchase of the undertaking of the Shipley Gaslight Company by the Urban District Council of Shipley; to authorise the construction of tramways, cold air stores, and street improvements; to make further provision with regard to the water and electric light undertakings of the council and the health and local government of the district," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 1005

Shireoaks, Laughton, and Maltby Railway Bill.—"For making a railway in the west riding of the county of York from the Great Central Railway at Shireoaks to Maltby; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1005

Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway Bill.—"For making a railway between Winchester and Southampton to be called the Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1005

South Metropolitan Gas Bill.—"To empower the South Metropolitan Gas Company to raise additional capital, and to purchase by agreement so much of the southern portion of the undertaking of the Gas Light and Coke Company as is situate in the county of London south of the Thames; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1006

Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield, Tramways and Electricity Board Bill.—"To constitute and incorporate a Joint Board consisting of representatives of the Corporations of Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield; and to authorise the Board to construct and work Tramways and to supply electrical energy within the boroughs of Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1006

Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction, East and West Junction, and Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway Companies Bill.—"To authorise the sale of the undertakings of the East and West Junction, the Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction, and the Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction Railway Companies," read the first time; to be read a second time 1006

Stroud Gas Bill.—"To authorise the Stroud Gas Light and Coke Company to convert their existing capital, to raise additional capital, to amend their existing Act; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1006

Swanage Gas and Water Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers on a Company, to be called the Swanage Gas and Water Company, and to authorise the transfer to that Company of certain existing gasworks and waterworks and powers in the parish of Swanage, in the county of Dorset, and the construction of additional waterworks; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1006

February 25.] *Page*

Swansea Harbour Bill. "To authorise the Swansea Harbour Trustees to make a new dock, enlarge and extend the half-tide basin of the south dock, and construct new railways, to extend the limits of the harbour; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 1007

Taff Vale Railway Bill. "To enlarge the powers of the Taff Vale Railway Company with reference to the acquisition of lands and the construction of works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1007

Tees Valley Water Board Bill. "To confer further powers on the Tees Valley Water Board in relation to the supply of water," read the first time; to be read a second time 1007

Tendring Hundred Water Bill.—"To extend the limits of supply of the Tendring Hundred Waterworks Company; to authorise that Company to construct new works; to raise further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1007

Thames Deep Water Dock Bill.—"To revive the powers and extend the periods for the compulsory purchase of lands for and for the completion of the dock and works authorised by the Thames Deep Water Dock Act, 1881; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1007

Thames Lightermen Bill.—"To make further provisions with reference to the working and navigating of lighters and barges in the Port of London and on the River Thames," read the first time; to be read a second time 1007

Thames Pier and River Service Bill.—"To provide for the transfer of certain piers and landing places on the River Thames, in the administrative county of London, to the London County Council, and to make provision for a service of boats for passengers and parcels; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1007

Torrington and Oakhampton Railway Bill.—"To extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands for and completion of the railways authorised by the Torrington and Oakhampton Railway Act, 1895, and the Torrington and Oakhampton Railway Act, 1898, and to change the name of the Torrington and Oakhampton Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1008

Tottenham and Hampstead Junction Railway Bill.—"For empowering the Tottenham and Hampstead Junction Railway Company to widen a portion of their railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1008

Wallasey Improvement Bill.—"To empower the Wallasey Urban District Council to construct a railway to their gasworks, and to make further provision in regard to the health, local government, and improvement of the district and the borrowing of money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1008

Wells Corporation Water Bill.—"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the city of Wells to purchase the undertaking of the Wells Water Company, Limited, to construct additional waterworks; and to supply water within their city, and the neighbourhood thereof; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1008

February 25.] *Page*

Wells Water Bill.—"To incorporate and confer powers on the Wells Water Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1008

West Cumberland Electric Tramways Bill.—"To incorporate the West Cumberland Electric Tramways Company; and to empower the Company to make tramways, tramroads, and street improvements, and to erect generating stations, and to supply electricity; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1009

West Surrey Water Bill.—"For extending the limits of supply of the West Surrey Water Company and for authorising that Company to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1009

Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway Bill.—"For making a railway in the county of Stafford from Wolverhampton to Great Wyrley; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time .. 1009

Wolverhampton Corporation Water Bill.—"To empower the Corporation of Wolverhampton to construct additional waterworks, to extend their limits for the supply of water, and to make further provision in regard to their water undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1009

Yorkshire Electric Power Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Electric Power (Yorkshire) Company," read the first time; to be read a second time 1009

SELECTION (BY ORDER).—Ordered, That the Committee of Selection do consist of Eleven Members:—Mr. Blake, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir John Dorington, Sir William Hart-Dyke, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. M'Kenna, Sir Edward Reed, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Wodehouse, and the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*) 1009

COMMONS:—
Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to consider every Report made by the Board of Agriculture certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the enclosure or regulation of a common, and presented to the House during the last or present Sessions, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order.
Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power in respect of each such Provisional Order to inquire and report to the House whether the same should be confirmed by Parliament; and, if so, whether with or without modification, and in the event of their being of opinion that the same should not be confirmed, except subject to modifications, to report such modifications accordingly, with a view to such Provisional Order being remitted to the Board of Agriculture.
Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Twelve Members; Seven to be nominated by the House, and Five by the Committee of Selection.
Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.
Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Sir William Walrond*) 1010

February 25.] *Page*

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.—Petition from Berwick, in favour; to lie upon the Table .. 1010

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Tipton; Brighouse; Stratton St. Margaret; Walsall; and Sheffield; to lie upon the Table 1010

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Egham; Strood; Easthampstead; Rochester; Sheffield; Shanklin; and Sandown; to lie upon the Table 1010

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.—Petition in favour, from Strood; Rochester (two); and Skelton and Stanghow; to lie upon the Table 1011

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INEBRIATE RETREATS (RULES FOR MANAGEMENT).—Copy presented, of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Domestic Management of the Corngreaves Hall Retreat, licensed as a Retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1011

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.—Copy presented, of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of Regulations, under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for Milk and Cream, with Copy of Minute appointing the Committee [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1011

ARMY (ORDNANCE FACTORIES) (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).—Appropriation Account presented, of the sums granted by Parliament for the expense of the Ordnance Factories, the cost of the productions of which have been charged to other Votes for the year ended 31st March, 1900, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.—[No. 40.] 1011

COLONIAL STATISTICS.—Copy presented, of Statistical Tables relating to the Colonial and other possessions of the United Kingdom. Part XXIII. for the years 1897–8 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1011

ARMY (SOUTH AFRICA) (SUPPLEMENTARY DESPATCHES).—Copy presented, of Supplementary Despatches relating to the War in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1011

SOUTH AFRICA.—Copy presented, of Telegram from Sir A. Milner to the Secretary of State for War relating to reported outrage on Esau at Calvinia [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1012

TREATY SERIES (NO. 3, 1901).—Copy presented, of Accession of the Kingdom of Sweden to the Venice Sanitary Convention of 19th March, 1897, and to the Declaration additional thereto of 24th January, 1900; 9th December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1012

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2558 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1012

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1901–1902.—Copy presented, of Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year ending 31st March, 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 41.] .. 1012

February 25.] *Page*

ARMY ORDNANCE FACTORIES, 1901-1902).—Copy presented, of the sum required for the year ending 31st March, 1902, to defray the Expense of the Ordnance Factories [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 42.] 1012

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE:—
1. Charitable Endowments (London).—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1894; *Mr. Francis Stevenson*]; to be printed. [No. 43.]
2. Inquiry into Charities (County of Carnarvon).—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 10th February, 1898; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 44.] 1012

AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE.—Return ordered, "showing the number of days, hours, and minutes occupied in the transit of the Royal Mails both outward and inward carried during the year 1900 by steamships between Queenstown and New York, and also between Southampton and New York, the Return to specify the names of the steamers, and to indicate by asterisks or otherwise those not carrying Mails under Contract."—(*Sir John Leng.*) 1012

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—BOER PRISONERS AT GRASPAN.—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 1013

ALLEGED SHOOTING OF KAFFIRS AT KIMBERLEY.—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 1013

COLONIAL CONTINGENTS —RATE OF PAY.—Question, Captain Lee (Hampshire, Fareham); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 1014

COLONIAL CONTINGENTS—ALLEGED INSUBORDINATION.—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1014

PAY OF SOLDIERS CAPTURED AT MAGERSFONTEIN.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1015

TRANSPORT—TREATMENT OF WOUNDED VOLUNTEERS.—Question, Sir Barrington Simeon (Southampton); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1016

" PEACE COMMISSIONERS "—THE REV. ADRIAN HOFMEYER.—Question, Mr. Pirie; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 1017

THE NETHERLANDS RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. Alfred Davies (Carmarthen Boroughs); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 1018

PAY OF TROOPS AT THE FRONT.—Question, Mr. Pirie; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 1018

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY RECRUITS—PHYSICAL STANDARD.—Question, Mr. Pirie; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1018

SOLDIERS' WIVES IN IRISH UNIONS.—Question, Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answer, Lord Stanley 1019

FARM BURNING, ETC.—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL BRUCE HAMILTON.—Questions, Mr. Bryn Roberts, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton), and Mr. Dillon (Mayo E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1019

February 25.] *Page*

ARGENTINE HORSES.—Question, Mr. Philipps (Pembrokeshire); Answer, Lord Stanley 1021

CAMPS OF REFUGE.—Questions, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) and Mr. Dillon; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 1021

BLOEMFONTEIN PROVOST MARSHAL.—Question, Mr. John Ellis; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1022

MILITIA RESERVISTS ON SERVICE IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Mr. Joyce; Answer, Lord Stanley 1023

ARMY MEAT AND FORAGE CONTRACTS.—Questions, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.) and Mr. M'Fadden (Donegal, E.); Answers, Lord Stanley 1023

PAY OF RETIRED ARMY OFFICERS IN THE MILITIA.—Question, Lieut.-Colonel Pryce-Jones (Montgomery Boroughs); Answer, Lord Stanley 1024

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' SONS AND MILITARY EDUCATION.—Question, Lieut.-Colonel Pryce-Jones; Answer, Lord Stanley 1025

ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS.—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1025

GUN LICENCES FOR RIFLE CLUBS.—Questions, Mr. Maconochie (Aberdeenshire, E.) and Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) 1026

ARMY PORTLAND CEMENT CONTRACTS.—Question, Colonel Tufnell (Essex, S.E.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1026

PRUSSIAN KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1027

ARMY PENSIONERS AND OUTDOOR RELIEF.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's Co., Ossory); Answer, Lord Stanley 1027

LICHFIELD RIFLE RANGE.—Question, Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1027

NEW RIFLE RANGES.—Question, Mr. Courtenay Warner; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1028

ARMY HORSE-SHOE NAILS.—Questions, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central) and Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answers, Lord Stanley 1028

NAVY PORTLAND CEMENT CONTRACTS.—Question, Colonel Tufnell; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Captain Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 1029

EUROPEAN GENERAL HOSPITAL AT ADEN.—Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 1029

NAVAL CADETS' OVERCOATS—H.M.S. "BRITANNIA."—Question, Mr. Norman (Wolverhampton, S.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1030

SUGAR BOUNTIES.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 1031

CHINA—ALLEGED LOOTING AT PEKING.—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing) .. 1031

RUSSIA AND MANCHURIA.—Question, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall); Answer, Viscount Cranborne 1032

February 25.] Page

THE CYPRUS TRIBUTE.—Question, Mr. Alfred Davies; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 1033

PLAGUE AT CAPE TOWN.—Question, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 1033

JUVENILE OFFENDERS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) 1034

DEFENCE OF POOR PRISONERS.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Ritchie 1034

CHILD INSURANCE—BRISTOL CASE.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Ritchie 1034

TEMPTATIONS TO CRIME.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Ritchie 1035

VACCINATIONS IN LEICESTER AND GLOUCESTER.—Question, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-on-Trent); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 1035

FOODS STANDARDS COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. O'Mara (Kilkenny, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1036

AGRICULTURAL RATING ACT.—Questions, Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.), Mr. George Whiteley, and Mr. John Ellis; Answers, Mr. Long.. 1036

WRECKS OFF NORTH CORNWALL.—Question, Mr. Caine (Cornwall, Camborne); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 1037

DISCIPLINE ON MERCHANT VESSELS—PROSECUTION OF FIREMEN ON THE "BOHEMIAN."—Question, Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1037

SWANLEY JUNCTION RAILWAY ACCIDENT.—Question, Mr. Bell (Derby); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1038

CHISWICK LEVEL-CROSSING ACCIDENT.—Question, Mr. Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1039

SUNDAY CLOSING OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY.—Questions, Captain Donelan (Cork, E.) and Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answers, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 1039

WEST INDIAN MAIL DELAYS.—Question, Sir J. Fergusson (Manchester, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1040

ANALYSIS OF IMPORTED FOOD.—Question, Mr. O'Mara; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1041

SCHOOL TEACHERS AND FIXITY OF TENURE.—Questions, Major Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) and Mr. Caine; Answers, The Vice-President of the Board of Education (Sir J. Gorst, Cambridge University) 1042

CIGARETTE SMOKING BY BOYS.—Questions, Colonel Walker (Widnes) and Mr. George Whiteley; Answers, Sir M. Hicks Beach 1042

SCOTTISH SALMON FISHERIES—FISHMONGERS' COMPANY'S POWER.—Questions, Sir Walter Thorburn (Peebles and Selkirk) and Captain Sinclair (Forfarshire); Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire).. .. 1043

ASSAULT BY THE TWEED COMMISSIONERS' BAILIFFS.—Question, Sir Walter Thorburn; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1044

February 25.] *Page*

Glasgow Small-pox Epidemic.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1046

Allotments in Scotland.—Question, Mr. Eugene Wason (Clackmannan and Kinross); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1046

Peterspont Pier.—Question, Mr. John Dewar (Inverness-shire); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1046

Coonaloughey (Co. Kerry) Landing Stage.—Questions, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.) and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 1047

Irish Department of Agriculture—Veterinary Inspection Staff—Mr. C. Neill's Appointment.—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1048

Labourers (Ireland) Act.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1048

Granard (Co. Longford) Estate.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1046

Allegations against an Armagh Magistrate.—Question, Mr. M'Fadden; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 1049

Convict J. R. Sullivan.—Questions, Mr. Flynn and Mr. Flavin; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1050

Belfast Night London Mail.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1051

Irish Roman Catholic Magistrates.—Question, Mr. Boyle (Donegal, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1052

Acquisition of Small Houses in Ireland.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick's); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1052

Labourers (Ireland) Acts.—Questions, Mr. Kendal O'Brien (Tipperary, Mid) and Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1052

Sinking of a Dredger off Cork Harbour.—Question, Captain Donelan; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1054

Belfast Valuation.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1055

Cork Coroner and the Public Executioner.—Questions, Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. Flynn, and Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Atkinson 1055

Small-pox in Donegal.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1057

Irish Railway Extension.—Question, Mr. M'Govern (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1058

Tobacco Cultivation in Ireland.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1058

The Recent "Day of General Mourning"—Police and Wicklow Shopkeepers.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1059

Londonderry Post Office Staff.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1059

MAIDSTONE ELECTION PETITION.—Question, Mr. Charles Allen (Gloucestershire, Stroud); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1060

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.), Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis), Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.), Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent), and Mr. Dillon; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 1060

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—Eighth Day's Debate:—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

GIBRALTAR DOCKS.

Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 1062

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words,—"And we humbly represent to Your Majesty the desirability of now making a further and more complete inquiry into the works under construction at Gibraltar, and the dangers to which those works are exposed; and of suspending the further prosecution of work on Docks Nos. 1 and 2 until such inquiry has been completed and its results considered by Your Majesty's Government.' "—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

Question proposed" That those words be there added."

Discussion:—

The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 1064
Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) 1065
Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) 1066
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 1068
Sir John Colomb (*Great Yarmouth*) 1068

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

SOUTH AFRICA (SURRENDERS OF TROOPS).

Mr. Lambert (*Devonshire, South Molton*) 1069
Mr. Eugene Wason (*Clackmannan and Kinross*) 1078

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly suggest to Your Majesty that there should be published as early as practicable the proceedings of full inquiries into the circumstances that have occasioned the surrender of considerable bodies of Your Majesty's troops in South Africa.' "—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be added."

February 25.] *Page*

Discussion :—
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett 1079
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 1082
Colonel Lockwood (*Essex, Epping*) 1083
Sir William Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) 1084
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford*) .. 1086
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 1094
Mr. A. J. Balfour 1096
Sir Charles Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) 1099
Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*) 1101
Mr. Asquith (*Fifeshire, E.*) 1102
Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-upon-Trent*) 1103

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE.

Mr. Caine (*Cornwall, Camborne*) 1105
Mr. Schwann (*Manchester, N.*) 1115

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty, that although Your Majesty's Government have arranged that from the 1st day of April next charges amounting to £257,500 shall for the future, in accordance with an unanimous recommendation of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, be transferred from Indian to British expenditure, no provision has been made for any repayment of the arrears of these charges, while other recommendations of the Commission have been ignored altogether; and that, in justice to the people of India, all these arrears should be repaid by the British Exchequer to the Indian in the form of a liberal grant in relief of the Indian famine.'"—(*Mr. Caine.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Discussion :—
Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (*Bethnal Green, N.E.*) 1123
Mr. Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) 1125
Mr. Wylie (*Dumbartonshire*) 1127
Sir Robert Mowbray (*Lambeth, Brixton*) 1128
The Secretary of State for India (*Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing*) 1129
Sir Henry Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) 1137

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 112; Noes, 204. (Division List No. 9.)

Main Question again proposed.

CONDUCT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) 1145

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.
Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS (KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS) :—
Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to control the arrangements for the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms in the Department of the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House.
Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of,—Mr. James Bailey, Mr, Broadhurst, Mr. Richard Cavendish, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Cremer. Mr. Dalziel, Sir Horatio Davies, Mr. Firbank, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Leigh Bennett, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Macdona, Dr. Macdonnell, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. P. J. Power, and Mr. William Redmond.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) 1166

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 26TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements Bill [H.L.]; Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill [H.L.]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [H.L.].—Presented, and read 1*a* 1167

Cork, Blackrock, and Passage Railway Bill [H.L.]; Easton and Church Hope Railway Bill [H.L.]; Harpenden District Gas Bill [H.L.]; Milford Docks Bill [H.L.].—Presented; read 1*a*; and referred to the Examiners 1167

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills introduced in pursuance of the provisions of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, have been complied with:—Caledonian Electric Power Company; Caledonian Railway; Clyde Valley Electrical Power; Glasgow and South Western Railway; Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Transfer; Paisley Police and Public Health; North British Railway. The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1167

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—No. 2558. United States (New Orleans). Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table. 1167

BANK OF ENGLAND.—Applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, for advances to Government, authorised by Parliament from 5th January, 1900, to 5th January, 1901 1167

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.—Ninth Annual Report of proceedings of the Inspection Committee, for the year ended 20th November, 1900; with appendices. 1168 Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACT, 1869, AND AMENDING ACTS.—Scheme for the management of the charity of William Price, in the parish of Fareham, in the county of Southampton, founded by will dated 24th August, 1721. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 14.) 1168

EARLY CLOSING OF SHOPS:—
Lord Avebury 1168

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the length of the hours of labour in shops; and whether any and, if so, what steps should be taken to diminish them."—(*Lord Avebury.*)
The Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 1169
Lord Avebury 1171

On Question, motion agreed to. Committee ordered accordingly.

February 26.] Page

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE.—Report from, That the Committee have nominated the following Lords to serve on the Standing Committee :—L. Archbp. of Canterbury, E. Halsbury (*L. Chancellor*), L. Archbp. of York, D. Devonshire (*L. President*), M. Salisbury (*L. Privy Seal*), D. Bedford, D. Marlborough, D. Northumberland, M. Lansdowne, M. Bath, M. Ripon, M. Breadalbane, E. Pembroke and Montgomery (*L. Steward*), E. Clarendon (*L. Chamberlain*), E. Denbigh, E. Stamford, E. Chesterfield, E. Shaftesbury, E. Jersey, E. Lauderdale, E. Carnwath, E. Stanhope, E. Waldegrave, E. Portsmouth, E. Hardwicke, E. Spencer, E. Mansfield, E. Onslow, E. Gray, E. Morley, E. Vane (*M. Londonderry*), E. Cawdor, E. Camperdown, E. Dudley, E. Kimberley, E, Selborne, E. Ancaster, E. Crewe, V. Falkland, V. Sidmouth, V. Gordon (*E. Aberdeen*), V. Cross, V. Peel, V. Knutsford, V. Llandaff, V. Goschen, V. Ridley, L. Bp. Winchester, L. Zouche of Haryngworth, L. Windsor, L. Saltoun, L. Balfour, L. Boyle (*E. Cork and Orrery*), L. Ribblesdale, L. Churchill, L. Harris, L. Colchester, L. Plunket, L. Rosebery (*E. Rosebery*), L. Poltimore, L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*), L. Leigh, L. Elgin (*E. Elgin and Kincardine*), L. Belper, L. Kinnaird, L. Lawrence, L. Aberdare, L. Coleridge, L. Fermanagh (*E. Erne*), L. Norton, L. Rowton, L. Reay, L. Tweedmouth, L. Monk Bretton, L. Northbourne, L. Sudley (*E. Arran*), L. Monkswell, L. Lingen, L. Ashbourne, L. Thring, L. Macnaghten, L. Cheylesmore, L. Morris, L. Iveagh, L. Kelvin, L. Ashcombe, L. Newton, L. Hawkesbury, L. Stanmore, L. Welby, L. Davey, L. Wandsworth, L. Burghclere, L. James, L. Pirbright, L. Glenesk, L. Heneage, L. Glanusk, L. Brampton, L. Cranworth, L. Avebury, L. Alverstone.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1172

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 26TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill— Petition for additional provision ; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1174

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.—Two Petitions from Andover, in favour ; to lie upon the Table .. 1174

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Manchester ; Pudsey ; Soothill ; Sowerby Bridge ; Rochdale ; and Birkenhead ; to lie upon the Table .. 1174

MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.—Petition of the Mining Association of Great Britain, against ; to lie upon the Table 1175

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Whitby and Monkseaton ; Ealing ; Woolwich ; and Abram ; to lie upon the Table 1175

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Paper [presented 22nd February] to be printed. [No. 45] 1175

February 26.] *Page*

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1901–2.—Copy presented, of the Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March, 1902, togethre with a copy of the Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury relating thereto [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 46.] 1175

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.—Copy presented, of Ninth Annual Report of the proceedings of the Inspection Committee for the year ended 20th November, 1900, with Appendices [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 47.] 1175

BARRACKS ACT, 1890.—Account presented, showing the money raised and issued under the provisions of the Act, the securities created in respect thereof, and the amount expended for the purposes of the Act to the 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 48.] .. 1175

PUBLIC OFFICES (ACQUISITION OF SITE) ACT, 1895, SESSION 2; PUBLIC OFFICES (WESTMINSTER) SITE ACT, 1896; PUBLIC OFFICES (WHITEHALL) SITE ACT, 1897; AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS EXPENSES ACT, 1898.—Account presented, showing the moneys issued out of the Consolidated Fund, the moneys borrowed and the securities created in respect thereof, the disposal of moneys issued to the National Debt Commissioners for temporary investment under the provisions of the Acts, and the expenditure to the 31st March, 1900; together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 49.] 1175

ARMY (YEOMANRY) (REPORT OF COMMITTEE).—Copy presented, of Report of Committee on the organisation, arms, and equipment of the Yeomanry Force [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1176

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1900–1901).—Copy presented, of Supplementary Estimate of the further amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1901, to meet additional expenditure occasioned by the War in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 50.] 1176

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1901–2.—Estimates presented, for the year 1901–2, with Explanation of Differences [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 51.] 1176

NAVY STATEMENT (EXPLANATORY OF ESTIMATES).—Copy presented, of Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates, 1901-2 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1176

NAVY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE).—Copy presented, of Supplementary Estimate of His Majesty's Navy for the year 1900–1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 52.] 1176

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—

1. Bank of England.—Copy of all applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for advances to the Government authorised by Parliament, from 5th January, 1900, to 5th January, 1901 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 53.]

2. Private Bills.—Copy of Rules for the Practice and Procedure of the Referees on Private Bills (in pursuance of Standing Order 88); to be printed. [No. 54.]

3. Church Temporalities (Ireland).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission in respect of Church Temporalities in Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 55.] 1176

Civil Contingencies Fund, 1899–1900.—Copy ordered, "of Accounts of the Civil Contingencies Fund, 1899–1900, showing (1) the Receipts and Payments in connection with the Fund in the year ended the 31st day of March, 1900 ; (2) the distribution of the Capital of the Fund at the commencement and close of the year ; together with Copy of the Correspondence with the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) 1177

National Gallery Report.—Copy ordered, "of the Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the year 1900, with Appendices."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) 1177

Lead Poisoning.—Address for "Return giving (a) the number of cases of lead poisoning reported under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1895, in the manufacture of earthenware and china during the period from the 1st day of January, 1899, to the 31st day of December, 1900, distinguishing between cases in the decorative processes and cases in the process of dipping, ware cleaning, etc. ; (b) the number of persons suspended from working in dangerous processes by the certifying surgeons for the Hanley, Burslem, Tunstall, and Stoke districts in the same manufacture during the same period, in pursuance of the special rules (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 235, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*) 1177

Trawl Vessels (Prosecutions).—Return ordered, "for the years 1892 to 1900, inclusive, ending the 31st day of December, of prosecutions undertaken in the Sheriff Courts of Scotland, under the Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Acts, of the Masters of Beam or Otter Trawl vessels for alleged infringement of the bye-laws of the Fishery Board, or the provisions of the Acts prohibiting Beam or Otter Trawling within certain waters round the coasts of Scotland."—(*Mr. Cathcart Wason.*) 1177

Tenants' Improvement (Ireland) Bill -Order for Second Reading upon Wednesday, 19th June, read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.
Leave given to present another Bill instead thereof.—(*Major Jameson.*) .. 1178

Tenants' Improvement (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill—"For improving the condition of Tenants in cities, towns, and villages in Ireland," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 19th June, and to be printed. [Bill 67.] 1178

QUESTIONS.

South African War—Inquiry into Management.—Question, Mr. Soames (Norfolk, S.) ; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1178

The Jameson Raid Indemnity.—Question, Mr. Alfred Davies (Carmarthen Boroughs) ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) 1179

Patent Rights in South Africa.—Question, Sir John Brunner (Cheshire, Northwich) ; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 1179

Newspaper Prosecutions—Case of Mr. Albert Cartwright.—Question, Mr. Humphreys-Owen (Montgomeryshire) ; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain 1179

Treatment of Boer Women and Children—Rations.—Questions, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe), and Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs) ; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 1180

February 26.]

Page

PAARDEBURG OPERATIONS—GENERAL COLVILE.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1180

IRISH PRISONERS AT ST. HELENA.—Questions, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.) and Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 1181

SOUTH AFRICAN CONCILIATION COMMITTEE—LIEUTENANT MORRISON'S LETTER.—Question, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Sheffield, Ecclesall); Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs) 1181

PAY OF BRITISH SOLDIERS DURING CAPTIVITY.—Question, Mr. Soames; Answer, Lord Stanley 1181

THE CASE OF ESAU.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1182

TRANSPORT—DEMURRAGE AT SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS.—Question, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1182

ENTERIC AND DYSENTERY STATISTICS.—Question, Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1182

INOCULATION FOR ENTERIC FEVER.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Lord Stanley 1183

THE STORMBERG CASUALTIES.—Question, Major Jameson (Clare, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1183

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS (MILITARY NOTES).—Questions, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.), Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire), and Mr. Stevenson (Suffolk, Eye); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 1184

MOUNTAIN BATTERIES.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1185

ARMY RESERVE—SECTION II.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Lord Stanley 1185

CAVALRY ESTABLISHMENT.—Question, Major Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1186

PURCHASE OF ARMY HORSES IN IRELAND.—Questions, Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.), Major Rasch, and Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.); Answers, Lord Stanley 1186

IRISH MANUFACTURERS AND GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick's); Answer, Lord Stanley 1187

CRIMEAN SOLDIERS' WIDOWS AND THE PATRIOTIC FUND.—Questions, Sir John Leng, and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answers, Lord Stanley 1188

VOLUNTEER AMMUNITION IN ABERDEEN.—Question, Mr. Maconochie (Aberdeenshire, E.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1188

VISIT OF IMPERIAL TROOPS TO AUSTRALIA.—Questions, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Lord Stanley 1188

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND RETURN.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Lord Stanley 1189

ARMY CONTRACTS—TEMPORARY SECRECY AS TO PRICES.—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Lord Stanley 1189

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS FOR THE NAVY.—Questions, Mr. M'Fadden (Donegal, E.), Mr. William Redmond; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast W., ... 1189

February 26. *Page*

COOPER'S HILL COLLEGE.—Questions, Mr. O'Mara (Kilkenny, S.), Mr. Channing, and Mr. Labouchere (Northampton); Answers, The Secretary of State for India (Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing) 1190

BURMA JUDICIAL SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Caine (Cornwall, Camborne); Answer, Lord G. Hamilton 1192

CHINA—THE LOOTING AT PEKING.—Question, Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answer, Lord G. Hamilton 1192

BRITISH TRADE STATISTICS—EXPORTS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield Central); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds Central) 1193

IMPORTS OF FOREIGN MANUFACTURES.—Questions, Sir Howard Vincent and Mr. James Lowther (Kent, Thanet); Answers, Mr. Gerald Balfour .. 1193

TIN PLATE INDUSTRY—AMERICAN DUTIES.—Questions, Mr. Alfred Davies and Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1194

DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.) .. 1194

TAPERING PIT PROPS AND BARS.—Question, Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield); Answer, The Chief Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) 1195

GUN LICENCES.—Question, Mr. John Gordon (Londonderry, S.); Answer, Mr. Ritchie 1196

THE JURY SYSTEM.—Question, Mr. John Gordon; Answer, Mr. Ritchie .. 1196

METROPOLITAN POLICE PAY.—Questions, Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.) and Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answers, Mr. Ritchie 1196

VACCINATION—THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.—Question, Sir John Rolleston (Leicester); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, W.) 1197

VACCINATION RETURNS.—Question, Mr. Thomas Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1197

OVERCROWDING IN EAST LONDON.—Question, Mr. Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1198

RATES ON AGRICULTURAL LAND.—Question, Mr. Spear (Devonshire, Tavistock); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1198

ABERDEEN POST OFFICE BUILDINGS.—Question, Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.); Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 1198

TRUSTS FRAUDS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Sir Robert Finlay 1199

ENGLISH JURY PANELS.—Questions, Mr. William Redmond and Mr. John Redmond; Answers, Sir Robert Finlay 1199

MAIDSTONE ELECTIONS.—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, Sir Robert Finlay .. 1200

TELEGRAPH FORMS.—Question, Lieut.-Colonel Pryce-Jones (Montgomery Boroughs); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 1200

WELSH-SPEAKING POSTMASTERS.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1201

February 26.

Page

Dublin and Belfast Mail Trains.—Question, Mr. Daly (Monaghan, S.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1201

Mr. Jermyn's Castlecove Estate.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 1202

Armagh and Kingscourt Railway Scheme.—Question, Mr. Daly; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry) 1202

Horse Breeding in Ireland.—Question, Mr. Daly; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1203

Fair Rents in County Longford.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1203

Sligo County Council—The Courthouse Flag.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 1204

Local Government (Ireland) Return.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1205

Irish Land Commission Return.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1205

The Recent "Day of General Mourning"—Police and Wicklow Shopkeepers.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1205

Limerick Clerk of the Peace.—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1206

Commission of the Peace for South Armagh.—Question, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1206

Chairman of the Irish Board of Works.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1206

Salaries of the County Officials in Wexford.—Questions, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.), Mr. Flavin, Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Wyndham.. 1207

Spencer Dock, Dublin.—Question, Mr. Kennedy (Westmeath, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1208

State Opening of Parliament.—Question, Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1208

Business of the House (Government Business).

Mr. A. J. Balfour.. 1209

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Government business have precedence this day and to-morrow of all other business."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Discussion :—

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 1211
Mr. James Lowther (*Kent, Thanet*) 1213
Sir William Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*).. 1214
Mr. Yoxall (*Nottingham, W.*) 1214
Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*) 1216

Amendment proposed—
"To leave out the words 'and To-morrow.'"—(*Mr. Yoxall.*)

February 26. *Page*

Question proposed, "That the words 'and To-morrow' stand part of the Question."

Mr. A. J. Balfour 1217
Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) 1217
Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil) 1220
Sir William Harcourt 1221
Mr. William Abraham (Glamorganshire, Rhondda) 1222
Mr. Labouchere (Northampton) 1223
Sir Fortescue Flannery (Yorkshire, Shipley) 1224
Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.) 1224
Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs) 1225
Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.) 1226
Mr. Seton-Karr (St. Helens) 1227
Sir F. S. Powell (Wigan) 1228
Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield) 1228

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 269 ; Noes, 182. (Division List No. 10.)

Main Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 275 ; Noes, 184. (Division List No. 11.)

Ordered, That Government business have precedence this day and to-morrow of all other business.

NEW BILLS.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1894) AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cathcart Wilson, Sir William Arrol, Mr. Alexander Cross, Mr. Harmsworth, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Weir, and Mr. Leveson-Gower.

Local Government (Scotland) Act (1894) Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 68] 1237

POOR LAW SUPERANNUATION (IRELAND).—Bill to provide for Superannuation Allowances to certain local officers and servants in Ireland, and for contributions towards such allowances by such officers and servants, and to make other relative provisions, ordered to be brought in by Mr. O'Malley, Sir James Haslett, Mr. Harrington, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Clancy, Mr. James O'Connor, and Mr. Cogan.

Poor Law Superannuation (Ireland) Bill.—"To provide forSuperannuation Allowances to certain local Officers and Servants in Ireland, and for contributions towards such Allowances by such Officers and Servants, and to make other relative provisions," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 69.] 1238

LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) ACT (1854) AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854, ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Crae, Mr. Bryce, Sir John Leng, Sir William Dunn, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Colville, Mr. Wason, and Mr. Robert Wallace.

Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act (1854) Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time on Wednesday, 25th April, and to be printed [Bill 70.] 1239

February 26. Page

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—Ninth Day's Debate :—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (FARM BURNING).

Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.) 1239
Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) 1260

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the wholesale burning of farmhouses, the wanton destruction and looting of private property, the driving of women and children out of their homes without shelter or proper provision of food, and the confinement of women and children in prison camps are practices not in accordance with the usages of war as recognised by civilised nations; that such proceedings are in the highest degree disgraceful and dishonouring to a nation professing to be Christian, and are calculated by the intense indignation and hatred of the British name which they must excite in the Dutch population to immensely increase the difficulty of restoring peace to South Africa. And we humbly and earnestly represent to Your Majesty that it is the duty of Your Majesty's Government immediately to put a stop to all practices contrary to the recognised usages of war in the conduct of the war in South Africa; and to make an effort to bring the war to an end by proposing to the Governments of the two Republics such terms of peace as brave and honourable men might, under all the circumstances, be reasonably expected to entertain.' "—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 1266
Mr. C. P. Scott (Lancashire, Leigh) 1273
Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil) 1276
Mr. Boyle (Donegal, W.) 1279

Mr. A. J. Balfour rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 226; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 12.)

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there added."

The House divided :—Ayes, 91; Noes, 243. (Division List No. 13.)

Mr. A. J. Balfour claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly.

The House divided :—Ayes, 297; Noes, 78. (Division List No. 14.)

February 26. *Page*

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

To be presented by Privy Councillors and Members of His Majesty's Household.

SUPPLY.—Resolved, That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to His Majesty.

Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present Session be referred to the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) 1291

WAYS AND MEANS.—Resolved, That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to His Majesty.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) .. 1291

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Mr. A. J. Balfour 1291

Motion made, and Question proposed,—

"That, so soon as the Committee of Supply has been appointed and Estimates have been presented, the Business of Supply shall (until it be disposed of) be the first Order of the Day on Friday, unless the House otherwise order, on the motion of a Minister of the Crown moved at the commencement of Public Business to be decided without Amendment or Debate; and the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 shall be extended to Friday: Not more than twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, on which the Speaker leaves the Chair for the Committee of Supply without Question put, counting from the first day on which the Speaker so left the Chair under Standing Order No. 56, shall be allotted for the consideration of the Annual Estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, including Votes on Account, the business of Supply standing first Order on every such day: Provided always, that on Motion made after notice by a Minister of the Crown, to be decided without Amendment or Debate, additional time, not exceeding three days, may be allotted for the Business of Supply either before or after the 5th of August: On the last but one of the allotted days, at Ten o'clock p.m., the Chairman shall proceed to put forthwith every question necessary to dispose of the outstanding Votes in Committee of Supply; and on the last, not being earlier than the twentieth of the allotted days, the Speaker shall, at Ten o clock p.m., proceed to put forthwith every question necessary to complete the outstanding Reports of Supply: On the days appointed for concluding the Business of Supply, the consideration of such business shall not be anticipated by a Motion of Adjournment under Standing Order No. 17; nor may any dilatory Motion be moved on such proceedings; nor shall they they be interrupted under the proceedings of any Standing Order relating to the Sittings of the House: Provided always that any Additional Estimate for any new service of matters not included in the original Estimate for the year shall be submitted for consideration in the Committee of Supply on any day not later than two days before the Committee is closed: Provided

February 26. *Page*

also that the days occupied by the consideration of Estimates supplementary to those of a previous Session, or of any Vote of Credit, or of Votes for Supplementary or Additional Estimates presented by the Government for War Expenditure, shall not be included in the computation of the twenty days. Provided also that two Morning Sittings shall be deemed equivalent to one Three o'clock Sitting."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Discussion :—

Mr. John Ellis (*Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe*) .. 1294
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) .. 1299
Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) .. 1302
Sir Henry Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) .. 1304
Colonel Milward (*Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon*) .. 1306
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) .. 1307
Mr. Caine (*Cornwall, Camborne*) .. 1309
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) .. 1309
Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*) .. 1310
Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) .. 1313
Mr. Field (*Dublin, St. Patrick's*) .. 1317
Mr. Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*) .. 1319

Amendment proposed—

"In line 16, to leave out the word 'three,' in order to insert the word 'five.' "—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'three' stand part of the Question."

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

LEAD POISONING.—Address for "Return of the number of cases of Lead Poisoning reported as occurring (1) in the earthenware and china industry, for each month from January, 1898, to December, 1900, both inclusive, and (2) in all other trades (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 171, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. Coghill.*) .. 1321

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.—Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Fifteen Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of—Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Banbury, Mr. Blake, Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Goddard, Sir Brampton Gurdon, Sir Arthur Hayter, Mr. Brodie Hoare, Mr. Herbert Lewis, Sir Robert Mowbray, and Mr. Pym.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) .. 1321

PUBLIC PETITIONS :—

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed, to whom shall be referred all Petitions presented to the House, with the exception of such as relate to Private Bills; and that such Committee do classify and prepare abstracts of the same, in such form and manner as shall appear to them best suited to convey to the House all requisite information respecting their contents, and do report the same from time to time to the House; and that the Reports of the Committee do set forth the number of signatures to each Petition only in respect of those signatures to which addresses are fixed; and that such Committee have power to direct the

February 26. Page

printing *in extenso* of such Petitions, or of such parts of Petitions as shall appear to require it :—And that such Committee have power to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House,

The Committee was accordingly nominated of—Mr. Allsopp, Mr. Edward Barry, Mr. Brymer, Sir Charles Dalrymple, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, General Laurie, Mr. Herbert Lewis, Sir Henry Meysey-Thompson, Mr. Charles Morley, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Philipps, Mr. Tollemache, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and Mr. Henry Joseph Wilson.

Ordered, That three be the quorum.—(*Sir William Walrond.*) 1322

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1901.

Another Member took and subscribed the Oath.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—Mr. Speaker informed the House that he had received a Message of Sympathy on the death of Her late Majesty from the President of the House of Representatives in the Austrian Reichsrath .. 1323

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.—Account [presented 15th February] to be printed. [No. 56] 1324

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.—Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen for 1899–1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 57] 1324

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND, 1899–1900.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February ; *Mr. Austen Chamberlain*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 58] 1324

NATIONAL GALLERY REPORT.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February ; *Mr. Austen Chamberlain*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 59] 1324

LEAD POISONING :—

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February ; *Mr. Jesse Collings*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 60.]

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February ; *Mr. Coghill*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 61] 1324

NEW SOUTH WALES (FEDERAL ELECTIONS ACT, 1900).—Copy presented, of the Federal Elections Act, 1900 (New South Wales) [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 62] 1324

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND TRAVERS' FOUNDATION.—Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 63] 1324

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES.—Copy presented, of Statements of Account, and of Life Assurance and Annuity Business and Abstracts of Actuarial Reports, deposited with the Board of Trade during the year ended 31st December, 1900 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 64.] 1324

February 27. *Page*

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Question [26th February], "That, so soon as the Committee of Supply has been appointed and Estimates have been presented, the Business of Supply shall (until it be disposed of) be the first Order of the Day on Friday, unless the House otherwise order on the Motion of a Minister of the Crown moved at the commencement of Public Business to be decided without Amendment or Debate; and the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 shall be extended to Friday: Not more than twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, on which the Speaker leaves the Chair for the Committee of Supply without Question put, counting from the first day on which the Speaker so left the Chair under Standing Order No. 56, shall be allotted for the consideration of the Annual Estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, including Votes on Account, the Business of Supply standing first Order on every such day: Provided always, that on Motion made after Notice by a Minister of the Crown, to be decided without Amendment or Debate, additional time, not exceeding three days, may be allotted for the Business of Supply, either before or after the 5th of August: On the last but one of the allotted days, at Ten o'clock p.m., the Chairman shall proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to dispose of the outstanding Votes in Committee of Supply; and on the last, not being earlier than the twentieth of the allotted days, the Speaker shall, at Ten o'clock p.m., proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to complete the outstanding Reports of Supply: On the days appointed for concluding the Business of Supply, the consideration of such business shall not be anticipated by a Motion of Adjournment under Standing Order No. 17; nor may any dilatory Motion be moved on such proceedings; nor shall they be interrupted under the provisions of any Standing Order relating to the Sittings of the House: Provided always that any Additional Estimate for any new service or matter, not included in the original Estimates for the year shall be submitted for consideration in the Committee of Supply on any day not later than two days before the Committee is closed: Provided also that the days occupied by the consideration of Estimates supplementary to those of a previous Session, or of any Vote of Credit, or of Votes for Supplementary or Additional Estimates presented by the Government for War Expenditure shall not be included in the computation of the twenty days. Provided also that two Morning Sittings shall be deemed equivalent to one Three o'clock Sitting."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

And which Amendment was—

"In line 16, to leave out the word 'three,' in order to insert the word 'five.'"—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'three' stand part of the Question."

Discussion:—

Mr. William Redmond (*Clare, E.*) 1326
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 1327
Mr. Hemphill (*Tyrone, N.*) 1328
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 1329
The First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) .. 1329

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 179; Noes, 141. (Division List No. 15.)

Sir Thomas Esmonde (*Wexford, N.*) 1335
Mr. Cullinan (*Tipperary, S.*) 1337

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words—'Provided also that not less than six nights shall be allocated for the discussion of Irish Estimates.'"—(*Sir Thomas Esmonde.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Discussion :—

Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) 1337
Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-upon-Trent*) 1341
Mr. O'Shee (*Waterford, W.*) 1342
Mr. T. W. Russell 1343
Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 1344
Mr. A. J. Balfour 1345
Mr. H. J. Wilson (*Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth*) 1348
Mr. Daly (*Monaghan, S.*) 1348

Amendment proposed to the Amendment—

> "To leave out 'six,' in order to insert 'five.'"—(*Mr. H. J. Wilson.*)

Mr. A. J. Balfour 1348
Mr. Alexander Cross (*Glasgow, Camlachie*) 1348

Amendment to the Amendment put and agreed to.

Question put, "That the words 'Provided also that not less than five nights shall be allocated for the discussion of Irish Estimates' be there added."

The House divided:—Ayes, 141; Noes, 213. (Division List No. 16.)

Main Question again proposed.

Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett 1351
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 1352

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 257; Noes, 104. (Division List No. 17).

Resolved, That, so soon as the Committee of Supply has been appointed and Estimates have been presented, the Business of Supply shall (until it be disposed of) be the first Order of the Day on Friday, unless the House otherwise order on the Motion of a Minister of the Crown moved at the commencement of Public Business to be decided without Amendment or debate; and the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 shall be extended to Friday. Not more than twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, on which the Speaker leaves the Chair for the Committee of Supply without Question put, counting from the first day on which the Speaker so left the Chair under Standing Order No. 56, shall be allotted for the consideration of the Annual Estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, including Votes on Account, the Business of Supply standing first Order on every such day. Provided always, that on Motion made, after Notice by a Minister of the Crown to be decided without Amendment or Debate, additional time, not exceeding three days, may be allotted for the Business of Supply, either before or after the 5th of August. On the last but one of the allotted days, at Ten o'clock p.m., the Chairman shall proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to dispose of the outstanding Votes in Committee of Supply; and on the last, not being earlier than the twentieth of the allotted days, the Speaker shall, at Ten o'clock p.m., proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to complete the outstanding Reports of Supply.

February 27. *Page*

On the days appointed for concluding the Business of Supply, the consideration of such business shall not be anticipated by a Motion of Adjournment under Standing Order No. 17; nor may any dilatory Motion be moved on such proceedings; nor shall they be interrupted under the provisions of any Standing Order relating to the Sittings of the House. Provided always that any Additional Estimate for any new service or matter, not included in the original Estimates for the year, shall be submitted for consideration in the Committee of Supply on any day not later than two days before the Committee is closed. Provided also that the days occupied by the consideration of Estimates supplementary to those of a previous Session, or of any Vote of Credit, or of Votes for Supplementary or Additional Estimates presented by the Government for War Expenditure, shall not be included in the computation of the twenty days. Provided also that two Morning Sittings shall be deemed equivalent to one Three o'clock Sitting.

MINERS (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.—Second Reading.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. Yoxall (Nottingham, W.)	1357

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Sir Alfred Hickman (Wolverhampton, W.)	1366

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Sir Alfred Hickman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Discussion:—

Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck)	1372
Mr. Joseph Walton (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley)	1377
Mr. Atherley-Jones (Durham, N.W.)	1379
Mr. Higginbottom (Liverpool, West Derby)	1383
Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil)	1384
Sir James Joicey (Durham, Chester-le-Street)	1386

Mr. Yoxall claimed, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 231; Noes, 184. (Division List No. 18.)

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question.'"

The House divided:—Ayes, 212; Noes, 199. (Division List No. 19.)

Mr. Yoxall claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

NEW BILLS.

VACCINATION.—Bill to amend the Vaccination Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Sir John Rolleston, Mr. Channing, and Mr. Grant.

February 27. *Page*

Vaccination Bill.—"To amend the Vaccination Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 71.] 1398

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN (SCOTLAND).—Bill to prohibit the sale or supply of Liquors to Children in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cameron Corbett, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Andrew Agnew, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Baird, Mr. Law, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Hozier, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Orr-Ewing, and Mr. J. Wilson.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children (Scotland) Bill.—"To prohibit the sale or supply of Liquors to Children in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 72.] 1399

THE OGADEN SOMALIS.—On the Motion for the Adjournment of the House—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) 1399

Adjourned at Six of the clock.

In pursuance of Standing Order No. 1, "Sittings of the House," I hereby nominate—The Right Honourable Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Mr. Edward Blake, Mr. Arthur Frederick Jeffreys, and Mr. Henry Hobhouse, to act during this session as temporary Chairmen of Committees when requested by the Chairman of Ways and Means—WILLIAM COURT GULLY, Speaker.—27th February, 1901.

END OF TABLE OF CONTENTS TO VOLUME LXXXIX.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(*AUTHORISED EDITION*)

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, IN THE
FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, 23rd *January*, 1901.

House met, on the occasion of the Demise of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, pursuant to the Act of 6 Anne c. 7.

The Lord Chancellor, singly, in the first place, took the Oath at the Table.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, singly, took the Oath.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, singly, took the Oath.

Several Lords took the Oath

The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

House adjourned at Five of the clock, till To-morrow, Eleven of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 23rd *January*, 1901.

The House met at Four of the clock.

It having pleased Almighty God to take to His mercy our late Most Gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria of blessed memory, who departed this life yesterday between the hours of six and seven of the clock in the evening, at Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight; and Her late Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and others, having met this day at Saint James's Palace, and having directed that His Royal Highness Albert Edward Prince of Wales be proclaimed King, by the Style and Title of Edward the Seventh,—

Mr. Speaker, and several other Members, came to the House of Commons this day, where Mr. Speaker alone, and then the other Members present, took the Oath, and several Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Henry Wilson Worsley-Taylor, esquire, Q.C., for North Lancashire (Blackpool Division).

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Mr. Anstruther*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at Five minutes after Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 24th January, 1901.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR IRELAND.

Writs and Returns electing the Lord Dunboyne a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the Lord Oranmore and Browne, deceased, with the Certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto. Delivered (on oath), and Certificate read.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, singly, took the Oath.

The Earl of Radnor sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

Several Lords took the Oath.

House adjourned at Four of the clock, till To-morrow, Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 24th January, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and two other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Mr. Anstruther*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at ten minutes before Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 25th January, 1901.

Several Lords took the Oath.

The Earl of Harrowby sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

Delivered by the Marquess of Salisbury and read by the Lord Chancellor, as follows:—

EDWARD REX.

The King is fully assured that the House of Lords will share in the deep sorrow which has befallen His Majesty and the Nation by the lamented death of His Majesty's mother, the late Queen. Her devotion to the welfare of Her country and Her people, and Her wise and beneficent rule during the sixty-four years of Her glorious reign will ever be held in affectionate memory by Her loyal and devoted subjects throughout the dominions of the British Empire.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I have to move that "an humble address be presented to His Majesty to assure His Majesty that this House deeply sympathises in the great sorrow which His Majesty has sustained by the death of our beloved Sovereign, the late Queen, whose unfailing devotion to the duties of her high estate and to the welfare of her people will ever cause her reign to be remembered with reverence and affection; to submit to His Majesty our respectful congratulations on his accession to the Throne, and to assure him of our loyal attachment to his person; and further to assure him of our earnest conviction that his reign will be distinguished, under the blessing of Providence, by an anxious desire to maintain the laws of the kingdom and to promote the happiness and liberty of his subjects." My Lords, in making this motion, I have to perform by far the saddest duty that has ever befallen me, and you in voting it will be animated by similar feelings. We are echoing the accents of sorrow which reach us from every part of the Empire and every part of the globe, and which express the deep and heartfelt feeling—a feeling deeper than I ever remember—of sorrow at the singular loss which, under the dispensation of Divine Providence, we have suffered, and of admiration for the glorious reign and the splendid character of the Sovereign whom we have lost.

My Lords, the late Queen had so many titles to our admiration that it would occupy an enormous time to glance at them even perfunctorily; but that on which I think your Lordships will most reflect, and which will chiefly attach to her character in history is that, being a constitutional Monarch with restricted powers, she reigned by sheer force of character, by the lovableness of her disposition, over the hearts of her subjects, and exercised an influence in moulding their character and destiny which she could not have done more if she had had the most despotic power in her hands. She has been a great instance of government by example, by esteem, by love; and it will never be forgotten how much she has done for the elevation of her people, not by the exercise of any prerogative, not by the giving of any commands, but by the simple recognition and contemplation of the brilliant qualities which she has exhibited in her exalted position.

My Lords, it may be, perhaps, proper that those who, like noble Lords opposite and myself, have had the opportunity of seeing the close workings of her character in the discharge of her duties as a Sovereign, should take this opportunity of testifying to the great admiration she inspired and the great force which her distinguishing characteristics exercised over all who came near her. The position of a constitutional Sovereign is not an easy one. Duties have to be reconciled which sometimes seem far apart. Much has to be accepted which it may not be always pleasant to accept; but she showed a wonderful power, on the one hand, of observing with the most absolute strictness the limits to her action which the Constitution draws, and, on the other hand, of maintaining a steady and persistent influence on the action of her Ministers in the course of legislation and government which no one could mistake. She was able to accept some things of which, perhaps, she did not entirely approve, but which she thought it her duty in her position to accept. She always maintained and practised a rigorous supervision over public affairs, giving to her Ministers the benefit of her advice and warning them of danger if she saw there was danger ahead; and she certainly impressed many of us with a profound sense of the penetration, almost intuition, with which she saw the perils with which we might be threatened in any course it was thought expedient to adopt. She left upon my mind, she left upon our minds, the conviction that it was always a dangerous matter to press on her any course of the expediency of which she was not thoroughly convinced; and, without venturing to go into details, which, of course, I cannot do, I may say with confidence that no Minister in her long reign ever disregarded her advice, or pressed her to disregard it, without afterwards feeling that he had incurred a dangerous responsibility. She had an extraordinary knowledge of what her people would think—extraordinary because it could not have come from any personal intercourse. I have said for years that I always thought that when I knew what the Queen thought I knew pretty certainly what view her subjects would take, and especially the middle classes of her subjects. Such was the extraordinary penetration of her mind. Yet she never adhered to her own conceptions obstinately. On the contrary, she was full of concession and consideration; and she spared no effort—I might almost say she shrank from no sacrifice—to make the task of conducting this difficult Government more easy to her advisers than it would otherwise have been.

My Lords, I feel sure that the testimony I have borne will be abundantly sustained by all those who have been called to the counsels of the Crown. We owe her gratitude in every direction—for her influence in elevating the people, for her power with foreign Courts and Sovereigns to remove difficulties and misapprehension which sometimes might have been dangerous; but, above all things, I think, we owe her gratitude for this, that by a happy dispensation her reign has coincided with that great change which has come over the political structure of this country and the political instincts of its people. She has bridged over that great interval which separates old England from new England. Other nations may have had to pass through similar trials, but have seldom passed through them so peaceably, so easily, and with so much prosperity and success as we have. I think that future historians will look to the Queen's reign as the boundary which separates the two states of England—England which has changed so much—and recognise that we have undergone the change with constant increase of public prosperity, without any friction to endanger the peace or stability of our civil life, and at the same time with a constant expansion of an Empire which every year grows more and more powerful. We owe all these blessings to the tact, the wisdom, the passionate patriotism, and the incomparable judgment of the Sovereign whom we deplore.

I have also to move that we present our congratulations to His Majesty on his accession to the Throne, and to convey the assurance to His Majesty of our loyal attachment to his person, and, further, of our earnest conviction that his reign will be distinguished, under the blessing of Providence, by an anxious desire to maintain the laws of the kingdom and to promote the happiness and liberty of his subjects. His Majesty, indeed, comes to the Throne with great advantages. He has before him the greatest example he could have to follow. He has been familiar with our political and social life for more than one generation; he enjoys a universal and enormous popularity; he is beloved in foreign countries and foreign Courts almost as much as he is at home; and he has that profound knowledge of the working of our institutions and the conduct of our affairs that he begins with provision and security against mistakes that few Sovereigns have enjoyed. We may tender him our allegiance with earnest sincerity and with the belief that he will adorn the Throne to which he is called, and that he will not be an unworthy successor of the most illustrious Sovereign that has ever adorned the Throne of England.

Moved, That an humble address be presented to His Majesty:

To assure His Majesty, That this House deeply sympathises in the great sorrow which His Majesty has sustained by the death of our beloved Sovereign the late Queen, whose unfailing devotion to the duties of Her high estate and to the welfare of Her people will ever cause Her Reign to be remembered with reverence and affection;

To submit to His Majesty our respectful congratulations on His accession to the Throne, to assure His Majesty of our loyal attachment to His person; and, further, to assure Him of our earnest conviction that His Reign will be distinguished, under the blessing of Providence, by an anxious desire to maintain the Laws of the Kingdom, and to promote the happiness and liberty of his subjects.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I beg leave to second the motion made by the noble Marquess. I am sure there is not a Member of this House who will not feel that on this occasion it is not a mere formal motion which we make as loyal subjects on the death of our Sovereign. It is something much more; it is an occasion when our inmost feelings are touched by remembrance of her happy, glorious reign.

I agree with every word that has been said, and well said, by the noble Marquess opposite. He has had unique experience, as a powerful Prime Minister, of intercourse with the Sovereign, which, naturally, I have never enjoyed; but it does so happen that my first intercourse with the Queen as a Minister—a subordinate Minister—dates back even further than that of the noble Marquess. I may perhaps be forgiven for mentioning that I occupied the position of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the last days of 1852. Of course, I was not at that time a responsible Minister, but as Under Secretary I did on more than one occasion come into immediate contact with the Sovereign, and even to some extent upon matters of business. She treated me with that extraordinary consideration and kindness which always marked her intercourse with all who came near her. From the very first—though I do not claim to have any special insight—I was struck with the extraordinary qualities the Queen displayed, and as years went on my experience of this increased, and I can corroborate every word that has been said by the noble Marquess. The position of a constitutional Sovereign is one which may not be of great direct power, but the Queen has shown that it may be one of far-reaching and most beneficent influence. I suppose no Sovereign who ever sat on the Throne of this kingdom exercised so wide an influence or was so greatly beloved, and her influence extended not merely to the people of this country and the extensive dominions over which she reigned—it extended to every civilised country throughout the world. I should think there is no precedent whatever where a Sovereign—I might almost say any individual—has been so greatly, so sincerely, so universally mourned as in the case of our late Queen. My Lords, that circumstance shows that she must have possessed qualities of the most remarkable kind. Those who have had the great advantage of coming into immediate contact with her must have been, like the noble Marquess, struck with the extraordinary and profound knowledge which she possessed of public affairs. I must say I was always amazed at the sound and real knowledge which she possessed of almost all the important affairs which engrossed our attention from time to time. It was not, as is the case with many, that she had, as she naturally would have, made special inquiry into these matters and put herself in a position to discuss them with her Ministers. It was something much more. You came in contact with one who was profoundly acquainted with all these affairs—probably far more, in many cases, than the Minister who had to transact business with her; and the more you transacted business with her the more you were astonished at the depth of her knowledge and the acuteness of her judgment. She possessed, if I may say so, in a pre-eminent degree, the qualities possessed by women of great ability; but she possessed also that which I have never met with before in a woman—the calm judgment and the wisdom which we generally think are only the property of men. The Queen was a wise statesman, if I may use an expression which, of course, in itself is inaccurate; and I must say for myself that I never conversed with her on business—and I have had a good many conversations with her—without being struck with her ability and her extraordinary foresight and judgment.

But, my Lords, there was something much more than that. The noble Marquess touched upon the subject. As a constitutional Sovereign of course, as a rule, she was bound to follow the advice of her Ministers, and I have, even in my own humble case, known instances where the judgment of Her Majesty and my own opinion differed, and I had a long argument with her on the subject, during which not for one single moment did she in any way display any kind of resentment at my not agreeing with her. She argued the question temperately and with moderation and great wisdom. The noble Marquess alluded to the fact, which I might not otherwise have mentioned, that, as I suppose has happened in the experience of several of us, there have been cases where the Queen's judgment was better than ours. I remember well a case which I cannot refer to, in which, unfortunately, I entirely differed from the opinion which Her Majesty held, and, of course, I felt it to be my duty, holding the opinion strongly, to press it, and the Queen ultimately, though with great reluctance, gave way to me. She warned me that I should lament the consequences. The event proved that the Queen was right and that I was wrong; and I well remember that afterwards, when I met her, I said, "Well, Ma'am, I am bound to admit that your judgment was sounder than my own. The apprehensions you entertained have been fulfilled, unluckily, in this case." I only mention that to show how intimate her acquaintance with affairs was, and how wise she was in these matters. It was not only that one consulted her, as one was bound to do, as the Sovereign of this country, but you consulted her because she was a person of the greatest and widest knowledge, and of calm and sound judgment. And I remember very well an old chief of mine, a very able man, Lord Clarendon, then the Foreign Minister, saying to me when I was Under Secretary, after discussing some matter of importance, "Well, let us have the Queen's opinion. The Queen's opinion is always worth hearing, even if you do not agree with it"; and that expresses my own opinion with regard to it. My Lords, a more sagacious Sovereign never reigned in this country; and if you consider the widespread influence which she has exercised as a constitutional Sovereign—if you consider that, year by year, her influence increased, and that year by year, up to the time of her lamented death, the affection of all classes in the country was more and more displayed—I think you will say that the noble Marquess did not exaggerate when he said no more successful, no more beloved Sovereign ever sat upon the Throne of this country.

But there is something more to be said. Her influence and the admiration of her qualities extended far beyond this country. In India—that great Empire from which she derived one of her titles—in India, by all accounts, there is the greatest sorrow for her loss and the greatest sympathy expressed by all the native Princes, and, I have no doubt, all the native population. I have mentioned what is the feeling in all foreign countries, and observe how remarkable, how singular this sympathy is. I am not going, on an occasion like this, to touch, even in the remotest degree, on any question of our relations with foreign countries, but relations with foreign countries naturally and necessarily involve us very often in disputes, and sometimes one nation is less friendly than another, as must occur; but on this occasion the feeling of all these countries has been shown to be one of sympathy with the death of our Sovereign, quite independently, as far as I can see, of the particular relations that may exist at this time. I am not aware that there is any instance in history where the influence of one person has been so great as to overcome the feelings which arise from the political relations existing between the different nations of the world. That alone shows how unique and beneficent was the influence which she exercised.

My Lords, I have said enough of Her Majesty's relations with public affairs. The noble Marquess has, with more experience than I have, expressed, and in more admirable language, what we all feel on that subject; but I think there is one other side on which I may say a word. It is this—the extent to which Her Majesty inspired all those who had the great privilege of intercourse with her with a feeling of personal affection which was most remarkable. In the event of any calamity befalling us, no one expressed their sympathy in more kindly and feeling terms, no one conveyed to her subjects sympathy in terms which touched the heart more deeply than Her Majesty; and anyone who has suffered any bitter sorrow will know that from none came more touching words of consolation than from our late Sovereign. I have nothing further to add, but I confess I feel most strongly—and I hope I am not exceeding the bounds of what should be said by any public man when I confidently assert this—that, not only in my own opinion, but in that of many others, our feeling was not merely that of the highest respect for the Sovereign of this country and for her great and eminent qualities, but we felt, as far as it was possible in such a case in our relations with our Sovereign, that she was a personal friend, and we deplore her loss as such. The noble Marquess has also included in his motion an expression of the feeling which we all entertain towards the successor of the Queen. We have many of us for a long time had an opportunity of witnessing the career of the Prince of Wales. He is now our Sovereign, and I believe myself that his knowledge of affairs, and his tact and good judgment, will enable him to walk in the footsteps of his august mother; and no greater wish can I express than that he should walk in her steps, and nothing do I more desire, not only for his own reputation, but for the benefit of the great Empire over which he has been called upon to rule.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I desire to be allowed to say a few words upon this matter as representing the Church of England, which, as your Lordships are aware, is connected by closer ties with the Sovereign in this country than in almost any other. For myself, it is impossible to look back over Her Majesty's reign without a deep sense of gratitude to God for having given us such a Sovereign to reign over us, a Sovereign whose powers of statesmanship and powers of advising those who had the government in their hands have been already spoken of, but whose influence as a woman, and, I may add, as a truly religious woman, was far greater than anything which could be exercised by the wisest statesman or the cleverest administrator. Her influence, the character of her Court, the character of the domestic life, of which her subjects were allowed to know something, had a penetrating power which reached far beyond the possibility of our being able to trace it. There can be no question that all society has been the better because the Queen has reigned. There cannot be a question that it has been a blessing to very, very many who knew not from whence the blessing flowed. Thousands upon thousands, I have no doubt at all, are living better lives, although they know not the reason, simply because there was such a Sovereign on the Throne, a Sovereign who gave the people all her intellectual powers, who gave the people all her extraordinary knowledge of what affected their interests, but who also gave the people her very heart, the loving sympathy with which on all occasions she spoke—to those who needed such sympathy—the words by which she made us all feel that she cared for every one of us, the readiness with which she responded to every call made upon her as not only a woman, but a loving woman, amongst her people whose love she longed to win. The influence which such a Sovereign exercised it would be difficult to find anywhere in the history that is past. It would be difficult to find the equal of it; it would be impossible to find anything that could surpass it. She was a religious woman. She prayed for her people. She was a good woman. She set up a true standard of such lives as Christians ought to live. She made us all feel that we were hers and that she desired to be ours, and so throughout the country good people are lamenting her departure. Throughout the country I do not think there is a single heart that is not penetrated by a sense of gratitude that God has given us such a Queen; and we look forward and we trust that the influence which she exercised will not die with her. We trust that the Sovereign who has succeeded her will follow in her footsteps as he has told us he means to do; and, whilst our sorrow at the moment seems stronger than any other feeling, we are yet able to add to that sorrow an expression of true loyalty towards the Sovereign who has succeeded.

On Question, agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*, and ordered accordingly: The said Message to be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had received messages of sympathy on the death of the late Queen from the Roumanian Senate and the Greek Chamber of Deputies, of which the following are translations:—

1. The Roumanian Senate, profoundly touched by the calamity which has just fallen upon you, associate itself with the grief of the great people which is now mourning Queen Victoria, one of the most glorious of Sovereigns.

   (*Signed*) BOERESCO,
   President of the Senate.

2. The Greek Chamber of Deputies, respectfully desiring to associate itself with the grief and mourning of England, has charged me to transmit to you, and through you to the House of Lords, their most earnest and sincere condolences. The Hellenic people will always honour and will always preserve a grateful memory of the glorious Queen who in the most difficult moment deigned to testify to it her sympathy and goodwill.

   (*Signed*) BOURHIDIS,
   President of the Chamber of Deputies.

The same were ordered to be entered on the Journals of the House.

JUDICIAL BUSINESS.

Ordered, That for the purposes of the Judicial Business of the House, Thursday, the 14th day of February next, be deemed the "first sitting day of the next ensuing Meeting of the House."

House adjourned at ten minutes past Five of the clock, to Thursday, the 14th of February next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 25th January, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and one other Member made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

MR. SPEAKER informed the House that he had received the following Telegrams of Condolence with the British Nation in the loss it had sustained by the death of Her late Majesty:—

Telegram, dated Athens,
23rd January, 1901, 8 p.m.

From the President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Hellenes, to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

The Chamber of Deputies, respectfully associating itself with the grief and mourning of England, has charged me to transmit to your Excellency, and by your intervention to the House of Commons, its heartfelt and sincere condolence. The Greek people will ever honour, and hold in grateful recollection, the glorious Queen who in their hours of difficulty graciously showed Her sympathy and goodwill.

From the President of the Chamber of Deputies of Roumania, to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

The Chamber of Deputies of Roumania, deeply moved by the calamity which has struck the noble English nation, associates itself with the national grief, and mourns with it the noble Sovereign it has lost.

From the President of the National Assembly of Servia, to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

The Servian National Assembly, sharing in the grief of the English people for the loss of the great, noble, and wise Queen Victoria, has expressed in its sitting of yesterday its very deep respect for the memory of the deceased Sovereign.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING RESPECTING THE DEATH OF HER LATE MAJESTY.

Mr. BALFOUR (at the Bar) acquainted the House that he had a Message from His Majesty the King to this House signed by His Majesty's own hand. And he presented the same to the House, and it was read by Mr. SPEAKER (all the Members of the House being uncovered), and is as followeth :—

EDWARD REX.

> The King is fully assured that the House of Commons will share in the deep sorrow which has befallen His Majesty and the Nation by the lamented death of His Majesty's mother, the late Queen. Her devotion to the welfare of Her country and Her people, and Her wise and beneficent rule during the sixty-four years of Her glorious reign will ever be held in affectionate memory by Her loyal and devoted subjects throughout the dominions of the British Empire.

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO THE KING'S MESSAGE.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The history of this House is not a brief or an uneventful one, but I think it has never met in sadder circumstances than to-day or had the melancholy duty laid more clearly upon it of expressing a universal sorrow—a sorrow extending from one end of the Empire to the other, a sorrow which fills every heart and which every citizen feels, not merely as a national, but also as a personal loss. I do not know how it may seem to others, but, for my own part, I can hardly yet realise the magnitude of the blow which has fallen upon the country—a blow, indeed, sorrowfully expected, but not, on that account, less heavy when it falls. I suppose that, in all the history of the British Monarchy, there never has been a case in which the feeling of national grief was so deep-seated as it is at present, so universal, so spontaneous. And that grief affects us not merely because we have lost a great personality, but because we feel that the end of a great epoch has come upon us—an epoch the beginning of which stretches beyond the memory, I suppose, of any individual whom I am now addressing, and which embraces within its compass sixty-three years, more important, more crowded with epoch-making change, than almost any other period of like length that could be selected in the history of the world. It is wonderful to reflect that, before these great changes, now familiar and almost vulgarised by constant discussion, were thought of or developed—great industrial inventions, great economic changes, great discoveries in science which are now in all men's mouths—Queen Victoria reigned over this Empire. Yet, Sir, it is not this reflection, striking though it be, which now moves us most deeply. It is not simply the length of the reign, it is not simply the magnitude of the events with which that reign is filled, which have produced the deep and abiding emotion which stirs every heart throughout this kingdom. The reign of Queen Victoria is no mere chronological landmark. It is no mere convenient division of time, useful to the historian or the chronicler. No, Sir, we feel as we do feel for our great loss because we intimately associate the personality of Queen Victoria with the great succession of events which have filled her reign, with the growth, moral and material, of the Empire over which she ruled. And, in so doing, surely we do well. In my judgment, the importance of the Crown in our Constitution is not a diminishing, but an increasing factor. It increases, and must increase with the development of those free, self-governing communities, those new commonwealths beyond the sea, who are constitutionally linked to us through the person of the Sovereign, the living symbol of Imperial unity. But, Sir, it is not given, it cannot, in ordinary course, be given, to a constitutional Monarch to signalise his reign by any great isolated action. His influence, great as it may be, can only be produced by the slow, constant, and cumulative results of a great ideal and a great example; and in presenting effectively that great ideal and that great example to her people Queen Victoria surely was the first of all constitutional Monarchs whom the world has yet seen. Where shall we find any ideal so lofty in itself, so constantly and consistently maintained, through two generations, through more than two generations, of her subjects, through many generations of her Ministers and public men?

Sir, it would be almost impertinent for me were I to attempt to express to the House in words the effect which the character of our late Sovereign produced upon all who were in any degree, however remote, brought in contact with her. In the simple dignity, befitting a Monarch of this realm, she could never fail, because it arose from her inherent sense of the fitness of things. And because it was no artificial ornament of office, because it was natural and inevitable, this queenly dignity only served to throw into a stronger relief, into a brighter light those admirable virtues of the wife, the mother, and the woman with which she was so richly endowed. Those kindly graces, those admirable qualities, have endeared her to every class in the community, and are known to all. Perhaps less known was the life of continuous labour which her position as Queen threw upon her. Short as was the interval between the last trembling signature affixed to a public document and the final and perfect rest, it was yet long enough to clog and hamper the wheels of administration; and when I saw the accumulating mass of untouched documents which awaited the attention of the Sovereign, I marvelled at the unostentatious patience which for sixty-three years, through sorrow, through suffering, in moments of weariness, in moments of despondency, had enabled her to carry on without break or pause her share in the government of this great Empire. For her there was no holiday, to her there was no intermission of toil. Domestic sorrow, domestic sickness, made no difference in her labours, and they were continued from the hour at which she became our Sovereign to within a few days—I had almost said a few hours—of her death. It is easy to chronicle the growth of Empire, the course of discovery, the progress of trade, the triumphs of war, all the events that make history interesting or exciting; but who is there that will dare to weigh in the balance the effect which such an example, continued over sixty-three years, has produced on the highest life of her people?

It was a great life, and surely it had a happy ending. She found her reward in the undying affection and the passionate devotion of all her subjects, wheresoever their lot might be cast. This has not always been the fate of her ancestors. It has not been the fate of some of the greatest among them. It has been their less happy destiny to outlive contemporary fame, to see their people's love grow cold, to find new generations growing up who know them not, and burdens to be lifted too heavy for their aged arms. Their sun, once so bright, has set amid darkening clouds and the muttering of threatening tempests. Such was not the lot of Queen Victoria. She passed away with her children and her children's children, to the third generation, around her, beloved and cherished of all. She passed away without, I well believe, a single enemy in the world—for even those who loved not England loved her; and she passed away not only knowing that she was—I had almost said adored by her people, but that their feelings towards her had grown in depth and intensity with every year in which she was spared to rule over them. No such reign, no such ending, can the history of this country show us.

Mr. Speaker, the Message from the King which you have read from the Chair calls forth, according to the immemorial usage of this House, a double response. We condole with His Majesty upon the irreparable loss which he and the country have sustained. We congratulate him upon his accession to the ancient dignities of his House. I suppose at this moment there is no sadder heart in this kingdom than that of its Sovereign; and it may seem therefore to savour of bitter irony that we should offer him on such a melancholy occasion the congratulations of his people. Yet, Sir, it is not so. Each generation must bear its own burdens; and in the course of nature it is right that the burden of Monarchy should fall upon the heir to the Throne. He is, therefore, to be congratulated, as every man is to be congratulated who, in obedience to plain duty, takes upon himself the weight of great responsibilities, filled with the earnest hope of worthily fulfilling his task to the end, or, in his own words, "while life shall last." It is for us on this occasion, so momentous in the history of the Monarchy, so momentous in the history of the King, to express to him our unfailing confidence that the great interests committed to his charge are safe in his keeping, to assure him of the ungrudging support which his loyal subjects are ever prepared to give him, to wish him honour, to wish him long life, to wish him the greatest of all blessings, the blessing of reigning over a happy and a contented people, and to wish, above all, that his reign may, in the eyes of an envious posterity, fitly compare with that great epoch which has just drawn to a close. Mr. Speaker, I now beg to read the Address which I shall ask you to put from the Chair and to which I shall ask the House to assent. I move—

"That a humble Address be presented to His Majesty, to assure His Majesty that this House deeply sympathises in the great sorrow which His Majesty has sustained by the death of our beloved Sovereign, the late Queen, whose unfailing devotion to the duties of Her high estate and to the welfare of Her people will ever cause Her reign to be remembered with reverence and affection: to submit to His Majesty our respectful congratulations on His Accession to the Throne, to assure His Majesty of our loyal attachment to His person, and further to assure Him of our earnest conviction that His reign will be distinguished under the blessing of Providence by an anxious desire to maintain the Laws of the Kingdom, and to promote the happiness and liberty of His subjects."

*SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Sir, the gracious Message which we have received from His Majesty the King and the Address by which the First Lord of the Treasury proposes that we should make reply to that Message concern themselves with a subject on which, happily for us, the House of Commons forgets all differences of party and of political opinion. If I were to borrow a phrase from the stately Proclamation which yesterday resounded through these islands, I should say that it is "with one voice and consent of tongue and heart" that on these occasions we are accustomed in this country to act. If this is so, if we are all of one mind to-day, it is not merely in giving formal expression to constitutional and traditional loyalty; there is a deeper and stronger chord, a more intimate chord, that has been struck by the events of this week. The ties that bind the people of this country to the Throne and the Royal House have not been created, they are not such as could be created, by the wit or theory of philosopher or statesman; they have been knit by the character and the life of Queen Victoria and the members of Her Royal Family. I am not going to attempt to add—because if I attempted to add to it I should spoil it—to the eloquent panegyric which the right hon. Gentleman has passed upon the great Sovereign whose loss we deplore to-day. One might, of course, enlarge upon many points that were most prominent in her character and conduct, on her ungrudging devotion to duty, on her scrupulous observance of constitutional rules, on the soundness of her judgment, on her unfailing discretion, on the unsullied goodness of her life, and on her singularly quick and watchful sympathy with everything that could bring joy or sorrow to any of her subjects. But there is one thing which strikes me as having, above all, from the earliest days of Her Majesty's reign, won for her the hearts of her people, and which has increased her hold upon them as the revolving years succeeded each other, and this is a certain homely sincerity of character and life and purpose which, amid all the pomp and dignity of her august position, seemed to make the whole world kin. If we were to attempt to appreciate the light in which Queen Victoria has been regarded, and in which her memory will continue to be regarded by her people at home, and by her subjects within the vast bounds of her Empire—if we were to attempt it—we should search in vain down the long list of epithets expressive of pride and affection—admired, beloved, revered, even adored—to find one which accurately or adequately conveyed the real sentiment of her people towards her. I believe that this is because there was between them a friendly, tender, almost familiar, mutual understanding which it is impossible to put into words. Who can measure the strength which the existence of a relation such as this between the Sovereign and her people must have given through all these years to this kingdom and this Empire? We have been so habituated to it that we hardly realise it; and it is now, when the relentless hand of death has taken Her Majesty from us, that we see how much we owed to her. Let me ask how often it must have happened during her long reign that some policy or action on the part of this country, either by fault of ours or not, may have failed to secure the goodwill of other States and nations among our neighbours, and how often may the evil effects of such a state of things have been averted by the knowledge, which was universal in the world, of the Queen's personal and sincere devotion to the cause of peace and freedom and uprightness. It is, therefore, with a deep sense of gratitude for all the happiness and the strength which Her Majesty, by her own personal qualities, has given to her faithful people that we bow the head before the decree of Divine Providence which has put a close to a reign the most beneficent that has been seen in any nation and in any age of the world.

Happily, the grief with which we suffer this irreparable loss is in some degree assuaged by our well-founded confidence that the Monarch who succeeds to the Throne will follow the same line of public conduct and will adhere to the same principles of life as have wrought so much good in the past. It often happens when a new occupant comes to the Throne of a country, that he is an untried Prince, unversed in public affairs; it may be even that he is little known personally to those over whom he is called upon to reign. It is not so with King Edward. For the greater part of his life it has fallen to him not only to discharge a large part of the ceremonial public duty which would naturally fall to be performed by the head of the State, but also to take a leading part in almost every scheme established for the benefit, material or moral, of the people of this country. Religion and charity, the public health, science, literature, and art, education, commerce, agriculture — not one of these objects appealed in vain to His Majesty, while he was Prince of Wales, for strong sympathy and even for personal effort and influence. We know how unselfish he has been in the assiduous discharge of all his public duties, we know with what tact and geniality he has been able to lend his aid to the furtherance of these great objects. Therefore it is, not only that we hope, but that, from our past experience, we know, that His Majesty understands and enters into and appreciates and sympathises with the desires and needs of his people, and that he will devote himself even to a greater degree than he has been able to do in the past to the promotion of their welfare. And in this, perhaps, it may be right to say that it is an additional satisfaction to us to know that His Majesty will have by his side his august Consort, who has reigned in the hearts of the British people ever since she first set foot on our soil. Sir, there will be no discordant voice in this House to-day. If there were, we should not fittingly represent those who have sent us here. There will be but one universal feeling of sorrow for the lamentable calamity that has befallen the nation, and of hopeful confidence for a happy and prosperous future. I beg to second the motion.

Resolution agreed to, *nemine contradicente.*

To be presented by Privy Councillors and Members of His Majesty's Household.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn till Thursday, the 14th February,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*) —put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at ten minutes after Four of the clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 14th February, 1901.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

THE KING, being seated on the Throne, and the Commons being at the Bar with their Speaker, His Majesty made and subscribed the Declaration against Transsubstantiation pursuant to the Bill of Rights, and afterwards made a most gracious Speech to both Houses, and then retired.

His Majesty's Speech was as follows:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I address you for the first time at a moment of National sorrow, when the whole Country is mourning the irreparable loss which we have so recently sustained, and which has fallen with peculiar severity upon Myself. My beloved Mother, during Her long and glorious reign, has set an example before the world of what a Monarch should be. It is My earnest desire to walk in Her footsteps.

"Amid this public and private grief it is satisfactory to Me to be able to assure you that My relations with other Powers continue to be friendly.

"The war in South Africa has not yet entirely terminated; but the capitals of the enemy and his principal lines of communication are in My possession, and measures have been taken which will, I trust, enable My troops to deal effectually with the forces by which they are still opposed. I greatly regret the loss of life and the expenditure of treasure due to the fruitless guerilla warfare maintained by Boer partisans in the former territories of the two Republics. Their early submission is much to be desired in their own interests, as, until it takes place, it will be impossible for Me to establish in those Colonies institutions which will secure equal rights to all the white inhabitants, and protection and justice to the Native population.

"The capture of Peking by the allied forces, and the happy release of those who were besieged in the Legations, results to which My Indian troops and My Naval forces largely contributed, have been followed by the submission of the Chinese Government to the demands insisted on by the Powers. Negotiations are proceeding as to the manner in which compliance with these conditions is to be effected.

"The establishment of the Australian Commonwealth was proclaimed at Sydney on the 1st January with many manifestations of popular enthusiasm and rejoicing.

"My deeply beloved and lamented Mother had assented to the visit of the Duke of Cornwall and York to open the first Parliament of the new Commonwealth in Her name.

"A separation from My Son, especially at such a moment, cannot be otherwise than deeply painful; but I still desire to give effect to Her late Majesty's wishes, and as an evidence of Her interests, as well as of My own, in all that concerns the welfare of My subjects beyond the seas, I have decided that the visit to Australia shall not be abandoned, and shall be extended to New Zealand and to the Dominion of Canada.

"The prolongation of hostilities in South Africa has led Me to make a further call upon the patriotism and devotion of Canada and Australasia. I rejoice that My request has met with a prompt and loyal response, and that large additional contingents from those Colonies will embark for the seat of war at an early date.

"The expedition organised for the suppression of the rebellion in Ashanti has been crowned with signal success. The endurance and gallantry of My Native troops, ably commanded by Sir James Willcocks, and led by British officers, have overcome both the stubborn resistance of the most warlike tribes in West Africa and the exceptional difficulties of the climate, the season, and the country in which the operations have been conducted.

"The garrison of Coomassie, which was besieged by the enemy, has been relieved after a prolonged and gallant defence; the principal Kings have surrendered, and the chief impediment to the progress and development of this rich portion of My West African possessions has now, I hope, been finally removed.

"The suffering and mortality caused by a prolonged drought over a large portion of My Indian Empire has been greatly alleviated by a seasonable rainfall; but I regret to add that in parts of the Bombay Presidency distress of a serious character still continues, which my officers are using every endeavour to mitigate.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The Estimates for the year will be laid before you. Every care has been taken to limit their amount, but the Naval and Military requirements of the Country, and especially the outlay consequent on the South African war, have involved an inevitable increase.

"The demise of the Crown renders it necessary that a renewed provision shall be made for the Civil List. I place unreservedly at your disposal those hereditary revenues which were so placed by My predecessor: and I have commanded that the Papers necessary for a full consideration of the subject shall be laid before you.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"Proposals will be submitted to your judgment for increasing the efficiency of My Military forces.

"Certain changes in the constitution of the Court of Final Appeal are rendered necessary in consequence of the increased resort to it, which has resulted from the expansion of the Empire during the last two generations.

"Legislation will be proposed to you for the amendment of the Law relating to Education.

"Legislation has been prepared, and, if the time at your disposal shall prove to be adequate, will be laid before you, for the purpose of regulating the Voluntary Sale by Landlords to Occupying Tenants in Ireland, for amending and consolidating the Factory and Workshops Acts, for the better administration of the Law respecting Lunatics, for amending the Public Health Acts in regard to Water Supply, for the prevention of drunkenness in Licensed Houses or Public Places, and for amending the Law of Literary Copyright.

"I pray that Almighty God may continue to guide you in the conduct of your deliberations, and may bless them with success."

Several Lords took the Oath.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

The Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

The Lord Leconfield sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

The Lord Berwick sat first in Parliament after the death of his uncle.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

Norroy King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a list of the Lords temporal in the Second Session of the Twenty-seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom. The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

INTRODUCED.

Frederick Sleigh Baron Roberts of Kandahar, K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., V.C., Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces lately Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief the forces in South Africa, having been created Viscount St. Pierre and Earl Roberts of Kandahar in Afghanistan and Pretoria in the Transvaal Colony, and of the city of Waterford, was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Honourable George Joachim Goschen having been created Viscount Goschen of Hawkhurst, in the county of Kent, was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Honourable Sir Matthew White Ridley, Baronet, having been created Baron Wensleydale of Blagdon and Blyth, both in the county of Northumberland, and Viscount Ridley was (in the usual manner) introduced.

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR IRELAND.

Writs and Returns electing the Earl of Westmeath a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the late Baron Farnham deceased, with the certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto. Delivered (on oath), and Certificate read.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, pro formâ, read 1^a.

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: My Lords, in his most gracious Speech from the Throne, His Majesty has reminded us that this is the first occasion on which he has addressed your Lordships' House. Your Lordships have already given expression to your sympathy with His Majesty in the sorrow which has lately befallen him and the whole Empire, and to the hope with which we look forward to His Majesty's reign. Those feelings are still present with us to-day; and I hope it will not be regarded as presumptuous on my part if I give utterance to the satisfaction with which I believe every member of this House has observed the early proof which His Majesty has given of his interest in our affairs by coming here to-day to open Parliament in person. I can scarcely venture to add to the many tributes of devotion and respect which have been already paid to the memory of her late Majesty, but I may perhaps be permitted, as one who is closely connected with Ireland, to say a word as to the affection with which Her Majesty was regarded in that country, and as to the gratitude with which we shall always cherish the memory of her visit there a few months ago. We know well how great must have been the effort which, at Her Majesty's advanced age, it must have cost her to abandon her usual arrangements and face the fatigues and emotions entailed by her stay with us. We can scarcely bear to think that the strain may have had a lasting effect on Her Majesty's health, and may, in some measure, have accelerated its failure; but we may be permitted to hope that it must have been a compensation to Her Majesty to know how deep was the effect her kindness and consideration produced on her Irish subjects. We trust that His Majesty will evince the same interest in our country, and that it will from time to time be graced by his presence and by that of other members of the Royal Family. I feel it unnecessary for me to assure His Majesty that, in the event of his being able to visit that country—and we trust the date may not be distant—he would meet with a reception which would be as gratifying to him as his presence would be to his loyal Irish subjects. I can assure His Majesty that a visit to Ireland would be thoroughly appreciated, for it would give to all classes an ocular demonstration of his interest in the country. It would also go a very long way to counteract the misrepresentations which are continually poured into the credulous ears of my fellow countrymen.

That His Majesty and the Royal Family are fully conscious of the great opportunities which lie within their reach in such directions as these is, I venture to think, strikingly shown by the announcement made in the Speech from the Throne that, in spite of the affliction which weighs on the Royal House, His Majesty has decided to permit the Duke of Cornwall and York to carry out his original intention of visiting Australia for the purpose of opening the first Parliament of the new Commonwealth in the name of the Sovereign of the Empire. And it must be a source of satisfaction to your Lordships to learn that not only will the visit to Australia not be abandoned, but that it is to be extended to New Zealand and to the Dominion of Canada, where we may be sure His Royal Highness will meet with an equally cordial reception. No time more appropriate for the Royal progress could have been selected than that in which the great colonies are exhibiting such signal proof of their attachment to the mother country by the contributions they have made to the forces in South Africa—contributions which, we are informed, are now being increased in response to His Majesty's appeal.

His Majesty has expressed to us his satisfaction that his relations with other Powers continue to be friendly; and we can offer no better wish for the reign that is commencing than that it should please Providence to vouchsafe to it the inestimable blessing of peace. Recent events, which have brought so much sorrow to the people of this country, have taught us to appreciate that blessing. The affairs of China, as was to be expected, occupy a prominent place in the gracious Speech. We earnestly trust that the negotiations, which are being conducted in the face of many difficulties, may be the means of bringing about the punishment of the worst offenders, and of affording sufficient security against a repetition of the crimes of last year. We may reasonably hope that the war in South Africa, into which we were unhappily forced, and which has dragged on for a length of time far beyond what was originally expected, is now within reasonable distance of a satisfactory conclusion. My Lords, that war has taught us much. Had it demonstrated nothing else, it would have shown unmistakably that the bravery and endurance of our soldiers, both of the Regular Army and the Auxiliary forces, and of those contingents from all parts of the world who so readily volunteered to take part in their country's work, is equal to that which animated their forefathers at any period of the Empire's history. For those who answered the first great call to arms we can have nothing but admiration, but perhaps those who have but lately been enrolled command our admiration almost more. They are starting on a mission which may not carry with it the glory or the excitement accruing to those who went out in the first flush of patriotic fervour evoked by the great national call to arms; but their task is not less arduous, and the sacrifice made not less creditable.

My Lords, it is not in South Africa alone that His Majesty's forces have been called upon to uphold the honour of our country, for His Majesty's Speech reminds us that his forces have also been engaged in China, where His Majesty's Indian troops have served with distinction, and on the West Coast of Africa, where native troops led by that most intrepid of leaders, Sir James Willcocks, have held their own not only against a warlike enemy, but in the face of not less formidable difficulties of climate and country. We may congratulate ourselves unreservedly on the qualities displayed by our troops in all parts of the globe, and recruited from so many different sources, but inspired all alike by allegiance to the British flag, and led by British officers. Our satisfaction at this thought will not diminish the expectation with which we look forward to those proposals which are to be submitted to Parliament for increasing the efficiency of His Majesty's military forces. With the promise of reorganisation at the War Office, and with the noble and gallant Earl on the cross benches as Commander-in-Chief, we may feel confident that the many lessons to be learnt from the South African war will be taken to heart, and that the many weaknesses in our system which the war has brought to light will be courageously rectified. I trust I may be allowed to offer to the noble Earl your Lordships' congratulations on his newly-won honours, which all Irishmen, and especially those connected with the ancient city from which he takes his title, regard with most cordial satisfaction. Although in His Majesty's gracious Speech from the Throne there is no mention of measures relative to the sister service, we may rest confident that His Majesty's Navy, our formidable first line of defence, which has successfully guarded this country at a time when our Army was otherwise occupied, and which has so greatly distinguished itself on shore as well as afloat, will be maintained at the highest level of its efficiency.

The noble Lord who will follow me will probably deal with some of the measures that are promised us in the gracious speech from the Throne; and I will not refer to them except to express my satisfaction that amongst them there is included one for the promotion of education, and that we are also encouraged to hope for a Bill amending the law regulating voluntary sales by landlords to occupying tenants in Ireland. I think I may be justified in saying that the system of voluntary sales has had most beneficial results for landlord and tenant alike, and has not involved the Exchequer of this country in any financial loss. I earnestly hope that the necessity for some alterations in the present system will not escape the attention of His Majesty's Government. I am tempted to add that we in Ireland shall watch with interest any legislation for the prevention of intemperance in licensed houses, of which there are undoubtedly too many in the country.

It now remains for me only to thank your Lordships for the indulgence with which you have listened to me, and to apologise for the imperfect manner in which I have discharged the duty confided to me at this most interesting moment in the history of the nation.

The Marquess of Waterford.

*EARL MANVERS: My Lords, in rising to second the Address I must ask your Lordships to grant me a full measure of that indulgence which you have always extended to those who address you for the first time. We meet at the beginning of a new century robbed of the guiding hand which has presided over the destinies of this Empire during the greater part of the century which has been brought to a close. What that loss is to all of us we do know and feel most deeply; but what the loss is to the Empire over which the Queen ruled I think it very possible that we may not fully know until the history of this time comes to be written. I believe it will always be said of Queen Victoria that the brightest jewel in her crown was the love and affection of her subjects. We must rejoice that our King intends to follow in the footsteps of his Royal Mother, and our truest loyalty and warmest sympathy will be with him to lighten the burden which he now takes upon his shoulders.

The gracious Speech from the Throne shows most clearly the strength and the resources of the British Empire, as it also reminds us of its vast extent. During the past year we have been carrying on three different wars. It is true that the magnitude attained by the South African campaign has rather eclipsed the others; but the good work done by our soldiers and sailors in China, in conjunction with those of other Powers, in relieving the Legations at Peking can never be forgotten; whilst the Ashanti Expedition has brought out all the best qualities of bravery and endurance which characterise our native troops when led by British officers.

It is a matter for congratulation, my Lords, that the famine in India has been to a great extent relieved, though we must regret that considerable distress still prevails in the presidency of Bombay. The country liberally responded last year to the calls made upon it in connection with the Indian famine, and I believe that response would has been still more liberal if it had not been for the great demands made upon it by the South African War. The noble Marquess has freely dealt with that campaign, but as it is the subject which is nearest to all our hearts at the present time, I hope I may be allowed for a few moments to refer to it. No doubt there has been a certain amount of disappointment in consequence of the campaign not yet having been brought to a conclusion, but I believe that that disappointment is founded to a great extent on ignorance. I do not think that the nation has ever really appreciated the enormous difficulties involved in a campaign in that country. We have had much criticism of the conduct of some of our generals. My Lords, it is very easy to criticise; it is particularly easy to criticise when you know nothing of strategy or tactics, and when you are thousands of miles away from the scene of action, and are never likely to be any nearer. But if the amateur tacticians who criticise will study the despatches from the noble Earl the Commander-in-Chief they will see that he states most clearly that, large as the force in South Africa appears to be, its numbers were all too small for the duty it has been required to perform. Under present conditions, and with modern firearms, a force defending positions such as the Boers have been defending must have enormous advantage over an attacking force, which has very often to advance over an open country. The Royal Speech says—

> "Measures have been taken which will, I trust, enable my troops to deal effectually with the forces by which they are opposed."

We know that large reinforcements of mounted troops are being sent out from this country and the colonies, and are being raised locally, and we must trust and confidently hope that an adequate supply of horses will be forthcoming for those troops when they get there, and especially that those horses may be suitable for the country in which they will have to work Determined as we are to bring this campaign to a satisfactory conclusion, I think we must all be looking to the brighter and happier time when the war will be over, and when, in the words of the Royal Speech, we shall have to establish in those colonies institutions which will secure equal rights to all the white inhabitants, and protection and justice to the native population. That will not be an easy task. It may be amongst the most difficult tasks that has ever been presented to the statesmen of this country, but I believe that by firmness and prudence it will be accomplished; and if this can be done I feel sure that no more fitting tribute could be paid, no finer monument could be raised, to the memory of the great Queen for whom we are all mourning to-day.

The gracious Speech goes on to say that proposals for increasing the efficiency of the Army will be made. I think it is generally admitted that the war has exposed many defects in the organisation of our Army. I hope that this question of Army reform will not be dealt with hastily, but calmly and deliberately; and that whatever is done nothing will be done which will in any way shake or impair in any way that splendid spirit of discipline which has carried us through so many difficulties, and which has always proved the backbone of the British Army. With regard to that portion of the Army with which I am more intimately connected—the Volunteers—I hope that everything will be done which can increase the efficiency and utility of that force. I have never been quite able to understand the action taken by successive Governments with regard to the Volunteers. It has seemed to me that at one moment they wish to encourage them, and at the next moment they wish to discourage them. The result has been a mixture of the two treatments, which has not proved beneficial. But after the eloquent testimony of the Commander-in-Chief to the admirable way in which the Volunteers not only of the City of London, but also of the country, have behaved in South Africa, I trust that in future they will be treated as a valuable and most necessary part of our Army.

The gracious Speech deals with several Bills which it is hoped there may be time to pass, but as the session promises to be one of a military character, and military measures are those likely principally to be before us, I will not weary you by enumerating those Bills. I thank you for the kind and patient way in which you have listened to my remarks, and beg to second the Address.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne."—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, my first duty, which is always a pleasing one, is to compliment the noble Lords the mover and seconder of the Address. The good taste with which the noble Marquess delivered his speech must have commended itself to your Lordships, and many of us who had a very kindly feeling towards the late Marquess are glad to see his son here and to hear him addressing us. The noble Lord who seconded the Address has had considerable Parliamentary experience, and we can see from his speech that he is able to speak clearly and plainly upon any subject which may be under debate. I sincerely hope that he will not be content with the speech he has made to-day, but that he will take part in our future debates.

One word as to the first paragraph of the Speech from the Throne. In it His Majesty most becomingly and most naturally tells us that he intends to walk in the footsteps of his revered mother, and I do not think we need any further assurance from our Sovereign that he means to tread in those steps. Enough has been said on this subject—a mournful one—and I will only add that all of us hope and believe that he who is now our King will have a career worthy of his august mother. No warmer wish, I think, could be expressed for his welfare and his success.

My Lords, the principal subject of the Speech, naturally enough, is the war in South Africa, and I wish it were possible to say anything satisfactory or agreeable about that war. For my part, I have no pleasure in saying disagreeable things about it; but I think it is a plain duty not to conceal the deep dissatisfaction which exists amongst those who agree with me in politics as to the manner in which the Government have latterly conducted the war. Do not suppose I am about to criticise the military operations of the distinguished officer the noble Earl who has just taken his seat, or to criticise the operations of the noble Lord who is now commanding in South Africa. It is not to that that we should direct our attention; it is to the manner in which the Government have conducted their part of the war. I regret to say that, now that we have had considerable experience of it, we see steps taken too late, efficiency not ensured, a want of appreciation to the magnitude and difficulties of the war, and in consequence a state of things which may be called guerilla warfare, but which means a prolongation of the war under circumstances of great difficulty, and of danger to our position in South Africa. I am by no means given to speak dolefully about public events, but I must say that the present condition of affairs in South Africa fills me with apprehension. We have seen not merely the defence of the former Transvaal Republic and of the former Orange Free State, but we have seen our own colonies invaded at various points. We have seen a warfare which may be called guerilla, but which is evidently a most harassing warfare for our troops to deal with, and one conducted on a scale which takes it out of the category of mere marauding. Our position is evidently this, that, notwithstanding the large numerical forces which we have in South Africa, we have not an efficient force to cope with the difficulties which we have to encounter. I know that many people are perfectly unaware of the enormous extent of territory with which we have to deal, of the great difficulties of the ground, and of the peculiar impediments to reducing to submission the forces which the Boers have put in the field. What I complain of is that the Government have apparently been living for a considerable time in a fools' paradise, constantly believing that the war was coming to an end, and that when there were great successes under the admirable guidance of the noble Earl, and when, perhaps, if those successes had been pressed strongly the war might have been brought to a successful close, they were not ready with the necessary forces—the necessary men and horses. The Army was practically not in a position to follow up strenuously and decisively its successes. The consequence has been a recrudescence of war, and we are perpetually told that there are going to be reinforcements, but those reinforcements and those preparations come too late. If there is one thing truer than another, it is that it is good economy in money to spare nothing, when you have obtained some advantage, which can press home that advantage, and to give the enemy no opportunity to recover himself and continue the war.

I maintain that our commanders in South Africa were not furnished by the Government at home with sufficient mounted troops and other appliances of war to enable them to crush the opposition by which they were confronted. Whatever may be my opinion as to the mode in which this question should be ultimately settled, there is no difference of opinion between the Government and myself as to the absolute necessity before any further steps are taken of overcoming the opposition offered to us—that is our plain and paramount duty. How long it will take us to do that I know not. I do strongly feel that there never has been a crisis in South African affairs when it was more necessary that the utmost rigour and energy should be shown by us, and that our Army should be put in a position to bring to a close a war which, you may depend upon it, is not to be despised merely because it is called guerilla warfare. We are prepared, whatever may be our political opinions, to support the Government in any steps they deem necessary to bring the war to a close. I agree that the early submission of the Boers is much to be desired in their own interest; but it is necessary to look the facts in the face, and I am convinced that, whatever may be our opinions as to what the future settlement may be, it will be impossible to establish any safe condition of affairs in South Africa until we have overcome the resistance now made by our adversaries in the field.

I do not like much to enter into the question of how a settlement can be achieved. I cannot help remembering the confident statement made by the Colonial Secretary so recently as December last, in which he said—

> "I hope that before this House meets again something in the nature of a civil administration may have been established both in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony."*

That was only last December; and I would ask the House whether the state of things which has occurred since then justifies any such hope. What I fear is that these premature hopes entertained of a speedy termination of the war have led the Government to relax their efforts at the moment when they ought to have been most strenuous. The moment for the most strenuous effort was the moment when the noble Earl had entered Pretoria and Sir R. Buller had advanced beyond the colony of Natal. If you had then been in a position to press home upon your adversaries with full vigour and force the advantages which you had obtained, you might then have brought the war to a close. I do not profess to see further than other people; but I do say that if you do not make energetic and speedy efforts to have a thoroughly efficient force in the colony able to cope with what you term a guerilla war you may have a prolongation of the war of the most dangerous kind, and you may find yourselves face to face with a situation even worse than at present. I will say no more on that subject. I do not like to be a prophet of evil. It gives me no satisfaction. I do not want to make capital for the Opposition out of the difficulties of the country, but I do want to press earnestly on the

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxviii., page 260.

Government to spare no money, but to at once reinforce the troops in South Africa so as to enable our commanders to conduct really successful operations; and remember it is not raw troops you want, but thoroughly efficient mounted troops, for it is obvious that this war has become a war of mounted men, and that without such a force it never will succeed. With regard to the paragraph dealing with the Ashanti expedition, I do not underrate your success there—I think it was a most creditable expedition, highly creditable to the officer who commanded it, and highly satisfactory in its results—but the magniloquent language of the paragraph, after what we have seen happen in South Africa, rather savours of bathos.

With regard to domestic legislation, we are not promised much. The promises, indeed, are so vague that one can collect no kind of instruction from them, or they refer to matters so trivial that it is scarcely worth while to notice them here. In the first place, there is a paragraph which says that "proposals will be submitted to your judgment for increasing the efficiency of my military forces." That may mean anything or nothing. It is, perhaps, rather late in the day now—this is the second year of the war—to come forward with proposals to increase the efficiency of our military forces. It might have been better if that had been done sooner. At all events, if there is to be a complete and thorough overhauling of our military system, I trust it will not be a mere picking at matters of detail, but that our whole military system will be thoroughly reviewed by those who are most competent to review it, and that it will be placed on a more satisfactory footing. If that is done I feel certain that on this side His Majesty's Government will receive very cordial support. The prospect, however, is not very encouraging to those who like myself are old enough to remember the Crimean war and the promises then held out for the improvement of the Army. It is not very satisfactory to reflect that, as far as I can judge, since the time when my lamented friend Lord Cardwell made great and important changes, nothing appears to have been really successfully done to place the Army on a thoroughly satisfactory footing. We always had gallant men—we have them still. We have always found in time of need men who could lead our Army with courage and success; and we certainly have no reason to complain at the present time when we have had the inestimable advantage of the services of the noble Earl whom we have the pleasure to see here to night. But somehow or other we have never succeeded in forming a system which could be adapted to a new state of things. I am not a soldier, nor do I profess to have any particular means of judging, but I must fairly say that the whole experience of my life, having paid some attention to these questions, is that in our Army system there is a peculiar want of flexible adaptation to new circumstances. It seems to me we are continually going on upon the old system, patching it here and patching it there, but never placing it upon a satisfactory footing. I trust the paragraph really means that the Government are at last determined to help the able officers who can advise them in this matter.

As to other matters, there is a reference to an amendment of the law relating to education. That may mean much or nothing. If it means that we are to have any considerable development of secondary education I welcome it as a very great advantage to the country. I trust it may be so. Then we are promised some legislation dealing with drunkenness in licensed houses or public places. That is a very useful thing indeed, but considering the attention which has been paid by the public to the improvement of the licensing laws generally, I must say this is the most curiously small and unimportant paragraph in a Speech I ever saw. There are some very useful laws now on the Statute-book on that subject, and I dare say it may be possible to make them a little more stringent, but there is not the least indication that there is going to be any reform in the direction of promoting temperance. We have had Commissions and inquiries and even Bills, but nothing appears to come from them whatever, and apparently His Majesty's Government have finally determined to shelve the whole question. I regret this. I am not one of those who share the extreme views of what is called the temperance party, but I think there are many things in our licensing laws which might be improved with advantage. When there have been so many useful inquiries, and when so many men—amongst others the right rev. Prelate on the bench above—have shown a deep interest in the matter and put forward proposals containing much that is valuable, I think that it is to be regretted that the Government have not seen their way to take some steps to promote legislation on the subject. I deprecate the Government's always endeavouring to extricate themselves from a difficulty by appointing a Commission and contriving to make its inquiry last for the period of the Government's own life. That device has failed in the present instance; and now the Government apparently intend to fall back upon the very convenient policy of doing nothing whatever upon this question. It is no doubt a very unfavourable moment to press forward domestic questions.

The country cares for little but the South African War, but, at the same time, there are several matters of domestic interest which ought to be pressed forward, amongst them being some moderate legislation to promote temperance. I also sincerely trust that this promise of a measure concerning education does mean some really considerable measure to promote education, for I am certain I have the concurrence of a great many of your Lordships in saying that in domestic matters there are few things so important as an improvement in our education. One other thing I must say, I am surprised to find that there is no mention of a measure for the better housing of the working classes. I am surprised for this reason, that the present Home Secretary, if I am not mistaken, did shadow forth something of that kind, stating that he regarded this as a most urgent question. I suppose, however, that the Government are absorbed in this South African War, though, in my opinion, they have made a very considerable failure in the management of it. I do not wish that this failure should be continued. I wish that more power should continue in their hands, but I confess, after experience of the manner in which the home Government have conducted our military affairs in South Africa, my hopes are not great; and I only trust that there will be some improvement. If there is not, I fear that we may suffer some more serious disaster than at present is foreseen by many.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I am glad to be able to concur with the noble Earl in the satisfaction which he has expressed at the quality of the speeches by which this debate was introduced. It is very satisfactory to hear so often specimens of such effective eloquence in this House, and that its merit should be recognised in all parts of the House; and I concur in the desire expressed by the noble Earl that the hopes entertained from a speech made at the beginning of a session should be more often fulfilled by a subsequent and intelligent share in the debates of this House. I was glad also to hear the noble Lord (Lord Waterford) begin in a style which promises so well. Like the noble Earl opposite, I had the honour of the friendship of his father; and he was a man who, though his opinions were strong—you might say extreme—yet, on subjects with which he was well acquainted, enjoyed the confidence and esteem of a wide circle of his countrymen, here and in Ireland. I hope that my noble friend will succeed to that position among the landlords of Ireland which was occupied by the late Lord Waterford. I am sure it would be greatly for the benefit of the country which he loves and which I hope he will brilliantly represent.

The opening part of His Majesty's gracious Speech leads us to reflect on a subject about which we have mourned and on difficulties that we have to face. So much has been said of it that it is hardly fitting to renew the topic. Yet, my Lords, you must have noticed that since our lamentable loss the manner in which it had been received and commented upon in every corner of the world shows how deep was the mark which the great virtues and qualities of our lost Sovereign had made upon the thought of her time, and how great was the influence which they had exercised, not only upon our political needs and tendencies, but upon the moral standard which she did so much to raise. All we can do now is to hope, with every confidence that our hope will be justified, that the promise given by His Majesty in his gracious Speech, that he will follow in her footsteps, will be fully and abundantly fulfilled; and we cannot but feel that it will be a very great triumph for the principle of Monarchy and for the lustre and name of this nation if during a second reign, as in the first, it can be said of the Monarchy of England that its principal distinction has been that it has made it easier, more popular, more honourable to follow in the paths of progress and of peace. That influence I feel certain His Majesty intends to exercise; and I have no doubt that the support of his people will be so determined that when the time comes that his character shall be read similar eulogies will be universally pronounced.

The noble Earl was very superficial, if I may dare to say so, in his treatment of the subjects of the Speech. There was nothing very unfavourable. Until battles are won you cannot expect public opinion to praise the conduct of a campaign; but it is unreasonable to think that there is anything unusual in the lengthening of this campaign or of any campaign against guerilla warfare, which often succeeds organised resistance. Will the noble Lord look back on the Mutiny in India? A longer period elapsed between the outbreak and the final disappearance of resistance than has yet taken place in the South African War. Or take the case, which I think is more analogous—namely, the Secession War in America. There was a great deal of resemblance between that war and the one in which we are engaged; but it was three or four years before the whole efforts of that very intelligent and most efficient community were able to bring their war to a successful and final issue. I think that in Bosnia it took four years before the whole power of the Austrian Empire was able to conquer the peasants who were fighting in the mountains of that State. Where you have great enthusiasm, as in this case you undoubtedly have, where you have to cover a country that is difficult to fight in and gives opportunities for lengthened and varied resistance, however great the power you may have at your back, however wealthy the country that is attacking may be, many, many months must elapse if the resistance is persistently and obstinately continued before complete tranquillity can be restored. And therefore, though I think the impatience of the noble Earl is perfectly natural, I do not believe that the calmer students of the history of this or any other country will believe that there is any real ground for discontent, still less for the apprehensions which the noble Earl has expressed.

Of course, it is another matter if the noble Earl had used his views as the basis for the opinion that we should alter our conduct with reference to our enemy. I was glad to hear the energy with which

he repudiated any such idea. He recognises that, whatever we may think or wish as to the future, for the moment it is our business to win, and to give our whole hearts and strength to the task that lies before us. But I regret to see on this and on other occasions the noble Earl does not control the opinions or actions of all who claim the name of Liberal. I wish he did; and in this matter it is evident that there are many people, who may not be numerous, but are certainly noisy, who try to persuade us that a substantial portion of the English people are not hearty supporters of this war, and try to urge us to some step, some action short of that which is implied in carrying the war to a successful issue. Their contention in this House does not need to be repelled. Anybody here must see that if we were to relinquish or relent from our demand that the independence of these territories shall be given up—if we did that—we should in respect of the colony of South Africa involve it in incessant and continuous warfare, waged in circumstances where we should be at the greatest disadvantage, and on occasions when we should be forced to fight with little prospect of success for many a year to come.

It is evident, as passions have been developed, as feelings now stand in these territories, that unless we are masters and conquer them there is no hope for any abiding peace. What we shall do with that power when we have it is quite another matter. But we must be masters; otherwise if they retain any portion of their independence it is perfectly obvious that the first purpose to which they would put the power granted them would be to accumulate new forces, new armaments, and prepare on a fitting occasion for the same attack which we had to meet eighteen months ago. It is also a matter upon which you can entertain no doubt that if you now allow your efforts to fall short of complete triumph you would practically avow to the world that your frontiers may be invaded in the most lawless and insulting manner, and yet that you are powerless effectively to resist. When once you proclaim that impotence to the world, I need not ask how long you think your proud colonial Empire would be protected from the assaults of every discontented people who might desire to take advantage of your position. Therefore I hold that we have now to conduct the war to a successful issue.

But the noble Earl says, "If you had only done this and that, you would have conducted it to success much sooner." Is it possible for us to fight that issue out across this Table? Is not that a matter which experts and statesmen must examine in order that they may be able to tell Parliament whether there has been any great failure of intelligence and duty on the part of His Majesty's Government by which those operations have been carried on? It is evident that you cannot, by a formula or by a confident opinion, determine with whom the fault lies of any shortcoming—if shortcoming there be—of any failure in point of time in attaining the result on which you counted. These things must be examined carefully, and examined by the light of the evidence of men who know the facts; and many, if not most, of the men who know the facts are not within the four shores of this country. You cannot until you have had your inquiry pass judgment. I do not deprecate that judgment at all; I rather wish for it in one sense—that it may point out to us, even at the expense of the public men involved, defects in our system which may be corrected. But you must have your inquiry before you pass judgment. Therefore I will not say that I deprecate, but I cannot say that it would be desirable for us to enter into a regular debate as to the manner in which the war has been conducted, as to the fault of this or of that Department (if there be a fault), of this or that statesman, or of this or that general officer. You can only judge these things if you view what has been done as a whole, and obtain from those who have seen the facts on the spot the evidence by which alone you can be safely guided.

I did not notice that the noble Earl went very far into the questions with which the Speech has dealt. If I might express an opinion, I would say that while the King's Speech was one of the longest we have had, the noble Earl's comments upon it formed one of the shortest speeches we have had. Of course, it does not follow that what is long is always full of matter; but I hardly think that the noble Earl has done full justice to the questions with which we have dealt. The noble Earl complains that there is nothing satisfactory in our dealings with the Army. Well, will he put down with some definiteness what he thinks would be a satisfactory dealing with the Army? *Semper dolus latet in generalibus.* The noble Earl has only given us the most superficial and general descriptions of the objects which he wishes us to pursue. It is the same with the licensing laws—one of the most difficult subjects of the day. If the noble Earl has a set of opinions which he will put into detail we shall be very glad to examine them with him. But we say that it is in detail these things fail; and even when we put a number of very distinguished men to discuss these questions, on all the most important points of them they come to a hopeless disagreement. In these circumstances, it is not likely that we should attempt to change the law when we cannot clearly see what the effect of the change would be. It may be matter for regret that our licensing system has reached its present condition; but how, without injustice to the individual, without injury to the public weal, and without exaggerating the interference of Parliament this state of things can adequately be remedied we do not at present see. But if the noble Earl has a mode of settling the question, let him, instead of simply saying that we have no general and satisfactory remedy, tell us the broad points of his scheme. It is the same, of course, with the Army. Let us know where he thinks the shoe pinches, and where the remedy ought to be applied. Otherwise, I think that his general criticisms are criticisms of a kind which could be applied to any institution or establishment in the world.

As far as domestic legislation goes, I admit that our bill of fare is not a very extensive one. But that is because we can very clearly see that there are other things, much more interesting, with which the time of Parliament will be occupied. In any case, the remedy is obvious. Legislation is not the monopoly of the Government; and if noble Lords opposite will introduce Bills on these or other subjects we shall consider them with an enthusiastic interest, and we shall be glad to find a way out of the labyrinth which has puzzled many generations. The noble Earl apologised for having spoken so long about a Speech in which he thought there was nothing. In replying to the noble Earl, I think that perhaps a similar apology ought to be demanded from me, who must feel in a somewhat similar position. But I can only say that as to the mode in which the noble Earl has approached the question of the war I can offer nothing but praise; and I do not feel very much disturbed by the other criticisms which he has offered. But there is one thing for which, if he would do it, we should be very grateful. If he would, as I have already hinted, impose his own opinions upon his political co-religionists it would be of great advantage not only to himself, but also to the Empire. These fanatics, we know, are not nearly so numerous as they are noisy, and we do not mind their criticism. As far as we are concerned, it is hollow and empty. But it does impress a certain number of people at the other end of the world with the idea that the English people are not whole-hearted in the object which they are pursuing. As long as that impression continues, and they are induced to believe that there is an important party moving for them in this country, I fear that they will have a very powerful motive to continue that insane resistance which promises no hope to them and nothing but desolation and misery to their country. For the blood that has been shed and for the destruction which has been caused, some of the responsibility lies with the people who have so acted as to raise hopes which those who know anything about the subject know to be absolutely baseless.

On Question, agreed to. Address agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*, and ordered to be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

The Earl of Morley appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

Committee for Privileges appointed.

Committee for the Journals appointed.

Stoppages in the Streets—Order to prevent, renewed.

Appeal Committee appointed.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by Her Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Order of the House of the 17th February, 1896, viz.:—

COLONIES (ANNUAL) REPORTS.

No. 308. Leeward Islands, 1899. (December 18.)

No. 309. St. Helena, 1899. (December 19.)

No. 310. British Honduras, 1899.

No. 311. St. Lucia, 1899. (December 20.)

No. 312. St. Vincent, 1899. (January 7.)

No. 313. Basutoland, 1899-1900. (January 8.)

No. 314. Hong Kong, 1899. (January 21.)

No. 315. Southern Nigeria, 1899-1900. (January 29.)

No. 316. Grenada, 1899. (January 30.)

INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 TO 1899.

Twentieth Report of the Inspectors of Retreats, and the First Report of the Inspector of Certified Reformatories under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, for the year 1899. (December 19.)

EXPLOSIVES (EXPLOSION AT GUNPOWDER FACTORY AT BLACKBECK, LANCASHIRE).

Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, Her Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion which destroyed the corning house of Messrs. F. C. Dickson and Company's gunpowder factory at Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on the 27th August, 1900. (December 19.)

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance—

No. 2542. China (Ssumao and Mengtse.)

No. 2543. Belgium and the Port of Antwerp. (December 29.)

No. 2544. Japan (Tainan).

No. 2545. Somali Coast Protectorate (January 9.)

No. 2546. Mexico.

No. 2547. Denmark. (January 19.)

No. 2548. Russia (Agriculture of the Odessa district for the year 1900). (January 22.)

No. 2549. Egypt (Trade for the year 1899 and half of 1900). (January 30.)

No. 2550. Italy (Trade of Southern Italy for the year 1900). (February 7.)

No. 2551. Estimates of the German Empire, 1901.

No. 2552. Austria-Hungary (Bosnia and the Herzegovina).

No. 2553. Servia. (February 9.)

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Reports on Subjects of General and Commercial Interest—

No. 545. Cold Storage and Refrigeration in Chicago. (December 21)

No. 546. Preparation of French Plums. (January 3.)

No. 547. Brazil (State of Maranhão). (February 7.)

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) ACT, 1898 (LIGHT DUES).

Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from light dues or for alteration of existing scale or rules. II. Appendix. (January 3.)

TREATY SERIES.

No. 1 (1901).—Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany relative to China, October 16, 1900. (January 4.)

No. 2 (1901).—Convention between the United Kingdom and Japan for the protection of the estates of deceased persons. Signed at Tokio, 26th April, 1900. [Ratifications exchanged at Tokio, 25th October, 1900.] (January 19.)

MINES AND QUARRIES (GENERAL REPORT AND STATISTICS FOR 1899).

Part IV. Colonial and Foreign Statistics.—Statistics relating to persons employed, output, and accidents at mines and quarries in the British colonies and in Foreign countries. (January 16.)

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).

Return by railway companies of the United Kingdom for the six months ending the 30th June, 1900. (January 16.)

IRISH INLAND FISHERIES.

Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the present condition of inland fisheries in Ireland, and the laws relating thereto. (January 16.)

MILITARY HOSPITALS IN SOUTH AFRICA (ROYAL COMMISSION).

I. Report of the Royal Commission appointed to consider and report upon the care and treatment of the sick and wounded during the South African Campaign. (January 18.)

II. Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission. (January 21.)

III. Appendix to minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission. (January 21.)

CROFTER COLONISATION.

Eleventh Report of the Commissioners appointed to carry out a scheme of colonisation in the Dominion of Canada of crofters and cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland; with appendices. (January 26.)

SOUTH AFRICA.

South African Despatches. (February 7.)

EPIDEMIC OF ARSENICAL POISONING.

Report to the Local Government Board on the recent epidemic of arsenical poisoning attributed to beer, by Dr. George Seaton Buchanan. (February 8.)

AFRICA, No. 1 (1901).

Return of the names of the British and American firms who tendered for the supply of certain bridges for the Uganda Railway, and the amounts of the various tenders. (February 9.)

COMMERCIAL, No. 1 (1901).

Reports from His Majesty's representatives abroad on the Metric System. Part II. (February 12.)

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Return of evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1900.

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES (IRELAND).

Return of the number of agrarian outrages which were reported to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary during the quarter ended 31st December, 1900.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (JUDICIAL RENTS).

Returns for—

I. The month of May 1900.
II. The month of June 1900.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of—

1. A light railway in the county of Gloucester, between Wotton-under-Edge and Charfield.

2. A light railway in the county of Northumberland, between Gosforth and Ponteland.

3. Light railways in the parish and urban district of Rhyl, in the county of Flint, in extension of the light railway authorised by the Rhyl and Prestatyn Light Railway Order, 1900.

4. Light railways in the county of Cambridge, in the parishes of Oakington, Westwick, and Cottenham.

5. A light railway in the county of Suffolk, from Long Melford to Hadleigh.

6. Light railways in the urban district of Sheerness and in the parish of Minster, in Sheppey, in the rural district of Sheppey, in the county of Kent.

7. A light railway in the county of Southampton, from Bishop's Waltham to a junction with the authorised Meon Valley Railway near Brock Bridge, in the parish of Soberton.

8. A light railway in the county of Southampton, from Whitchurch and Hurstbourne Stations to Vernhams Dean.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LUNACY.

Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made and the number of patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ended 31st December, 1900.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.

Rules of the Supreme Court, January, 1901.

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899 (RULES).

I. Rules under Section 3 of the Act.

II. Amended rules for the administration of loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE ACT (IRELAND), 1877 (RULE).

Orders in Council—

I. Dated 30th January, 1901, giving effect to a rule of court.

II. Dated 28th December, 1900, giving effect to rules of court.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Time-table of Examinations for th year 1901.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents in the office of the clerk of the peace for the county of Denbigh which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office.

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Return of all loans raised in India under the provisions of any Acts of Parliament chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 30th September, 1900, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNION OF BENEFICES (METROPOLIS) ACT, 1860.

Scheme for the union of the Benefices of All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 1.)

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had received through the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a translation of a note from the Italian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, reporting that the Italian Senate adjourned its sitting on the 23rd ultimo as a sign of mourning for Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and desired that heartfelt condolences of the Chamber on the sad event should be communicated to the House of Lords.

House adjourned at half-past Six of the clock, to Tuesday next, a quarter past Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 14th February, 1901.

The House met at a quarter before Two of the clock.

Message to attend His Majesty.

The House went; and, being returned:—

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath, and several other Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by Law.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING (DEATH OF HER LATE MAJESTY AND ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY).

The COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD reported His Majesty's Answer to the Address [25th January], as followeth:—

"I have received with much gratification your dutiful and affectionate Address.

"I am touched and consoled by your sympathy with My grief at the loss of My beloved Mother, the Queen, to whose unfailing devotion to the welfare of Her people throughout Her long and memorable reign you bear testimony.

"I return you My thanks for the expression of your loyal attachment to My person and your confidence in My desire to promote the happiness and liberty of My subjects; and I fervently join in your prayer that Almighty God will guide and strengthen My councils to that end."

MR. SPEAKER informed the House that he had received the following communications expressing condolence with the British Nation in the loss it had sustained by the death of Her late Majesty:—

Budapest, 24th January, 1901.

Right Honourable Mr. Speaker,

The House of Representatives of the Hungarian Parliament has been greatly affected by the cruel loss which the peoples of Great Britain have suffered by the demise of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and in its session held on January 23rd, in giving expression to the grief and profound sympathy of the Hungarian nation it has paid the tribute of its reverent feelings to the memory of the Noble Queen, who during a reign of unexampled duration, always maintained and held sacred the traditions of the constitution and was always surrounded by the enthusiastic love of Her people.

The Hungarian House of Representatives has entrusted me with communicating these sincere feelings of the House to the Parliament (of Great Britain) by your kind mediation.

I beg you, Right Honourable Mr. Speaker, to accept the expression of my sincere respect, and remain,

Yours truly,
TERIZAL,
The President of the House of
Representatives of the Hungarian
Parliament.

Copy. Italian Embassy,
January 25th, 1901.

Translation.

Monsieur le Marquis,

The Italian Chamber of Deputies adjourned its sitting yesterday as a sign of mourning for the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, charging the Government with communicating their condolences to the House of Commons.

In compliance with the instructions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to notify the above to Your Excellency and to beg you to be good enough to acquaint the Speaker with these expressions of the Italian Chamber's condolence.

Thanking you for your amiable assistance, I have, &c. (Signed) COSTA.

His Excellency,
The Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

To the President of the House of
Commons, London.

At the request of the Chamber of Representatives I have the honour to approach my honourable colleague of the House of Commons to express my sympathy with the deepfelt grief of the English nation at the death of their beloved Queen.

JOSE SALVEDRA,
President of the Chamber of Deputies
of the Republic of Uruguay,
Montevideo.

NEW WRIT.

For the County of Lancaster (South-East Lancashire, Stretford Division), in the room of Sir John William Maclure, baronet, deceased.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.

Mr. SPEAKER further informed the House that he had received the following communications from the Judges appointed to try the several Election Petitions :—

CHRISTCHURCH ELECTION PETITION.

In the High Court of Justice.

The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Acts, 1883 and 1895.

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Election for the Borough of Christchurch in the County of Hants, holden on the 3rd day of October, 1900.

In the matter of an Election Petition for the said Borough presented to His Majesty's High Court of Justice (King's Bench Division) on the 26th day of October, 1900.

Thomas Allnutt Brassey, Petitioner.
Kenneth Robert Balfour, M.P., Respondent.

We, Sir William Rann Kennedy, Knight, and Sir Arthur Moseley Channell, Knight, two of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, now on the Rota of Judges selected by the said Court to try Parliamentary Election Petitions in England and Wales (presented during the year ending the 24th day of October, 1901),

Do hereby Report that an application for liberty to withdraw this Petition was heard before us in open Court on the 4th day of February, 1901.

Having heard Counsel on both sides, and read the affidavits sworn and filed by the respective parties to the Petition and others, pursuant to the Statute,

We ordered that the Petitioner should have leave to withdraw his Petition.

We further Report that, in our opinion, the withdrawal of this Petition was not the result of any agreement, terms, or undertaking, or in consideration of any payment, or in consideration that the seat should at any time be vacated, or in consideration of the withdrawal of any other Election Petition, or for any other consideration.

Dated this 8th day of February 1901.

WILLIAM RANN KENNEDY.
ARTHUR M. CHANNELL.

PEMBROKE ELECTION PETITION.

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

In the matter of the Petition relating to the last Election of a Member of Parliament for the Borough of Pembroke and Haverfordwest.

We, Sir Charles John Darling and Sir Arthur Moseley Channell, two of the Judges of the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges for the time being on the Rota for the trial of Election Petitions in England, do hereby certify that Lieutenant-General John Winburn Laurie was duly elected and returned at the said Election.

We report that no corrupt or illegal practice was proved to have been committed by or with the knowledge or consent of either candidate.

That neither candidate was proved guilty by his agents of any corrupt or illegal practice.

That no particular individuals were proved at the trial to have been guilty of corrupt or illegal practices, and consequently no names can be given.

That there was no reason to believe that corrupt or illegal practices had extensively prevailed at the said Election.

CHARLES J DARLING.
ARTHUR M. CHANNELL.

29th January, 1901.

WICK BURGHS ELECTION PETITION.

Report by the Honourable Lords Kyllachy and Stormonth Darling in the Wick District of Burghs Election Petition.

We, the Honourable Lords Kyllachy and Stormonth Darling, two of the Judges upon the Rota for the trial of Election Petitions, certify to the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons that at an Election Court held by us on the nineteenth day of December nineteen hundred, on the motion of the Petitioners, James Edward Harper, Auctioneer, Pulteneytown, in the County of Caithness, and others, in a Petition against the Election of Arthur Bignold, of Lochrosque, in the County of Ross, Gentleman, as Member of Parliament for the Wick District of Burghs, on the ground of bribery and treating before, during, and after the election, we allow the said Petitioners to withdraw from the Petition, and on the motion of Thomas Charles Hunter Hedderwick, of Biggar Park, Lanarkshire, Barrister-at-Law, substituted him as Petitioner in their the said Petitioners' room and place: Further, that at an Election Court held by us on thirtieth January nineteen hundred and one, upon application for leave to withdraw by the said substituted Petitioner, we, in respect of the withdrawal from the Petition of said substituted Petitioner, and no person having appeared after due notice to adopt the Petition, and the Lord Advocate having declined to intervene, dismissed the Petition and found that the said Arthur Bignold had been duly elected Member of Parliament for the said Wick District of Burghs: And we further certify that the withdrawal of the said Petition was not the result of any corrupt arrangement or in consideration of the withdrawal of any other Petition.

Given under our hand at Edinburgh the Fifth day of February nineteen hundred and one years.

W. MACKINTOSH.
MOIR T. STORMONTH DARLING.

To the Right Honourable
William Court Gully,
The Speaker of the House of Commons.

ELECTIONS.

Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the Return for that place; and if any thing shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all Members returned upon double Returns do withdraw till their Returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'Kingdom,' in line 2, to the word 'for,' in line 8."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

MR. WHARTON (York, W.R., Ripon) formally seconded the Amendment.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Scotland, Liverpool): With reference to this Sessional Order as to the interference of Peers in the elections, the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman does not deal with the main question. In every session the right hon. Gentleman has pressed his objection to this rule, and upon one occasion I found myself—as much to my own astonishment as to that of the right hon. Gentleman—in the same lobby with him. I have arrived at the conclusion to which I came upon grounds entirely different to those which induced him to propose this Amendment. It is quite evident that a rule of this kind, if it is not observed, should not be on the Statute-book of the country and should not remain an Order of this House. If the law is good it should be obeyed, and if it is bad it should be repealed. I think it was General Grant who laid down the wise dictum that the very best way to get rid of a bad law is that it should be put into operation. This rule has been proved to be inoperative, and I think the breach of the high privileges of this House is in voting that Peers should not be allowed to take part in elections and then allowing the law to be disobeyed. I know that some hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House will not approve of the support I give to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. I know that some gentlemen on the opposite side are of opinion that if this rule were abrogated it would be in the interest of the party they represent. I have heard it said that if this rule were repealed, and if Peers were allowed to offer themselves for election to the House of Commons, fifty or sixty constituencies in the country would be certain to be represented by Peers. I am prepared to face a contingency of that kind. I cannot understand how anyone who approves of equal political rights can be in favour of a policy of exclusion and disability by which you prevent any citizen of the country from seeking to represent his fellow-citizens. I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman is absolutely impartial in this matter, and I accept his assurance that he does not look for any party advantage. I will be perfectly candid with the right hon. Gentleman and tell him that I regard his motion as anticipatory of more serious and more important movements. It is perfectly impossible that we could have Peers taking part in the election of Members to this House and at the same time deprive the people of the right to share in the choice of the Members of another Chamber. It is an anomaly and an anachronism that one man simply by right of birth should have the same rights of legislation and administration as the representative of 100,000 citizens of the country. That anomaly would, I think, be made very much more flagrant by the resolution of the right hon. Gentleman. I think it would pave the way for the disappearance of that anomaly. I am in favour of the right hon. Gentleman's Motion, and I will vote for it because I think the best way of getting rid of the privilege is by getting rid of the rule.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 326 ; Noes, 123. (Division List No. 1.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Allen, Chas. P. (Glouc., Stroud
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch.
Banbury, Frederick George
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Brassey, Albert
Broadhurst, Henry
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Channing, Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colville, John
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cranborne, Viscount
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William T.
Duke, Edward Henry
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Elibank, Master of
Elliot, Hon. A. R. Douglas
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T.
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn Sir J. (Manc'r
Ffrench, Peter
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'r Hmlets
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W. (Bury St. Ed.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Grores, James Grimble
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G. (Mid'x
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'derry
Hardy, Laurance (K'nt, Ashford
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynemth.)
Harwood, George
Haslem, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helder, Augustus
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Hermon-Hodge, Robt. Trotter
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horner, Frederick William
Horniman, Frederick John
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt J. (Kent, Faversh
Howard, J. (Midx., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James H. Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvons.)
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick W.
Langley, Batty
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawrence, William F.
Lawson, John Grant
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Lecky, Rt Hon William Edw. H.
Lee, Capt A. H. (Hants, Fareh'm
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leng, Sir John
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.

Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Rt Hn.Walter(Bristol,S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, Rt.Hn.J.W.(Penrith
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas,Col. Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas,ReginaldJ(Portsmouth)
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Crae, George
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell,W.J (Dumfriesshire)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore,JohnThrogmort'n
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
More, Robert J. (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, J.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Newnes, Sir George
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Nolan,Col.JohnP.(Galway,N.
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Sir C. M. (Durham)
Palmer, Grorge W. (Reading)
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Pease,Sir Joseph W.(Durham)
Peel, Hon. Wm. Robert W.
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl

Philipps, John Wynford
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Price, Robert John
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Redmond,John E.(Waterford)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, Jame Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley,Hn.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley,SamuelF.(BethnalGr'n
Rigg, Richard
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. Thomson
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowden
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild,Hn.Lionel Walter
Round, James
Rutherford, John
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,H.C.(NorthumbTynesd
Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer,RtHnC.R.(Northants
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strachey, Edward
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)

Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Ox.Univ.)
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas,F.Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas,J A(Glamorgan,Gow'r
Thomson, Frederick W.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomkinson, James
Tomlinson, W. Edw. Murray
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warner,Thomas Courtenay T.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason,Eugene(Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney
Webb, Col. William George
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whiteley, Geo. (York, W.R.)
Whiteley,H.(Ashton-u.-Lyne)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson,A.Stanley (York,E.R.
Wilson, Chas. Hy. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh.N.)
Wilson-Todd, W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse,RtHonE.R.(Bath)
Woodhouse,SirJ T.(Hudd'rsf'd
Wortley,Rt.Hon.C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Major W.H.
Young, Commander (Berks, E.
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham,William (Cork,N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ambrose, Robert
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baldwin, Alfred
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bartley, George C. T.
Bell, Richard
Bignold, A.
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bond, Edward
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Caine, William Sproston
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)

Carew, James Laurence
Cawley, Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Colomb,SirJohnCharlesReady
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalziel, James Henry
Delany, William
Dewar, T. R. (Tower Hamlets)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.

Dyke,Rt.HonSirWilliamHart
Ellis, John Edward
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Fison, Frederick William
Flynn, James Christopher
Gibbs,Hon.Vicary (St.Albans)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene,W.Raymond-(Cambs.)
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hardie,J.K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Hope,J.F.(Sheffi'd,Brightside)
Jacoby, James Alfred

Joicey, Sir James
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Marshall-Hall, Edward
Mellor, Rt. Hon. John William
Milward, Colonel Victor
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, Hn. Fred (Monm'thsh.
Morley, Rt. Hon. J. (Montrose
Muntz, Philip A.
Murnaghan, George
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipper'y, Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington
Penn, John
Pickard, Benjamin
Pirie, Duncan V
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, Sir Robert T. (Dumfries
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shipman, Dr. John
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tanner, Charles Kearns
Thomas, J. A. (Glam., Gower)
Tully, Jasper
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Shef'd
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Tauntn
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. James Lowther and Mr. Wharton.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by Bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such Bribery or other corrupt practices.

WITNESSES.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any Witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanor; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the Sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid.

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.

Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

OUTLAWRIES BILL.

"For the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

JOURNAL.

Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last Session to the end of the present Session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 500 copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Archibald John Scott Milman, esquire, C.B., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and that no other person do presume to print the same.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Royal Command during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1896:—

1. Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2542 to 2553.

2. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 545 to 547.

3. Treaty Series (No. 1, 1901).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany relative to China; dated 16th October, 1900.

4. Treaty Series (No. 2, 1901).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and Japan for the protection of the Estates of Deceased Persons. Signed at Tokio, 26th April, 1900. Ratifications exchanged at Tokio, 25th October, 1900.

5. Metric System (Foreign Countries) (Commercial, No. 1, 1901).—Copy of Reports from Her late Majesty's Representatives in Europe on the Metric System, Part II.

6. Africa (No. 1, 1901).—Copy of Return of the Names of the British and American Firms who tendered for the supply of certain Bridges for the Uganda Railway, and the Amounts of the various Tenders.

7. South Africa (Despatches).—Copy of Despatches relating to the War in South Africa.

8. Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copies of Reports Nos. 308 (Leeward Islands, Annual Report for 1899), 309 (St. Helena, Annual Report for 1899), 310 (British Honduras, Annual Report for 1899), 311 (St. Lucia, Annual Report for 1899), 312 (St. Vincent, Annual Report for 1899), 313 (Basutoland, Annual Report for 1899–1900), 314 (Hong Kong, Annual Report for 1899), 315 (Southern Nigeria, Annual Report for 1899–1900), 316 (Grenada, Annual Report for 1899).

9. Explosions (Gunpowder Factory at Blackbeck, Lancashire).—Copy of Report by Captain A. P. H. Desborough, Her late Majesty's Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an Explosion which destroyed the Corning House of Messrs F. C. Dickson and Company's Gunpowder Factory at Blackbeck, Haverthwaite, Lancashire, on the 27th August, 1900.

10. Inebriates Acts 1879 to 1899.—Copy of Twentieth Report of the Inspectors of Retreats, and the First Report of the Inspector of Certified Reformatories, under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, for the year 1899.

11. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1899, Part IV., Colonial and Foreign Statistics; Statistics relating to Persons employed, Output, and Accidents at Mines and Quarries in the British Colonies and in Foreign Countries.

12. Military Hospitals in South Africa (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report of the Royal Commission appointed to consider and report upon the care and treatment of the sick and wounded during the South African Campaign.

13. Military Hospitals in South Africa (Royal Commission).—Copy of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission.

14. Military Hospitals in South Africa (Royal Commission).—Copy of Appendix to Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission.

15. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission. —Copy of Report of the Commissioners.

16. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission. —Copy of Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners, Part I., Minutes of Evidence.

17. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission. —Copy of Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners, Part II., Documents.

18. Irish Inland Fisheries Commission. —Copy of Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners, Part III., Translation of the Report of the Royal Commission on Norwegian Salmon Fisheries, 1896–8, and of a Treatise by Mr. Landmark on Hatcheries and the Rearing of Fry.

19. Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund Act, 1898 (Light Dues).—Copy of Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to examine the claims and suggestions received for exemption from Light Dues, or for alteration of the existing scale or rules. Part II., Appendix.

20. Railways (Continuous Brakes).—Copy of Return by the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom on the progress made in the use of Continuous Brakes, etc., for the six months ending the 30th June, 1900.

21. Crofter and Cottar Colonisation Scheme.—Copy of Eleventh Report of the Commissioners appointed to carry out a Scheme of Colonisation in the Dominion of Canada of Crofters and Cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with Appendices.

22. Arsenical Poisoning.—Copy of Report to the Local Government Board on recent Epidemic Arsenical Poisoning attributed to Beer, by Dr. George Seaton Buchanan.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Return for the quarter ended 31st December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (JUDICIAL RENTS).

Copy presented, of Return of Judicial Rents fixed during the month of May, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Return of Judicial Rents fixed during the month of June, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1898.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1900; *Mr. Maurice Healy*]; to lie upon the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Time-table of Examinations for 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE ACT (IRELAND), 1877.

Copy presented, of Order in Council giving effect to Rules of Court under the Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order in Council giving effect to a Rule of Court under the Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899 (RULES).

Copy presented, of Rules under Section 3 of the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Amended Rules for the Administration of Loans under the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of

Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Southampton from Whitchurch and Hurstbourne Stations to Vernhams Dean (Bourne Valley Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Southampton from Bishops Waltham to a junction with the authorised Meon Valley Railway near Brock Bridge in the parish of Soberton (Bishops Waltham Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Northumberland between Gosforth and Ponteland (Gosforth and Ponteland Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Gloucester between Wotton-under-Edge and Charfield (Wotton-under-Edge Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parish and urban district of Rhyl, in the county of Flint, in extension of the Light Railway authorised by the Rhyl and Prestatyn Light Railway Order, 1900 (Rhyl and Prestatyn Light Railway (Extensions) Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Cambridge, in the parishes of Oakington, Westwick, and Cottenham (Oakington and Cottenham Light Railway Order, 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Suffolk, from Long Melford to Hadleigh (Long Melford and Hadleigh Light Railway Order, 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the urban district of Sheerness and in the parish of Minster in Sheppey, in the rural district of Sheppey, in the county of Kent (Sheerness and District Light Railway Order, 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1900, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 1.]

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Lunacy.—Copy of Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of Visits made and the number of Patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ending on the 31st December, 1900 [by Act].

2. Supreme Court (Rules).—Copy of Rules of the Supreme Court, dated 11th January, 1901.

KING'S SPEECH.

Mr. SPEAKER reported His Majesty's Speech, and read it to the House.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FIRST DAY'S DEBATE.]

*MR. FORSTER (Kent, Sevenoaks): I will not address to the House that appeal which has grown almost to be customary on these occasions, because I have been a Member long enough to know that the House of Commons invariably extends to any one of its Members who is called upon for the first time to fill a position of responsibility the most generous measure of its kindest indulgence, and I am pain fully aware that no one ever needed that kind indulgence more than myself on the present occasion. The House meets at a remarkable time. We are at the commencement of the first ordinary session of a new reign and of a new century, and the occasion is further signalised by the fact that His Majesty the King has opened Parliament in person. I therefore feel it is all the more an honour to have been selected to move the Address on this occasion, and, as I have just said, although I most deeply feel the honour, I am aware that I am but ill-fitted for the task.

I suppose that there is not a Member of this House present to-day whose heart is not filled with two different but kindred emotions, grief and hope—grief that the great lady who for so many years has ruled over us has been taken from us; and hope that our present Sovereign may be spared for many years to come to rule over a happy and contented people. I could not add one word to those two speeches which were delivered by my right hon. friend the Leader of the House and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition when Parliament met a short time ago. Those speeches were worthy of the solemn occasion upon which they were delivered, and it is hardly possible to say much more. Perhaps, as I am the first unofficial Member who has found an opportunity of addressing the House, I might be allowed to associate myself—perhaps the Members of the House would allow me to associate them—with everything that fell from those two right hon. Gentlemen on that occasion. I feel that never has any member of this House given a vote which more fully, truly, and adequately represented the views of his constituency than he gave upon that occasion. Since then we have had a remarkable proof of the respect and esteem in which our late Queen was held in every part of her Empire, but even more striking than the solemn and sorrowing homage which was paid to her memory by all her own subjects has been the striking testimony that we have received from all the world over of the admiration and veneration with which the Queen was regarded in every part of the world. Such a gathering of the rulers and representatives of all foreign nations as that which recently assembled in this country at the funeral of Queen Victoria has seldom been seen, and amongst them there was one whose presence the people of this country have especially valued. Difficulties there may have been, and differences may yet arise between the German people and ourselves, but we shall not lightly forget the part which His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor has taken in the nation's grief. His Majesty may have been animated by personal and not political motives, but we value his presence and his sympathy none the less. Family ties have ever been honoured in this country, and the presence of His Imperial Majesty appealed to the people of this country with a striking force that we shall not readily forget. I do not for one moment wish to belittle the presence or sympathy of the rulers and representatives of the other nations. We value their presence and their sympathy, and we treasure their recollection. I cannot but think that such an assembly, upon such a solemn occasion, may well do something to promote a mutual good understanding between the Powers of the world, and may do something to promote the cause of permanent peace. If that is so, then Queen Victoria in death has crowned the work of her life. We accept to the full the assurance which is conveyed to us in the gracious Speech from the Throne that His Majesty the King intends to follow in the footsteps of our late Sovereign. That assurance is accepted by every subject of His Majesty in the knowledge that it is an absolutely genuine assurance. I cannot but think that it will be grateful to the King to know that all his subjects the world over not only offer him their loyal homage, but that they have a confident and a sure and certain belief that he will be able to approach very closely the high ideal which was set by his revered mother.

In another part of the Speech reference is made to the Civil List, and His Majesty informs us that he hands over those hereditary revenues which have been so handed over in the past. We shall, no doubt, on a subsequent occasion be called upon to make suitable provision for the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the Crown. I think we ought not to forget that the position of the Sovereign of the British Empire is not the least proud position amongst the Sovereigns of the world, and I believe that it will be entirely repugnant to the feelings of the people of this country if we approach the question of the Civil List in a niggardly or parsimonious manner.

The Speech expresses regret—a regret which the whole House will share—that it has not yet been possible to bring to a close the war in South Africa. We had all hoped that the policy which was so clearly laid down by my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary in a speech delivered in this House, I think early in December last, and the Proclamations which were issued in various parts of South Africa, would have had a wider influence in the direction of peace than appears to have been the case. But if the Boers continue deaf to the voice of reason, there is nothing left to us but to promote those warlike operations which are necessary with the utmost possible vigour. In Lord Kitchener the country knows that it has a commander of exceptional capacity. We know that his task is a task of extreme difficulty, and who is prepared to deny it? I think it must support and comfort him in his arduous undertaking to know that he retains the full confidence not only of the people of this country but also of this House. It is satisfactory to know that the reinforcements which Lord Kitchener has asked for are being and have been supplied with every possible rapidity, and the manner in which recruits are coming forward for the Yeomanry and other forces proves that the patriotic fervour which was so noticeable in the earlier stages of the war was no mere wave of emotional excitement or spasm of martial ardour. The call to arms will ever meet with an instant and generous response on the part of all the inhabitants of His Majesty's Empire. I think we may well be proud to know that the fighting value, the military capacity of our brave Volunteer forces is of the highest order. This has been proved recently by the tributes paid to these forces by Lord Roberts in the despatches published last week, for he has given them great praise indeed. We cannot say, and time alone will show, to what extent it may be possible in the future to train and develop these forces which have done such good work in the past. I think we may be certain of this, that neither my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War nor Lord Roberts will forget those services when they are evolving some scheme for increasing the efficiency of the military forces of the country.

Our minds and the minds of the people of this country have been so full of other topics recently that attention has been somewhat diverted from the difficult questions which are in course of settlement in China. We all remember with what breathless interest we watched the gallant defence of those who were besieged in the Legation, and how we rejoiced in the success of the combined forces of the Powers. We all remember well how we gloried in the part played in those operations by our Indian troops and by the Naval Brigade. It is very satisfactory to know that China has submitted to the demands made upon her by the Powers. In regard to the negotiations which are at present proceeding, although they may appear to progress somewhat slowly, we can but remember that rapidity is not to be expected where you have negotiating, on the one hand the representatives of six different Powers, and on the other a nation so dilatory and crafty as China. I think it is a remarkable thing that the concert of the Powers has been preserved so long and fully maintained in spite of so many difficulties.

I think the House will be glad to see that such favourable mention has been made in the gracious Speech from the Throne of the campaign in Ashanti. I have no doubt whatever that if the public mind had been less occupied with other topics, this campaign in Ashanti would have met with a far wider measure of popular esteem, and would have received that amount of appreciation which it undoubtedly deserves. The signal success which attended our arms in that campaign is none the less remarkable because the troops that were engaged were composed, I believe, entirely of those coloured subjects of the Crown whose indomitable courage is only equalled by their loyalty. I feel certain that Sir James Willcocks and his gallant comrades in arms will regard it as a proud honour to have received such favourable mention in the King's Speech.

I have no doubt whatever that the House and the country will be prepared for some material increase in the Estimates, and that they will not grudge the money which is necessary to maintain our military forces upon a proper level of strength and efficiency. Our Navy must be maintained; as to that I think there can be no question. As for the Army, I think the House and the country will see with satisfaction that special mention has been made of the important topic which has for months past attracted so much attention and interest. I mean, of course, Army reform. There is no reason whatever to doubt the intentions of the Government and of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War or of Lord Roberts to undertake that great and important question in the most serious spirit. We have not the slightest ground for doubting that. Of course, it would be impossible either in the Speech from the Throne or for me to indicate what measures will be proposed. They will, no doubt, be explained at the proper time by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War, and under the circumstances, I do not think that the House will be surprised to find that the legislative proposals of the Government are not of a particularly ambitious character. [Opposition laughter.] What would be the use of putting into the Speech from the Throne a large number of measures of the first importance when everyone knows that the greater part of this Session must necessarily be taken up by the consideration of Supply, the Civil List, and Army reform? I consider that it is only businesslike on the part of His Majesty's Government to have adopted this course in regard to the question of proposed legislation.

I feel that I have trespassed too long upon the time of the House already, and I wish to offer to the House with all sincerity my very grateful thanks for the kindness and indulgence which they have shown to me.

*SIR ANDREW AGNEW (Edinburgh, S.): I beg to second the motion which has been so ably proposed by my hon. friend. We all feel that with a new reign and a new century we have entered upon a new and distinct stage in our history. We have every expectation, however, that the blessings of the late reign will be continued, and that the great improvement in the country which marked Her late Majesty's reign will be maintained and increased. So far as His Majesty the King can promote this we know that it will be done. We had the assurance given to Parliament to-day and in more than one message to his people, that His Majesty intends to follow in the footsteps of the late Queen in everything that can advance the welfare of the Empire. With such an ideal before him we may be confident that he will not only prove himself a worthy successor of the Sovereign whom we have just lost, but that he will establish himself in the hearts of his subjects as firmly as his revered predecessor did.

Sir, it is a matter of congratulation that, in spite of his recent bereavement, His Majesty the King has been able to come down and open Parliament himself and to deliver in person the gracious Speech to which it is now my duty to reply. We could have wished that in that speech he had been able to tell us of the conclusion of the war in South Africa. We had all hoped that the war would have been over by now. We are all disappointed that it is still dragging on; but in spite of the disappointment, there is no change in the spirit of the people of the country or in the determination of His Majesty's Ministers, and they are both resolved that this war shall be carried on until our object has been attained. The difficulties have proved even greater than were expected, but our efforts must consequently be greater, and the announcement made a few days ago that 30,000 fresh mounted troops are to be sent out to Lord Kitchener has met with universal approval. And we may earnestly echo the hope which is expressed in His Majesty's Speech that the measures taken by the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa will enable his troops to deal effectually with the forces by which they are still opposed. Sir, the war would very likely have been over by now if it had not been for the false stories and false hopes circulated amongst the men in South Africa who are in arms against us, but who have had no means of ascertaining the truth, and who have therefore been induced to continue fighting in the expectation of wearing out our armies or of regaining their independence through the intervention of foreign Powers. If they had known the real facts, and if they knew the real terms offered to them we can hardly doubt that large numbers of them, at any rate, would have been prepared to lay down their arms. Everybody in this country, excepting a very small party, admits that we cannot restore the independence of the Transvaal or of the Orange River Colony; but short of independence, the Government have always wished to, and expressed their intention of granting the Boers everything that could be asked for, the fullest measure of self-government as soon as they can be trusted with it, and liberty to every man to return in peace to his own farm. These terms have been accepted by large numbers of Boers who have surrendered, and I believe a very large number more would have accepted them had their nature been fully realised by them. But we know the reception which has been given by leaders like De Wet to anyone who dares to explain the conditions of peace to his fellow-countrymen. There is therefore no choice left to us but to continue the war; and since the war is to be continued we desire to see it carried on with vigour, and I am sure that the House will support His Majesty's Ministers in any measures necessary for that purpose. There is one feature of the war which I think we shall always look back upon with satisfaction, and that is the humanity with which it has been conducted. [HON. MEMBERS on Irish Benches: What about the women and children?] There has been nothing done on our side to make it more difficult for Briton and Boer to settle down side by side in peace and tranquillity. No doubt there have been stories told of atrocities committed by our officers and men, but whenever these stories have been investigated they have turned out to be calumnies. We have not only the testimony of Lord Roberts that the bravery of our troops in the field was only equalled by their humanity and generosity to the people of the occupied States, but we have the admission of those who fought against us that our soldiers in South Africa have shown that war instead of brutalising men may ennoble them. The principal lesson we have no doubt learned from the war is the fact that reforms are necessary to make our Army as efficient as we would wish it to be. This subject has already been alluded to by my hon. friend, and I can only add one word in behalf of the Volunteers. I hope personally, that when a scheme is formed for reorganising the Army, the Volunteers may occupy a more important and definite place than they have hitherto done. If there had been any doubt as to what kind of soldiers our Volunteers would make, that doubt must have been entirely dispelled by the services rendered by the Volunteers in South Africa—whether infantry, mounted infantry, cavalry or artillery. They have shown that with a very short training they are the very best of soldiers. This country is not prepared for conscription; I do not believe it would agree to any measure of conscription until every other means had been tried and failed; but I believe that the Volunteers could be increased, and now is the time for doing it. There never was a more favourable opportunity in the country than at the present moment, there never was a time when people were so ready to admit that it is the duty of every citizen to take his share in the defence of the country, and therefore I believe that with a little encouragement and assistance the Volunteers could be increased, and if organised they might be made a most efficient force, which might in fact be relied upon to take a principal part in the defence of these shores if ever they should be threatened with invasion.

I now turn to the paragraph in the King's Speech which announces that the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to Australia to open the First Parliament of the New Commonwealth is not to be abandoned. That announcement, I am sure, will be received with great satisfaction by this House and the country as well as by Australia. The visit is due in the first instance to the greatness of the occasion, but is due also to the fact that the King has felt, as Her late Majesty felt, that the visit would be a gracious acknowledgment of the loyal help given us by our self-governing colonies in the war in South Africa, and the visit is therefore to be extended to New Zealand and Canada. There can be no doubt of the cordial reception their Royal Highnesses will meet with in Australia, and though under the altered circumstances the occasion may be shorn of some of its outward rejoicing, it will lose none of its deep interest and significance. The experiment which

Australia is making is one full of promise. In union countries nowadays find their strength and their success. This was so in Canada, and now it will be with Australia. The various colonies have noticed that separate Parliaments with separate policies act as an encouragement to jealousies and a hindrance to trade; and that with one Parliament and one policy they will have much greater strength for defence and more efficiency for developing the resources of their vast continent. Since the strength of the mother country increases with the strength of her loyal sons, the Empire gains by the new departure which the Heir to the Throne is to be permitted to inaugurate. Closely connected with this is the subject of a Court of Final Appeal. The right to claim redress from the Throne is a powerful link binding in obedience to a common authority. I can only say that with the large expansion of the Empire there has been a large increase in the appeals to the Privy Council, and with that increase of business it is natural that there would be a feeling that that Court should be strengthened. It has long been felt that when the occasion came for strengthening it there should be that alteration in its Constitution foreshadowed in some respect in the King's gracious Speech. I am sure that this House will be prepared to aid His Majesty's Ministers in setting up a Court so strong and representative as to win the confidence of the people of all parts of the Empire.

There is only one other topic in the Speech to which I wish to refer in a few words—I mean the provision for the Civil List. I am certain that the House will deal with this matter in no grudging spirit, but will be anxious to make the provision adequate to the honour and dignity of the Crown. We must remember that two generations have passed since the last settlement of the Civil List was made, and that what was adequate sixty-two years ago may not be quite adequate now. Many things have happened during these years. The Empire to-day is a different Empire from that to which Her late Majesty succeeded in 1837; and that is true not only in regard to its extent but to the position it occupies in the world. The people of this country fully realise the fact, and will not hesitate to approve any settlement of the Civil List which will enable the Sovereign of the Empire to fill his position with the dignity which is becoming.

I will not detain the House further, but only thank hon. Members for the indulgent way in which they have listened to one who has had the honour of addressing them to-day for the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

*SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Mr. Speaker, the House of Commons has already had an opportunity of giving solemn expression to its loyal attachment to the Crown, and to the high hopes with which we all of us greet the accession of the King to the throne. That declaration was made, Sir, as you at the time announced, *nemine contradicente;* and the sincerity and fervour with which we made it was not in any degree diminished, nay, was greatly increased, from the fact that the sentiment to which we were giving utterance was mingled, in its essence as well as in relation of time, with the profoundest sorrow over the loss to our country and to the world of our revered and beloved Sovereign Queen Victoria. To-day, with the gracious Speech from the Throne and the splendid ceremonial by which the delivery of the Speech was accompanied, the new reign has been publicly opened. What more can we of the faithful Commons do than again tender our humble duty to the King and Queen, with many a wish and many a prayer that their reign may be long, and happy, and beneficent? The hon. Members who have been entrusted with the task of submitting the Address for the approval of the House have discharged their duty, I am sure we shall agree, in an admirable manner. I would especially say this of the hon. Member who moved the Address: that, as we are told the world knows nothing of its greatest men, the House of Commons often discovers in some dumb and unobtrusive Member one perfectly capable of taking a prominent part in its debates; and the hon. Member displayed that capacity not only in his powerful eloquence, but also, to no small degree, in the manner, which I could not but admire, in which he extenuated and accounted for the somewhat poverty-stricken programme which the Government had put before us. These years of two sessions furnish in a double degree to hon. Gentlemen opposite opportunities of distinguishing themselves in this manner, and we note with satisfaction that there is no apparent lack of duly qualified persons capable of discharging the duty. If I were confidential to the House, I might say I find the stock of complimentary adjectives at the disposal of the Leader of the Opposition, who is expected to express the approval and admiration of the House, almost exhausted, for it would never do to repeat in February a phrase which had done duty in December. All I can say to the two hon. Members, therefore, is that, from its experience of them to-night, the House will hear them gladly, provided always (because I must put some limit to my invitation) that they exercise their privileges with reasonable rarity and, above all, cultivate that Parliamentary virtue of apparent reluctance to engage in debate—it need not be more than apparent—which more than anything commends to the House of Commons the individual Member.

Now, the hon. Members have referred to a good many topics which are included in the Address; but there is one subject, above all, which weighs upon our thoughts, and it is upon that chiefly that I shall make some observations. It is a dismal, one feels it is almost an ungracious, thing to call away our attention from the themes of joyful anticipation which this day and its events suggest to the heavy cloud which hangs at this moment over our country and Empire. But it is a plain duty to do so, and we must not shrink from it. I did not use words of exaggeration when I spoke of a heavy cloud. What should we gain by blinking the truth or shutting our eyes, even if it were possible for us to do it, to the true gravity and urgency of the situation in South Africa? We may indeed appeal to our countrymen as *passi graviora.* These are perhaps not, in one sense, the darkest hours; and there is little in the military circumstances of this month of February, 1901, to recall anything of the consternation and alarm which prevailed in many quarters among us in the critical weeks of last winter. Yet I am not sure that many thinking men do not stand even in a greater degree aghast at this present moment, when they contemplate the military necessities with which our gallant officers and soldiers in the field are confronted, and, beyond the military necessities, when they see that those military difficulties extend and run into and lead up to political issues of the supremest gravity, going far into the future. It is my desire, if the House will allow me, earnestly to invite hon Members to face the facts of the hour, to put aside our individual prejudices, to forget our old controversies, to consider things as they stand, and, as it were, to rub our eyes and clear our vision. We all accept the war as a fact, and the House of Commons has shown from the first an extraordinary, I would say unprecedented, facility of disposition in voting all the supplies that are required for it.

On this footing, then, let us see how we stand. What are the objects that we have in view in this war? Well, the first and the most important object in any war is, as I take it, the conclusion of peace—that is to say, the successful termination of hostilities, the vindication by arms of the King's authority, the restoration, as I have said, of peace, and the cessation of bloodshed. I invite the House of Commons to consider how this object, in which I am sure we all agree, has fared during the last two or three months. At the General Election the country was told that the war was over. I see that it is now spoken of as being "not yet entirely terminated." I am not going to revive the history—let me use the pleasantest epithet I can find and say the unseemly history—of the recent election, in which the Government sought to make capital for themselves out of the deeds, the prowess, and the successes of our Army, and in which they also sought to palm off as entirely finished a war for the further prosecution of which they are now sending 30,000 fresh troops to South Africa. Was this intimation of the ending of the war a ludicrous miscalculation or was it a scandalous misrepresentation? One or the other undoubtedly it was. I am perfectly content to give right hon. Gentlemen the benefit of the former alternative. And that more amiable alternative commends itself to the Parliamentary judgment, because of all our favourite arguments that which we always consider the strongest is that of precedent; and, as it would be altogether without precedent if the Government in the course of this war were to publish any prognostication which did not turn out to be all wrong, so, also, the fact that this estimate of the position was hopelessly wrong does not prove at all that they did not seriously entertain it. At all events, Sir, they completely misled the country on this matter. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] Then the war did end in October last? They misled the country at a time when they were seeking constitutionally the judgment of the country. For, whereas, in October, we are told that this was the situation, that the campaign was ended, that there would be nothing before us but certain marauding bands which would be mischievous and troublesome, but might be easily dealt with, and that the time had arrived when the greater generals might come home, and the City of London Volunteers might come home, and the Household Cavalry, and all the illustrious personages who had been stuck about South Africa—while this was said in October, in November summonses were issued to bring Parliament together for the purpose of voting 16 millions sterling for the further prosecution of the war. We all remember the speech in which the Secretary for War introduced that Vote of 16 millions. Those who were of one way of thinking, including myself, said it was frank and manly; those of the other way of thinking said it was dismal, dispiriting, and discouraging. He attributed the error as to the ending of the war to the misjudgment of the generals on the spot. He said—

> "Those on the spot thought the collapse of the Boer army would lead to the submission of the Boer leaders."

So that the position of our hapless generals is this—and I think the House may extend some commiseration to them—that whenever they accomplish successes those successes are to be legitimately employed for the purpose of swelling the support at the polls of the Administration; but when mistakes are made by the Administration at home those mistakes, and the reasons for them, are to be assigned to the blunders of the generals on the spot. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say we were now having to encounter only guerilla warfare. There, at least, is an estimate which we can bring to the test. Has anything ever occurred in history less like guerilla warfare than that which we have seen during the last few months? When large forces, stated in our despatches to number five, or seven, or eight thousand men, well led and fully equipped, separated from each other by leagues and leagues of distance, have been all operating in obvious concert, is that to be called guerilla warfare? If this is indeed guerilla warfare, what a picture the right hon. Gentleman drew of it! We have not forgotten the 400,000 Frenchmen in Spain for five years losing in an ineffectual struggle more heavily than their countrymen did in the Moscow campaign, or the 227,000 Spaniards who, for three years in Cuba, ineffectually endeavoured to keep at bay 30,000 men, none of them useful as soldiers. Why, Sir, out of bitter comes forth sweet, and from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman we have at least been able to derive this advantage: that the making of that speech by the Minister principally concerned has at last put an end, surely for ever, to the silly slander by which those of us who have endeavoured independently to criticise the war and the actions of the Government have been assailed again and again—namely, that by a casual word here and there, by our action in this case and that, we have given encouragement and inspiration to our enemies. If the Government were optimistic and triumphant in October and chastened and apologetic in December, how does their revised estimate bear investigation now? The right hon. Gentleman said he believed we were reaching a climax, and he said—

> "Before this House meets in February I trust we may be able at all events to give a much more satisfactory assurance than we are in a position to give now."

So pleased was the Colonial Secretary with this view taken by his colleague that, if

I remember rightly, he did not exactly promise, but expressed a lively expectation that by the month of February he would be ready with his civil administration. Now these were not mere words or padding introduced into the Speech which ought not, perhaps, to be too closely examined, but this was the opinion deliberately expressed to the House of Commons with a view to inducing the House of Commons to grant the £16,000,000 he was asking for. Upon what special grounds did he entertain that hopeful view? What was the information on which he founded the expectation he expressed? It has certainly not been justified by the event. What we have seen since has been this—the invasion of Cape Colony by large bands of men who have got to no very great distance from the capital itself—indeed, a considerable part of Cape Colony may be said to be in the occupation of these invading bands. They are certainly the dominating military force in the positions they hold. The occupation of the two belligerent States has practically been abandoned except so far as the railways, the larger towns, and certain fortified posts are concerned. The duties imposed upon our brave soldiers of all ranks and branches of the service in these circumstances have been wearing, harassing, and often most perilous. But they have been performed with a patience, courage, and constancy which excite our admiration and deserve our warmest gratitude. As to the generals, for my part, following these occurrences closely, as I try to do, I see no reason whatever to withhold the fullest confidence from our generals in the field, who appear to me to be perfectly qualified to take advantage of every chance of successful action which presents itself. But the area is vast, the country is difficult, the climate is trying, the line of communications is interminable. And here let me refer to the curious expression made use of in the King's Speech, where it says that the enemy's lines of communication are in our possession. I always thought our great difficulty was in defending our own lines of communication, and I was unaware that the Boers troubled themselves about lines of communication in a country in which they are everywhere at home. Disease, as we had every reason to anticipate, has wrought havoc among the ranks of our countrymen. On the other hand, the enemy in the field is inured to the hardships of the life; he is well equipped, ubiquitous, knows the country, is at home in it, and evidently receives from the civil inhabitants, white and coloured, a great deal of assistance which is denied to us. These circumstances, Sir, present the most formidable difficulty before us at the present moment; but neither here nor in South Africa is there the slightest idea of flinching from it. The question agitating many minds among us is rather this—whether the Government at home adequately realise and are making adequate provision for it, and there is nothing to show that it is adequately realised. The second thing which agitates the minds of men is doubt whether the political conduct of the war, as apart from the purely military operations, has been such as to conduce to that early honourable settlement which it is the main desire of us all to secure. For a long time surely it has been evident that our forces on the spot were insufficient. Can it be that the last men in the country to wake up to that fact are precisely those who ought to have seen it first—namely, His Majesty's Government? Would they not have been better employed, when they were going about the country pushing their party interests among the constituencies, or were here talking to us of a finished campaign and mere guerilla warfare, if they had been training and preparing the reinforcements which were required? Was peace likely to be secured, nay, was justice being done to the efforts and sufferings of our gallant soldiers, by the course of fumbling and dribbling and drifting of which we have been for many weeks the spectators? Is it true—we shall, no doubt, be informed—that Lord Kitchener many weeks ago asked for larger reinforcements? Were those reinforcements at once given, and if not, why were they not? And yet it is only now, when Parliament was about to meet, that you set yourselves to scramble together a nondescript force of heterogeneous elements, derived from various sources, serving under various terms of service, and receiving most disproportionate terms of pay, and some of them, so far as I can see, already required and employed as police, but counted over again as reinforcements for the purpose of swelling this apparent force of 30,000 men. After all, this new force is not likely to be in the field of action in a state of efficiency for two or three months, and by that time who can tell what heavy losses, at the present rate, may be inflicted on our army in South Africa by the bullet of the enemy or the still more formidable scourge of fever and disease? Let the Government understand this: that there is no reluctance on the part of the House and country to continue to support the despatch of such numbers of troops as shall suffice to clear the colony of invaders and restore the superiority of our arms, if indeed it has been at all invalidated; but that is not all that is required to be done. When this is accomplished, or evidently on the eve of accomplishment, then will be the moment, if it does not come sooner, for addressing to the peoples of the two States a declaration of such terms of settlement as, while securing for the Empire all that we have been contending for, may assuage their fears, save their dignity, restore their personal rights, and thus induce them to lay down their arms. Why was this not done long ago? If it had been done long ago how many lives, how much suffering, how much devastation, how much ruin to innocent persons would have been saved! Take, for instance, such an opportunity as the occupation of Pretoria. Surely the occupation of Pretoria was not an unexpected event? Why, then, was not the general who effected it fortified by the direct instructions of the Government at home authorising him to declare terms of settlement to the Government still in existence in the Transvaal? No; unconditional surrender was our first and last word. Then began that era of punitive burnings and confiscations which we cannot recall with pleasure, and which, so far as my observation has gone—and I have talked with many men who have been out in South Africa, as well as with many who have remained at home—are now universally regarded as having been a mischievous error in policy. I declared in December, and I repeat the declaration now, that I have never given credence to the stories of wanton cruelty on the part of British soldiers; but the whole proceedings were cruel, the whole method was cruel, and officers and men whose military duties compelled them to give orders for and to execute those acts loathed the work they were engaged upon. We are still without information as to the extent of these punitive operations. I remember in December, in the middle of a speech, the Colonial Secretary said Lord Kitchener had been directed to furnish full particulars, and I trust that they will be furnished to the House of Commons, that we may know what really has been done. This policy of devastation appears to have been put an end to, to have been abandoned altogether, whether in consequence of debates in this House or because of other reasons I cannot say, but the evil it did lives after it.

I am looking at these events at present from the point of view of our universal desire to bring the war to a conclusion upon terms consistent with success, with honour, and with prosperity and safety in the future, at as early a date as possible, so as to save suffering all round. Can anyone estimate how much the duration of the war has been extended by these so-called strong measures? And with regard to these strong measures let me say this—that I am not aware that any member of the Government has ever advocated them, or even strongly defended them, but they have been demanded and exulted in by leading organs of the press which support, and sometimes speak as if they inspired and directed, the policy of the Government. When you destroy the home of a brave and resolute enemy because he is your enemy, when you subject his family to privation and the risk of starvation, when you confiscate his property, what effect can this have but to drive him to desperation, to embitter his feeling of hostility, and, above all, to scare him away from the idea of a settlement? If, on the other hand, it is your intention and desire—and I am satisfied it is the desire of the people of this country—to restore him to his old home, to enable him to resume his old life, to invest him with his old civil privileges, to preserve his peculiar and familiar laws and customs, to give him, for instance, the independence enjoyed by a citizen of one of the States of the Australian Commonwealth, and to recognise the dignity and sentiment of the community to which he belongs—if such is your intention and desire, then why, in Heaven's name, do you not announce this openly? While, therefore, I approve and support the despatch of any reinforcements which may be required for military operations at the Cape, I would strongly urge, as a solvent even more effective than military force, that distinct proposals for terms of settlement should at the same time be made. I am not afraid of using the mailed fist, but let the hand that is not mailed hold out the olive branch.

I have been looking at the question hitherto only from the point of view of cessation of war and restoration of peace, but this is after all, although most important, a narrow and ephemeral object, and there is a wider. a greater object beyond. What is this principal and permanent object in all our South African policy whether in war or in peace? Here, again, I hope I may command the assent of hon. Gentlemen on the other side when I say it is to preserve and strengthen the British Imperial power in South Africa, and this not only for our own greater glory, but because we conscientiously and honestly believe it will be the best guarantee for good government and the prosperity and tranquillity of the country. That, surely, is the main end we ought always to look to and keep in view, and any act of policy in peace or war which does not conduce to that end, stands in itself condemned. Now let me carry hon. Members a little step further. This predominant British authority which we are all anxious to maintain, if it is to have any real life and value, must rest on the free will and assent of the people. We hear it glibly said, "Oh, when these troubles are over we shall, to deal with any slumbering discontent, at least maintain garrisons numbering 20,000, 30,000, or 40,000 men, and in that way we shall get over all our troubles," and men shrug their shoulders and shake their heads over the strain and tax this would bring on the resources of the country. But, Sir, such a solution is impossible; it is simply unthinkable. A predominance so upheld over men of European race would be no strength or glory to our Empire; it would be a weakness, a discredit, and a shame upon the very name of Briton. Federated States, if you like, free colonies if you like, but a dependency never. With our instincts, our traditions, our pretensions, if we were to attempt to maintain our authority in South Africa by force over men of European race we should be condemned throughout the world as a nation of hypocrites, and the best that our friends could say of us would be that we were so blinded by our prejudices that we did not realise the hypocrisy we practised. These are elementary truths. It has been the guiding principle of our wisest statesmen, upheld by the judgment of our acutest critics, that a fundamental condition of success in South Africa is the recognition of Dutch opinion, that race being in a clear and inevitably increasing majority. This has been the policy pursued not merely for the sake of convenience, not that we might have less trouble and to make things work more easily, but because it was a necessity of common sense. It was the policy of Sir G. Grey and of Sir Hercules Robinson, and approved by such ardent devotees of Imperial Britain as Mr. Froude and Lord Randolph Churchill. If you are to hold South Africa you must win the confidence and goodwill of the Dutch community—not, of course, to the neglect of our own. You must secure the confidence and goodwill of the Dutch community, in which, of course, is included our own colonies as of even greater importance than the two belligerent States. Let there be no ascendency of one race over the other, but accept—for it must be accepted—this fundamental and vital fact, that the British authority, although supreme, must make itself agreeable and acceptable to Dutch feeling. That is all I ask the House to agree to; and if you cannot make it in this way agreeable, then it is time that the truth should be freely stated—that not all the wealth in your Treasury, not all the troops in your Army, not all the nerve and skill of your administrators and governors will serve to keep your South African Empire.

In view of these facts and doctrines, what judgment are we to pass on the events of the last six or eight weeks? All the considerations that I dealt with some time ago, on the narrower question of the duration of the war, come in with full force here again. Every exasperating act that has been committed, every week of unnecessary hostilities is a crime against conciliation, and therefore a crime against the ultimate maintenance of solid British authority. And if I appeal to the Government and to the House of Commons to take such steps as can alone lead to a stable and peaceful future, I do so in the name of high Imperial policy, and in the name of the British supremacy which you yourselves wish to maintain. We shall be told that there are stupendous difficulties; no doubt, but statesmen are appointed to overcome difficulties, and not to be overcome by them. We shall be told there are no Governments to which to address yourselves. Whose fault is that? By your own rashness you have obliterated the Governments. We know that it was always a maxim of Prince Bismarck—no puling sentimentalist—that it was the first necessity always to maintain in being a Government by dealing with which you could conduct negotiations. But if you have no Government, you have generals. Sir Redvers Buller had no difficulty in finding means of communication with General Christian Botha—one of the most significant and interesting passages in the whole of the Blue-book recently issued. Sir Redvers Buller had an interview with him, which was of no effect because the door was slammed in their face. But no one can read the passage without seeing how ripe the ground was then for the seed of peace. The Colonial Secretary, in his speech in the month of December, which was received with relief and gratification by everyone, said that nothing would be wanting on the part of the Government to convey the humane and peaceful intentions of the Government. Now, this has been done effectually? What has happened is this: Lord Kitchener, no doubt under directions, called a meeting together of certain burghers and explained to them in a vague way the generally humane and reasonable intentions which he was directed to communicate. He founded these negotiations on a peculiar ground, because he said no doubt they had read the speech of Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons. Now, that rather confirms me in the belief that all this was done by instructions from home, because no one, I think, on the spot would have thought of attributing such knowledge to them in that manner.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): Let me tell the right hon. Gentleman that Lord Kitchener's speech was made without any instructions.

*SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I was going to remark that there were obviously two possibilities which were disregarded in making such a statement to these burghers. The one was that these unlettered and rude Boers had never heard of this speech, and it is just possible they may not have heard of the House of Commons, or even of Mr. Chamberlain. But there is another possibility, which is even more fatal—that they have heard of other speeches—that, instead of being too ill-informed, may have been too well-informed. They may have had in their minds the speech of the Prime Minister when he said that at the end of all these hostilities "no shred of independence" would be left to them, and the other speech in which the Prime Minister again said that it would be years, and probably generations, before self-government could be given to them. Now, those speeches came from even higher authority; and when the condition of mind that would be created in them is merely subjected to the beneficent influence of the vague generalities of Lord Kitchener it is not wonderful that the result was not great. What happened upon that? Emissaries were sent to the camps of the Boers, those emissaries were detected, they were ill-treated, some of them were shot, an incident not without precedent in other nations and in other armies than that of the Boers. I have not a word to urge in extenuation, whoever committed it, of a gross piece of cruelty such as this. But, after all, was it a very well-advised step to have taken, and was it a very safe or a very hopeful enterprise to have sent men upon to an armed camp as emissaries to endeavour to detach the rank and file in it from their allegiance to their commander? No, I do not think these were methods from which good results could be obtained. Whatever was done should have been done openly. The difficulty of communicating with the people and getting their ear is no doubt partly due to the well-known obstinacy which is characteristic of their race, but it has been largely created by our own declarations allowing nothing but unconditional surrender. Let it clearly appear that we are animated by a more generous and reasonable spirit, and the difficulty of communication will in a great measure disappear. In this, as in most other cases, where there is a will there is a way. There are many facts disclosed to us, by our daily observation, by the despatches that have at last been published, and by the Report of the Commission on the hospitals; there are many things on which much will be said, no doubt, and they will be keenly debated in this House. I suppose also that they will be the subject soon of that general public inquiry which the Government have explicitly promised into all the circumstances of the war. And I would ask by the way, in passing, whether the right hon. Gentleman can give us any information as to the time and manner in which that inquiry will be conducted.

But, Sir, in my opinion, the conduct of generals, the efficiency of equipment, the provision of transport, the treatment of the sick and wounded, grave matters as they all of them are, fade at present into insignificance before that which is the question of the hour—namely, what shall be the temper and attitude of our Imperial Government towards the peoples of the two States against which we have been in arms, and towards their kinsfolk among our fellow-citizens in the colonies. Upon this, I solemnly say, in my firm belief the future fate of British South Africa depends. I trust that the Government will not hastily give an unfavourable answer to my appeal. I would implore them, and, indeed, I would implore the House, every part of it, to sink every motive of personal dignity and triumph, to forget the prejudices and interests of party, in dealing with this momentous issue. If this actual moment is inopportune, which it may be (for an outsider like myself not acquainted with the communications constantly received cannot judge) at least let nothing be said or done to prevent the very earliest opportunity being seized, and we need never be afraid that evil will come to our Empire, because we shall have listened to the dictates of prudence, generosity, and humanity.

In other quarters besides South Africa beyond our shores there are presented to us serious events for our consideration In the first place, there has been a successful war in Ashanti, and we all rejoice with His Majesty's Government upon that great achievement. One little criticism I will make. I am very willing to recognise, because I know his merit, the great services of Sir James Willcocks; but it is a rather extraordinary thing that he should be named personally by name in this way when, although we are fighting in so many different places, no other general is named. I can only assume that it is because the Ashanti War is ended, and the other is still not entirely terminated, that this distinction has been drawn. I join, we all join, in congratulating the King and the country on the happy inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth, and the Duke of Cornwall generously fulfils a patriotic duty in undertaking the mission which was entrusted to him. If we turn to China, we find nothing but anxiety and perplexity, and we wait with the deepest interest some explanation of the proceedings that are going on there. At present the British people are in this position—they know neither the policy that is being pursued nor the events that are occurring. There is a concert of the Powers which we are told is in the main successful. If that is so, it is most satisfactory. It seems to me that difficult as it must be under all circumstances to maintain the concert of the Great Powers, it is especially so with regard to China; for this reason: that the interests of the Powers are not only separated and sometimes conflicting, but they are not even interests similar or analogous. We may regard the Powers having relations in China as of three classes. There are those which have, or may be supposed to have, territorial ambitions. We do not number ourselves among them, though I suspect the world would include us; but in our own conscience and intention we ought not to be so included. Then there are those who, without having any definite territorial ambitions, are deeply interested in the development of commerce and the introduction of Western civilisation. That is where we come in, and therefore our object is to seek for guarantees for the safety of our traders and our missionaries in the prosecution of their separate duties. That is not the case with some of the other Great Powers, and especially with the greatest Power on the spot—namely, Russia, which, I imagine, cares little or nothing for either trade or the propagation of religion, but which is a neighbour with a long conterminous frontier and seeks only to secure and advance that frontier, and to have a settled Government with which to deal. These three categories divide the Powers, and make it more than usually difficult to keep them in harmony. But I must express the hope that the Leader of the House or the noble Lord will be able to tell us that that has been successfully done. One point in connection with China greatly interests a vast number of people in this country, and causes them great concern. Some terrible stories have reached us as to the gross misconduct of the allied troops, ranging from murders and wholesale slaughter and robberies down to petty cruelties and petty meannesses. We have had no refutation given to these terrible stories. We are loth to believe them; we do not believe them; but we have had no refutation given, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to give us and the country that refutation, because if these stories were true it would be an ineffaceable blot upon our age and on the name, in fact, not only of this country, but of Europe.

Then with regard to our domestic affairs, my first duty is to recognise gratefully on the part of the House, if I may be allowed to do so, His Majesty's perfectly loyal and correct observance of the established precedent in the relinquishment of the hereditary Crown possessions, and we may be sure that this House will be ready to make ample provision for maintaining the dignity of the Crown. As to legislation, there are only three subjects, apparently, to be certainly introduced. There is an addition to the Court of Appeal, to which I need not refer. There are certain proposals for increasing the efficiency of the military forces of the country; and that is a phrase which may mean anything or nothing, and I am obliged to leave it in its native vagueness. Then we are told that there is to be a measure for dealing with the law of education, and again there is the same charming vagueness. For myself, I am one who holds that we shall not fulfil the destiny of the nation, nor, indeed, shall we be able to maintain our position among the nations, until a new spirit is breathed not only into our system of education—primary education, secondary education, University education, technical, general, literary, and scientific education—but what is more important, until a new spirit is breathed into the public sentiment regarding education. That being my feeling, I hope that this will be a large and sweeping measure, and the more drastic and progressive the changes it makes the more hearty support I shall give it. There are other measures mentioned. We sometimes hear of what are called innocent measures, and there is a day at the end of the session when there occurs what is called the massacre of the innocents; but these measures have not even reached the stage of being innocent. What astonishes us to find is that, even in this embryonic catalogue, there are no proofs of the legislative powers of the Government such as we should expect. We should have thought that there would have been some attempt, even in this hypothetical way, to fulfil their pledges. The Government method of dealing with great questions is to appoint Royal Commissions. When one Royal Commission has reported there is always forthcoming good reason for following it up by requiring another Commission; and when this process has gone on for some time very often we have seen a Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to sweep up all the fragments of what all the Royal Commissions have left. So we have seen with old-age pensions, which began by being so simple that any Liberal Unionist agent could explain all about it. And so we have with regard to temperance. There is, indeed, a measure spoken of here—some small police measure—dealing with drunkenness in the street. But that is not what the people of the country are asking for. They wish for something which will have some influence in lessening the temptations which lead up to the evils of which they complain. Then we have had the Royal Commission on Rating and Local Taxation. We have had five years of inquiry there, and all that has been done has been to pick out of the subject two little points that were supposed to be beneficial to certain well-known classes of supporters of the Government. They have been dealt with, and all the rest has been left alone. Then we have been told, on the highest authority, that the housing question is the question of the day. The Secretary for the Home Department scouted the idea of temperance, with licensing reform, being at all in the forefront. The real key to the situation, he said, was in the improvement of housing, and he is supported by the Prime Minister, who brings in another argument, perhaps even a stronger one. He argued that the Government should deal with housing because it would be the most popular thing with the classes resident in certain constituencies among whom the Government have the largest number of supporters. These are very good reasons, but there is not a word of housing in this programme. May I put in a word in my original, I may say my aboriginal, capacity as a Scotsman that there is not, from the beginning to the end of the Speech, the slightest mention of my native country? They say—*inter arma silent leges*, and that while you are engaged in a war you cannot legislate. But the Government are not all directing armies or instructing Governors. There is the President of the Board of Trade, the President of the Local Government Board, and there is the Home Secretary, free for legislative work, and we know how well the President of the Local Government Board, certainly, can carry a measure through the House; and as to the Home Secretary, he is still more accomplished, because we have seen him introduce and carry great measures, and we have seen also the dexterity with which he can drop them. The truth is the Government do not know what to do on these great questions. Why? Because they are in a dreadful dilemma. They have to please the powers of reaction and privilege, and yet they must satisfy popular sentiment and popular demands. They have trusted to the respite given to them by Royal Commissions, and they hoped that those Royal Commissions would find for them some way of reconciling these irreconcilable forces. They are now found out, and the country will judge from the barrenness of this programme. in addition to its former experience, that it is not from the gentlemen on that bench that the great reforms desired by the people are likely to be obtained.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Mr. Speaker, before I deal with the right hon. Gentleman's lengthy, but not too lengthy, speech, may I join with him and the rest of the House in offering my congratulations to my two hon. friends on the manner in which they have carried out the difficult and delicate task entrusted to them. My two hon. friends have spoken on this occasion, which is the beginning of the first Parliament of the reign and the first year of the century. This occasion has suggested to them naturally and necessarily topics of the greatest general interest, and I think everybody will admit that they treated this great theme with tact, delicacy, and judgment.

The right hon. Gentleman began his speech to-night by a very amiably turned sarcasm at something which fell from my hon. friend the Member for Sevenoaks, who moved the Address, as regards his dexterity in explaining and apologising for what the right hon. Gentleman described as the beggarly poverty of our legislative programme; and as the right hon. Gentleman began his speech in that way, so I think it was the last proposition which engaged him before he resumed his speech. I do not think this attack comes very well from the right hon. Gentleman. He seems to take it that the business of a Government is to bring in a flaming scheme of domestic and progressive legislation, and that when a scheme is brought in all their duties in connection with it come to an end; for I well remember during the three years tenure of office by the right hon. Gentleman and his friends there never were Queen's Speeches richer in promises, and there never were sessions poorer in performance. [Opposition cries of "Oh, oh."] I fear that statement does not meet with approval from hon. Gentlemen opposite, but luckily this is a question not of opinion, but of fact. It is very easy to see how well justified was the classical phrase of "ploughing the sands" used by one of the Members of that Administration—how well justified that was with regard to their legislative performances. [Opposition cries of "House of Lords."] I am comparing promises of legislation with performances of legislation. I daresay it was the fault of the other House; possibly we may have talked too much. I am not discussing causes or excuses; I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will always find excuses. I am talking about results; and I say that while no Government had richer promises in their Queen's Speeches, no Government, even by their own admission, was less fortunate in bringing those promises to any certain fruition. If the right hon. Gentleman had to frame our King's Speeches for us, I have not the slightest doubt they would be very different from what they are. He wants, in addition to the important and not very small list of measures we have put down, an Education Bill, which, if I understand him rightly, is to sweep away the whole of our existing elementary system, the whole of our existing secondary system, the whole of our existing technical education, and the whole of our University education; and he wants, in addition to that, to have a Bill dealing with what is called the temperance question, which is to carry out, I presume, all the recommendations of the majority and all the recommendations of the minority of the Commission and to embody them in law. In addition to that, we are to have a great scheme dealing with the housing of the working classes. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman, who has framed Queen's Speeches, is, if he has again to frame them, going to frame them on that sketch model; but I seriously warn him that if he does he will raise a good many expectations that will be doomed to a very bitter disappointment; and when he tells us, among other things, that we ought to have brought in a great scheme of licensing reform, I remember his own efforts to bring in a great scheme of licensing reform, and I remember the result. I remember the amount of support they received in the House and the succeeding verdict of the country upon them. I do not know that the example is an encouraging one.

Then the right hon. Gentleman alluded, I think in very proper and becoming terms, to the subject of the Civil List, which is mentioned in His Majesty's Speech. The right hon. Gentleman assured us—and we hardly required his assurance—that this subject would not be treated by his friends in a party or controversial sense. There have been times when the consideration of the Sovereign's Civil List was embarrassed by many difficult political questions. No such political questions can, I believe, be raised on the present occasion. There have been times when the discussion was rendered more difficult by the fact that the country was called upon not only to provide a Civil List for the future needs of the Crown, but to deal with debts contracted by the Sovereign before his accession. No such embarrassments will occur on the present occasion. There are no debts; and I feel certain that on both sides of the House we shall all be anxious to approach the consideration of this subject with an earnest desire to provide adequately for the needs of the Sovereign of this great Empire.

The right hon. Gentleman asked me two questions—I think only two—apart from the important subject he raised in connection with the war. The first question was as to any information we had with regard to the behaviour of our troops in China. The only troops for which I am called upon to answer on this or any other occasion are the troops under the command of British officers and who serve the Sovereign of these realms. I believe the conduct of those troops has been exemplary, and all the arrangements—as far as I know them—which have been made in regard to their transport, their provisioning, and their discipline reflect the very highest credit upon the Indian military organisation, upon the officers in command, and upon the troops themselves. Then the only other question the right hon. Gentleman asked was when the commission of inquiry into the war was to take place. I am afraid it is premature—I am sorry it should be—to discuss that question. We are occupied not in diminishing, but in increasing the amount of our forces in South Africa; and until we see our way more clearly to a termination of hostilities, I presume everybody would think it premature to appoint that commission of inquiry which has to discuss the conduct of the war.

I think I have dismissed all what I may call the subsidiary garnishings of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, and I come to his central criticism, which dealt with a topic which undoubtedly is the one which most deeply occupies us at the present time—namely, the South African War. The right hon. Gentleman began his observations upon that subject by saying that the last thing he desired to do was to revive the old controversies which had been raised at the General Election.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That is as to the origin of the war.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The conduct of the election, I thought he said. At all events, if the right hon. Gentleman did begin with those good intentions, as I thought he had done, they soon, like other good intentions, were forgotten; and he plunged up to the very lips in the whole of that controversy which I have no objection to seeing revived, but which I should have thought now he might have regarded as belonging to past history. The right hon. Gentleman repeated over and over again that we had misled the country as to the conclusion of the war, that we had—I suppose he implied, though I do not know that he said it—deliberately gone to the country with a sort of false and doctored account of the position in South Africa, that we had, on the strength of that false and doctored account, got the suffrages of the electors by false pretences, and that we were now profiting by the result. I do not believe there is the smallest foundation for that statement. It is perfectly true that in September last the Government thought, as I believe our military advisers thought, and as the country at large thought, that the main military operations had drawn very near their conclusion, and the right hon. Gentleman seems to think we invented that story; but I would remind him that he was one of the very first persons to address the country after the dissolution was announced. I remember his address coming out in two or three columns of *The Times* at that period, and, unless I am greatly mistaken, in the very first sentence of that address occurs the following statement—

> "And now, among other questions, men will ask themselves how far does this war, now happily so near its conclusion——"

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It only shows that you misled me. If the right hon. Gentleman will allow me, I include myself in the country.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: How did I mislead him? His address was in the hands of an enraptured electorate long before mine. I never told him the war was coming to an end. It was he who told us before anybody else. I think he was almost the first to address the country. Though the conclusion proves to be erroneous, I do not blame him, for I shared it, believing that the war, to use his own phrase, was then happily near its conclusion. The right hon. Gentleman was mistaken, and the Government was mistaken, and our military advisers, who had the best means of information, were mistaken also; and I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman, or the Government, or anybody else, was much to blame for the mistake. You can prophesy with a certain amount of assurance with regard to great military operations directed against organised forces; but you cannot prophesy with the same assurance as to the course to be pursued against unorganised forces, against the guerilla attacks to which we are being now subjected; and there was no ground for believing at that time—I am not aware that there could have been any ground for believing—that the Boer forces, these guerilla forces under Generals De Wet and Botha, would take a course which, however embarrassing to us, is incomparably more destructive to the interests of their own fellow-countrymen than it can be to ourselves, and which is more detrimental and disastrous to the interests of which they should be the first guardians than any of the greater military operations of which I have been speaking. The prophecy we all made was a false one. It was a false prophecy because we did not foresee, and could not foresee, that these leaders would be so ill-advised in their own interests, and in the highest interests of their own people, as to pursue the course which they have pursued. I pass from the barren field of past controversy to the more insistent, pressing, and important question of the course which the Government are now taking in order to bring this war to a conclusion. I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman thought it necessary in that part of his speech to minimise those efforts, to imply that we were suffering under great difficulties in carrying out the requirements of our generals, that we were lagging behind their demands, and that as a matter of fact it would be, I think he said, two or three months before the force that was now being organised could leave the shores of this country or take part in any military operation.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: What I said was "could be efficiently present on the field of action."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not remember that phrase falling from the right hon. Gentleman, but many of these troops have left already, others are actually leaving, and the estimate of two or three months of the right hon. Gentleman I believe to be most unduly pessimistic. We have not lagged behind the demands of our generals, and it may interest the House to know that during the months of December and January the military stores and equipment sent out from this country were in excess of those sent out during any preceding two months since the war commenced. My right hon. friend the Secretary for War will, if it is desired, give further details as to the arrangements made by the War Office during the last two months; but it may suffice for the present occasion if I assure the House that we have been pressing forward in every possible way the military reinforcements, and that we have exceeded rather than fallen short of the demands of Lord Kitchener.

I turn from that to what is, after all, the most important part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech—a part of the speech which he delivered with great feeling and great earnestness, but which, nevertheless, left upon my mind an uneasy sensation that, behind the somewhat ambiguous phrases which he from time to time used, he was not absolutely at one with His Majesty's Government as to the end which we must never rest until we attain—the end, namely, of absolute supremacy, of absolute and complete conquest and control of all these territories. The right hon. Gentleman has again and again told the House that if we had taken a little more trouble to make the terms of peace known to the Boer leaders those leaders would long ago have come to some arrangement with us. The right hon. Gentleman, in support of that theory, has told us inaccurately, though unintentionally inaccurately, the story of Sir Redvers Buller's negotiations with General Botha. What happened between Sir Redvers Buller and General Botha I understand to be this—that General Botha suggested an armistice to discuss the question of peace. Sir Redvers Buller granted the armistice, and then General Botha said he had himself no terms to propose. There was a suggestion made by Sir Redvers Buller to General Botha, which, of course, he could not conclude without consulting Lord Roberts. He consulted Lord Roberts, but before the answer came General Botha refused the terms. [AN HON. MEMBER: That is not in the despatches.] I do not remember whether it is or not, but I am telling the House what I believe to be the true story of what occurred. General Botha refused the terms; the armistice came to an end, and I believe that one result of it was that General Botha got off with two guns that would otherwise probably have been captured. The leaders of the Boers know perfectly well that if they were to lay down their arms they could do so at any moment with the certainty that their property and their persons would be respected, with the certainty that equal rights would be granted to the inhabitants of the two colonies, and with the certainty that when it became possible autonomy, free institutions, would also be granted.

Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman over and over again made use of phrases which I can only interpret as meaning that if he had control of the policy of the country at the present time he would go to those generals and say, "Lay down your arms to-morrow, and the day after to-morrow you shall have the full, free, Parliamentary Constitution of an English colony." Is that the right hon. Gentleman's policy, or is it not? I listened, I can assure the right hon. Gentleman, with no desire to misinterpret him; but over and over again, when he came to the critical point of his recommendations, ambiguities of language crept in which compelled me, though not of a suspicious character, to imagine that his policy would be to promise instantly on the cessation of hostilities and the clearing of the country of British soldiers the establishment of full representative institutions on the model of New Zealand, Australia, or the Cape. The right hon. Gentleman does not take the opportunity which, of course, he might of saying whether I misinterpret him. If I am not misinterpreting him, the sooner we know it and state it explicitly the better that the Government do not believe that that is a possible or a safe policy. We believe it would be absolute insanity, while the effects of war are still visible to every eye and fresh in every recollection, while the memory of the hostilities between the two races is the dominant thought in every heart, to hand over to a community so constituted institutions beneficent indeed where they can be applied, but pernicious and fatal where they only lead to internecine conflict or to external war. If ever there was a country in which that policy could have been carried out, one would think effectively, and where there was every inducement to carry it out, it would have been in the Southern States of America at the termination of the Civil War. But even in America, with the huge dominating power of the North coercing and controlling the relatively small population of the South, even there, with the same race and with the same language, it was found absolutely impossible immediately to restore to the Southern provinces their full rights as free citizens of the great community. Let there be no suggestion or pretence that the leaders do not know the conditions which we are prepared to give. The right hon. Gentleman over and over again complained of the fact that we always said that "unconditional surrender" was the necessary preliminary to peace. It was unconditional surrender, not of the individual, but unconditional abandonment of the idea of an independent Government of the Transvaal or Orange Free State—unconditional as applied not to the individual, but to the institutions—and I do not think that that can be too clearly understood. I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman should have thought it desirable to assert of British generals, or even of a British Government, that it had favoured the policy of the burning of the farms of their enemies because they were their enemies—a most unhappy phrase which I hope fell from the right hon. Gentleman in a moment of incautiousness, and to which he would not adhere in cold blood. There can be no grosser misrepresentation of anything that has occurred in the Transvaal. Never was it suggested, never could it be suggested that these men who were our enemies, fighting us honourably in open warfare, were, because they were our enemies, and for no other reason, to have their property destroyed. That never was the policy of the Government; it never was the policy of Lord Roberts; it never was the policy of any single one of our military officers responsible in South Africa.

I do not know, Sir, that there is any other point in the right hon. Gentleman's speech to which it is necessary for me to advert, and I do not wish, in dealing with this subject, to make any harsh criticism or commentary upon those Boer generals who are still carrying on a hopeless resistance in the field. They are men of courage, they are men of patriotism; and where courage and patriotism are concerned I am very loth to use language which could seem to condemn efforts for which, in a certain sense, everybody must feel sympathy. But when I hear of these men, approached by emissaries to discuss peace, treating those emissaries with the most brutal cruelty; when I hear of one man being flogged and of another man being shot, for no other reason than that they had pleaded for the country now suffering under all the horrors of warfare, then I say courage has degenerated into something very like recklessness, and patriotism is not unstained by brutality. But after all it is not my business—it would be an unpleasant business at the best—to criticise those who are in arms against us; but I feel that my criticism should be reserved for those who intentionally or carelessly, by hasty words or ill-considered phrases, or with deliberate intent, use language and defend a policy in this country which can have no effect in South Africa but to prolong this miserable war. If we are justified, as I think we are, on the highest grounds of humanity in condemning the conduct of the Boer generals, they, at all events, are risking their lives, sacrificing their ease, and incurring danger and hardship for the cause in which they believe. Those gentlemen who sit at home at ease in this country, who, either by their cheers or their speeches, do what they can to encourage and keep alive the dying embers of this struggle—what a responsibility rests upon them! I remember that my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his speech on December 7[*]—a speech which was received with general approval on both sides of the House—with regard to the making of peace, made a most conciliatory statement. That statement was immediately perverted in South Africa by the South African Press into a sign of flinching on the part of my right hon. friend and of the Government. His language was twisted into the language of weakness; and what was intended for conciliation, what was intended to bring the war to a more rapid end, was perverted by this misplaced ingenuity into an additional motive for continuing the struggle. I hope that every Gentleman in this House—and I include the right hon. Gentleman as, perhaps, one of those who have sinned against my canon—will be careful to say nothing that can be twisted in South Africa even by the most ingenious controversialist into the suggestion that this country means to abandon the struggle in which it is engaged. We have put our hand to the plough and we will not withdraw it. Those who know South Africa, whether as soldiers or politicians, and who form their expectations upon certain episodes in our past colonial policy and think that because in the general complication of Imperial affairs we may seem here and there to have gone back upon a declared policy, and who found upon that view the notion that the country is going to become sick of the war, disgusted with the war, anxious to bring the war on any terms to a conclusion—those men are sadly mistaken. Their mistake would matter nothing if it did not lead to the continuation of bloodshed. We could afford to smile at their ignorance of the true position of affairs had it not this disastrous practical effect upon the conduct of their soldiers and their statesmen. That they are mistaken I do not think a single man in this House doubts. This country will never withdraw from the task which it has set itself to accomplish. I have often been reproached, my colleagues have often been reproached, with indulging in prophecy. But I will indulge in no prophecy on the present occasion as to when this struggle will come to a conclusion; but it will be continued till it comes to the only possible conclusion consistent with our honour and our existence in South Africa; that I do declare; and I earnestly hope that no party, no section of a party, no individual in this House—whatever view they take of the cause of the war or the conduct of the war—will allow any phrase to escape their lips which would give any stimulus to those who at so great a cost to their country and to themselves are continuing this hopeless struggle in South Africa.

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[*] See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxviii., page 248.

Mr. PHILIPPS (Pembrokeshire): I am one of those hon. Members on this side of the House who believe that, whatever the merits of this quarrel may have been at the beginning, now it is begun we are bound to fight it out and see it through. Holding that view, as I do strongly, for my own part I would rather see in office in this country a Government of peace-at-any-price men than I would see a war entered upon and conducted with that want of preparation and forethought which the Government have displayed in this war. In the Speech which has been read to us to-day we have been told that measures have been taken to enable our troops to deal effectively with the forces opposing them. The right hon. Gentleman has just told us that during the last two or three months the Government have sent out even more stores and equipments than the generals on the spot have asked for. I will put this question to the right hon. Gentleman: Does that include horses?

*The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford): Yes.

Mr. PHILIPPS: I want to speak about horses to-night. A year ago, when this war began, admittedly we had not got enough horses in South Africa. The Government immediately sent out buyers all over the world, and they bought horses in great numbers in Hungary, the United States, and the Argentine. We now hear again that there are not enough horses in South Africa. And why is this? Have the horses all died? I can understand that in warlike operations there must be an immense waste of horseflesh, but it is the duty of the Government to keep that waste supplied. Nobody has ever said that the Boers are short of horses, or that they are not able to move about quickly. Why cannot our troops get about in the same way, and why cannot we have horses as well as the Boers? We have had the greater part of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in our hands for some time. At the beginning of the war, after the capture of Pretoria, undoubtedly in marching through the Orange Free State our generals must have had the same opportunities of getting horses as the Boers. We have had chances of getting horses in Cape Colony and Natal, and we have had the whole of Europe and America, North and South, and why is it that this country cannot get enough horses while the Boers can get plenty? I ask the Government whose fault is it? We are generally told that it is the fault of the nature of things or of the system, but if a Boer in the Transvaal can get a horse why cannot His Majesty's Government? I want to put three questions to the Secretary of State for War. I want him to tell us, first, how many horses have been bought in Great Britain and how many in other countries? Then I want him to tell me what has been the cost in the different countries, and I should like him specially to tell me what has been the price the Government have paid on the spot in the Argentine Republic. I have just come from that country, and I am in a position to know what the owners got for their horses. As those horses have not been a success in South Africa, I want to know what the official reports from the front are as to their behaviour, and how they stood the work. Those are the three questions which I should like answered.

In my humble opinion it is a great pity that at the beginning of the war there were not a great many more horses bought in Great Britain, and I will give my reasons. Horses of more than four years of age in Great Britain must be in some sort of condition. When they have been ridden, driven, or hunted, they must be in some sort of condition, and their muscles must have been developed. When the Government sent to buy horses in the Argentine they certainly got a horse with four legs, a head, and a tail, but for military purposes you want something more; you want condition, or, in other words, you want some muscle. If you go to the Argentine Republic and buy a horse off a ranch, that has never been worked, it cannot be fit for hard work for months to come. If you take such an animal on a voyage of some weeks over the sea it must be in a miserable condition when it lands. What I believe the fault of the Government has been is that they have not had any store of horses in South Africa, and they have simply gone on buying horses from hand to mouth, and when they got these wretched animals on the spot they were sent to the front and were practically useless. That was not business, and it was nothing short of horse murder. It was simply killing horses which, if they had been purchased three months earlier, might have done good service to our forces in South Africa in the field. It may be said, if you bought these horses in England they could not have been in condition, and that they would have wanted a few weeks work before going to the front. It should be remembered that a horse once having had condition will get into condition again much more quickly than a horse bought off a ranch.

Now, Sir, I want to go into a second branch of this subject, and that is in regard to the way in which the purchases have been made. I do not feel at all satisfied that reasonable care has been taken in the buying of these horses. I am not going to mention any loose gossip, but amongst the people of this country there are endless tales going about of men who sold horses to the Government and who have got rich in doing it. I want to allude to the case of a gentleman who some six or eight months ago wanted to help the Government and the farmers in this country upon this question. He told all the farmers around that if they would send their horses to his stable he would only charge them something like £1 a week for their keep, and he would get the Government to send a buyer down and thus give the authorities a chance of getting good horses and the farmers a chance of selling them. What happened? An officer came down from the War Department, and he looked at six or eight horses. Out of that number he bought five or six, and never had the other horses out of the stable. A complaint was made to the Government. I know that the man who got the horses together is one of the best judges of horses in England. Somebody came down a second time from the Government and did the same thing. Six or eight were chosen, and the man did not have the others out at all. Anybody who knows anything about the buying and selling of horses knows that this is a very suspicious matter, and it makes people ask questions as to the way in which the horses are bought. I wish to say a few words about the Argentine horses, because that is a thing upon which I have had exceptional opportunities of forming an opinion. A great many of the Argentine horses are rather small, with poor shoulders, and the great bulk of them would not be fit for military purposes. You could have got from the Argentine 10,000 or 15,000 extremely useful horses. I have heard in the Argentine of man after man—I know their names—who have made a great deal of money from selling horses to the Government, and I have seen thousands of horses admirably suited for military purposes; but I ask the Government, what is this precious system under which they have taken the bad horses and have never bought the good horses? I do not know whether it is the fault of the Government or of their buyers. If the Government told their buyers that they did not want horses out of condition, or old horses, or horses which had never done any work, then it was the fault of the buyers and the buyers ought to be changed. I believe that the Government could get dozens of men who are perhaps too old to serve their country in the field, but who would be very glad to go abroad and buy the horses wanted. From what I have seen of the results of the Government buying these horses, they have got the wrong men. It will no doubt be said that this was not the fault of the Government, but the fault of the system which they have inherited. I think the House is getting somewhat tired of hearing, when blame is cast on a system, the reply that the system is going to be changed. Ever since 1886 this Government, with the exception of three years, has been in office. If a man were put into a private buisness to manage it, and if at the end of twelve months it was found that the business was a fiasco, and that robbery was being carried on, or that it was being managed with extravagance, the manager and not the system would be blamed, and he would be dismissed. And yet the Government have been going on saying for twelve out of fifteen years that it is the fault of the system, for which the Government is in no way responsible. I trust that the Government is not going to inquire into the system, but into the way it is being carried on. I speak as one who believes in prosecuting the war with vigour, but I am far from satisfied that any vigour is being shown by the Government, except in words or on election platforms. I should like to see vigour not in words only, but in actions. I hope that the House will set inquiry into the conduct of the war into motion at once; and I am sure that it will be found that investigation as to the circumstances under which horses are purchased abroad is most urgently needed.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I should not venture to criticise the most gracious Speech from the Throne in the slightest degree if it were not for the fact that it is a Speech for which His Majesty's Government is alone and entirely responsible. There is evidence of that in to-day's paper, in the fact that the Duke of Devonshire waited on the King yesterday, and submitted for approval the Speech His Majesty has made to-day. There are in my opinion several very striking and grave omissions in the gracious Speech from the Throne, but before I deal with them I should like to make an observation with regard to the part which refers to the war in South Africa. In doing so, I should like to congratulate the Financial Secretary to the War Office upon his safe return from the seat of war, and upon the distinguished services he rendered in the course of the campaign. The mention of the services of the colonial forces in the King's Speech meets, I am quite certain, with a very ready echo in the heart of every individual in this country, and one can only regret that Lord Strathcona's corps, a force formed and raised at the expense entirely of the Canadian High Commissioner in this country, arrives in this country at a time when it will be difficult to show them all those outward expressions of the gratitude we feel for their services. I must, however, confess I am rather surprised that no mention is made in the King's Speech of the services that have been rendered by the Reservists, the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers; but I am content to believe that the services of these men are recognised and included in the term "my troops," because all who belong to these forces only desire to be acknowledged as members of His Majesty's Army. But considering the call that has been made on the Reservists, a greater call than anybody could have anticipated, and the serious call made on the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers, I venture to think those services demand some special word of recognition by the Government. The services of the Volunteers have been somewhat remarkable. It is impossible to say how many members of the Volunteer force have gone to reinforce the field army in South Africa; but taking all the sources of information, I do not think it can be put down at less than 19,000 or 20,000 men, which is a very large contribution indeed—a contribution which, except from motives of patriotism, the Volunteers were not compelled to give.

But I wish to refer to one matter of current interest—the raising of drafts of Imperial Yeomanry for service in South Africa, and the drafts to reinforce the service companies of Volunteers. The Government and the Secretary of State for War have, I think, acted in a very wise manner in offering a far more liberal rate of pay with regard to the Yeomanry. A company sergeant-major gets 9s. 6d., and a quartermaster-sergeant, 8s. 6d.; but these rates are incomparably higher than those offered to the Volunteer drafts, who are offered only the pay of the Regular Army, with a natural consequence that a large number of the Volunteers have drifted into the Yeomanry. I make this no matter of complaint against the Yeomanry staff, because few men have done more for the country than the men who have raised the Imperial Yeomanry; but those who composed the Yeomanry in South Africa belonged to the Yeomanry cavalry in this country, and now only one in six of those in South Africa belong to the Yeomanry cavalry. I very much fear that some difficulty may occur owing to the varying rates of pay in the field force in South Africa, and that some dissatisfaction will arise. The Financial Secretary to the War Office being in his place, I should like to call his attention to the case of a civilian artificer, a civil farrier, who was engaged to assist in the shoeing of horses, and who wrote to me in effect—I am sorry I have not his letter here, but I did not know I should have this opportunity of drawing attention to this case to-night—that he was engaged, with others, for the year at 2s. 6d. a day. The year is about to expire, and he has applied to remain out there at the same rate of pay as that which is to be given to the Yeomanry artificers, which I think is 7s. 6d. a day; but he has been told that his term has expired, and he must return to England and be relieved by those coming out from this country. If my hon. friend will allow me, I will send him the letter in question.

My hon. friend the Member for Pembroke, in his speech just now, referred to the supply of horses for South Africa. Now, I was for some time in a remount depôt in Cape Colony, and anyone who has any conception of the immense demand for horses out there, would recognise the absolute impossibilty of allowing time for the horses to get hard in time for service. I do not think any department has done more difficult or thankless work than the remount department in Cape Colony. I wish I could say that the horses were all of the best, but not the least thing that proved detrimental to them was the change from the good feed of this country to the inferior feed out there. Anybody who knows anything about this matter, knows the extreme difficulty in buying horses for the cavalry, and those who saw the horses of the Hussars outside the House condemned them. Upwards of 70,000 horses have been shipped to South Africa, and I think, generally, they gave satisfaction. With regard to this the direction of the reform must be a very great difference in the power of the Government to obtain horses from the horse-owners of this country

Now I must call attention to the Intelligence Department. I do urge a thorough reorganisation of that department at the earliest possible moment. Lord Wolseley complained that he was not kept fully informed, and we had statements the other day from the oldest general in the field complaining of the maps. Now the publication of the maps of a country with which we are likely to be at war at any time is the work of the Intelligence Department, but topographical work of this character is quite foreign to obtaining intelligence of foreign armies. There is one other thing I would urge on the right hon. Gentleman—the reorganisation of the staff of the Army. There is not in this country anything like the general staff of the army in Berlin, which consists of about 120 members, whose duty it is to do everything possible to prepare the army for war. In the case of our general staff the work is mixed up with administrative duties, which prevents the staff doing its duty as a military staff.

Without dealing further with military matters, I am anxious to call attention to the extraordinary absence from the King's Speech of any reference to some of those serious social problems to which the Unionist party pledged themselves in 1895. I quite recognise what the First Lord of the Treasury said just now as to its being foolish to put in the Speech from the Throne a great amount of matter which has no chance of being dealt with, and which would only raise false expectations and lead to difficulties; but the character of those matters mentioned in the most gracious Speech from the Throne is so peculiar that the mover of the Address in reply described it as "proposals of legislation of not too ambitious a character." I need not read them. They are in the possession of every Member. Representing as I do an industrial constituency and a large number of working men, I am astonished that His Majesty's Government come before Parliament directly after a General Election and say nothing whatever upon trade and commercial matters. A great many hon. Members do not agree with the views I hold as regards commercial policy, but they will allow me to mention a matter of importance. My constituents at the present time are greatly troubled in their minds with regard to the threatened increase of the duties on the part of certain foreign Governments affecting the steel and iron industry of this country. Now, what has the President of the Board of Trade done at the Table of the House to-day? He has given notice of his intention to introduce a Bill. I at any rate thought it would be a notice having something to do with the trade and industry of the country; but what was it? Notice of a Bill for amending the law of literary copyright! That may be a matter of interest to a large number, but it is not a matter that concerns millions and millions of workers in this country. Remembering the services of the colonial forces of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in South Africa last year, surely there never was a better time not only to have recognised that the colonies had given us their best blood and much of their treasure to assist us in the Boer War, but also to state the intention of His Majesty's Government in developing the trade and commercial intercourse between the mother country and her colonial possessions. It is perfectly evident to everyone that the great trade future lies within the British Empire. There is a feeling at the present time, not alone in Canada and Australia but among large masses of the people of this country, in favour of developing trade within the British Empire on mutually advantageous terms. I think that if this were done, threatened as we are with high and increased duties, and by trade restrictions of every sort, it would do something to give us markets within our own Empire. But there is not a word on this subject. I think the Colonial Secretary not long ago made a speech, which was reprinted by thousands and tens of thousands, in which he suggested that the aim of the Empire should be commercial peace. I have no desire to press unduly on His Majesty's Government, but these are matters that will not be delayed. If I may refer to a crucial instance, I would mention the disaster in the West Indies on account of the sugar bounties in France, Austria, and elsewhere. There were rumours of an intention on the part of France to do away with these bounties. The Government said in December that they had no official knowledge of the matter. These are matters of grave importance to large masses of the people of this country.

It is not only with regard to commercial union, the increase of duties by foreign Powers, and sugar bounties by which foreign Governments greatly prejudice the trade of the colonies, that the Government are entirely silent. They are silent upon many other matters of importance affecting the interests of the people of this country. There is the question of old age pensions. There is also a matter which can be and must be dealt with—one upon which the late President of the Local Government Board made an earnest speech recently at the Cutlers' Feast in Sheffield. He spoke of the absolute necessity of an immediate measure for the better housing of the working classes. That is a matter of most pressing interest and importance in all large towns, and especially in the East End of London. Now if there is one subject on which His Majesty's Government have made repeated declarations it is as regards alien immigration. This is a matter of the utmost importance in connection with the housing of the working classes. It is surprising that upon this matter, in which the Sovereign has shown repeatedly his deep and great interest, no mention is made in the Speech from the Throne. Only yesterday, in addressing a deputation of the London County Council, His Majesty said—

> "In the discharge of your onerous duties, which closely concern the welfare of millions of my people, I am confident that you will not slacken in the efforts which you have made and are making for dealing satisfactorily with the many difficult questions which await your consideration, and especially with that of the proper housing of the working classes, which is one in which I have always felt the deepest personal interest."

That being so it is amazing that His Majesty's Government have not given any indication in the Speech from the Throne of their intention to deal with the matter. I hold in my hand a report which was made to the Toynbee Trustees. The Toynbee Institute, as many hon. Members know, is an institution which does incalculable good in the East End of London, and, seeing the pressing importance of this matter, they appointed a delegation to study the matter from an entirely impartial point of view. They appointed a young man of brilliant ability, Mr. Russell, who had no connection with London and no personal interest in the matter, and Mr. H. S. Lewis, a member of the Hebrew faith, as commissioners, in order to obtain the necessary information on the subject. Whatever I do in the course of this or other sessions, I wish to disclaim the slightest intention of importing into the discussion any vestige of religious feeling or prejudice. I have not the slightest feeling as to the Jews as Jews. In the last four years there was the enormous immigration of 200,000 persons, 50 per cent. of whom settled in the East End of London, and, seeing the enormous prejudice this brings to our population, I cannot but mention the religion of the people. I will ask your permission to read two extracts from the report made by Mr. Russell to the Toynbee Trustees—

> "Streets that a few years ago were English and non-Jewish, have now a number of Jews; and the gradual process of the substitution of a Jewish family for a former occupant, is transforming the neighbourhood, whilst if a Jewish family remove, the key of the house will certainly be sold to a co-religionist."

Mr. Lewis says quite independently—

> "The foreigner has been an important factor in raising rents in many parts of East London, and his willingness to overcrowd is patently injurious to all his neighbours."

Is it not extraordinary that with a state of affairs such as this, intimately connected with the active work of the Sovereign himself, and intimately connected with the welfare of the working classes, His Majesty's Government are completely silent on the point? On the Treasury Bench there is now a London representative, and I cannot understand how he does not insist on a matter so vital and important being dealt with. What did the Home Secretary, when President of the Board of Trade, state at that table on behalf of the Government of which he was then and is now a prominent member? He said—

> "Not only individual Members, but the Government as a whole, are pledged to some legislation on the subject. We do not desire to depart one iota from the pledges we have given. We adhere to every pledge, and I hope at no distant time to propose in Parliament legislation in the direction desired."

That is over four years ago, and three sessions have passed and he does absolutely nothing on the subject. I am a loyal supporter of His Majesty's Government. In the recent General Election I made as many speeches on behalf of the Government in my own constituency and in other places as any supporter of the Government, but I cannot do otherwise than call attention to what I consider, and what I believe my constituents will consider, serious omissions from His Majesty's Speech. I admit that the session is likely to be a busy and interesting one, if not indeed historical, but I consider with regard to matters such as those to which I have called the attention of the Government that it is disappointing, it is almost heart-breaking, to see nothing whatever done.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): The hon. Member who has just addressed the House is in almost as bad a humour with His Majesty's Government as an Irish Member might be expected to be. It would be interesting for one to thoroughly understand what is the reason of the hon. Gentleman, who hitherto has been such a strong supporter of His Majesty's Government, for the attack he now makes upon them at this hour. The hon. Gentleman's attack no doubt will disturb to a considerable extent His Majesty's Government, and I, for one, after some considerable experience of the House, and having listened to similar attacks by hon. Members against the party to which they are supposed to belong, will not be surprised if His Majesty's Government have the wisdom and the grace for the future to call the hon. Member into their counsels. If they only do that there is no doubt that the next speech His Majesty delivers will be of a different character, and one wholly satisfactory to the House. The hon. Gentleman rather surprised me in the references he made to the East End of London. He delivered what appeared to me and what, I think, will appear to most people who read the speech, a rather embittered and envenomed attack upon the Jewish population.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I specially disclaimed that.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: The hon. Gentleman certainly drew a strong contrast between the conditions existing where the Jewish immigrants live in London and the conditions existing where what he called the Christian or English population live. I know very little of East London, but of this much I am convinced: that the terms "Christian" and "English" are not by any means synonymous. I do not think the foreign population in the East End of London, many of whom support themselves by the hardest of toil and labour, make worse citizens than those roughs of the East End of whose exploits we hear from time to time in the police courts. The hon. Member for Central Sheffield has found fault because of the neglect to make reference in the King's Speech to matters of social reform on which he has dealt. He has pointedly referred to the complete absence of any reference whatever to old-age pensions. All I have got to say on that point is that as long as the hon. Member and the rank and file of the Conservative party allow themselves to be led and controlled by the Member for West Birmingham, let them not be surprised in the future, as in the past, at any inconsistency the Government may commit. Before the Colonial Secretary turned his attention to Imperial matters and the development of the Empire in Africa he was great on the question of old-age pensions. At the General Election in 1895 it was stated that one of the leading questions to be dealt with was old-age pensions. I was myself a member of a Committee appointed to inquire into the feasibility of granting old-age pensions, but the Committee came to the conclusion that the few millions per annum which the scheme would cost could not be afforded, and the Committee ceased to do any further work. The Committee made a Report, and the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary dropped the subject because the expense would be too great, and so we heard no more of old-age pensions. Very shortly afterwards the Government launched into a war which has cost up to the present time, apart from the enormous charge yet to be incurred, three or four times as much as would be necessary to establish in this country a satisfactory system of old-age pensions such as exists in many of the colonies of the Empire at the present time.

If the hon. Member found fault with the Government for the omission of these reforms from the Speech, what complaint might not be made by the Irish Members? In the first Speech of the King there is an almost entire absence of reference to the conditions existing in Ireland at the present time. We are told in the Speech that there will be a measure introduced to facilitate the voluntary purchase and sale of land in Ireland. It is a most extraordinary thing that the Governments of the last hundred years by some perverse fate have always been destined to be completely behind the times, and to offer to the Irish people not what they stand in need of, but something they do not require and which would be absolutely useless to them. At present, from north to south and from east to west there is amongst Catholics and Protestants the most profound unanimity of feeling as to the absolute desirability of introducing a system of compulsory purchase and sale of land in Ireland. That is admitted everywhere, and yet the people are told that they will get a voluntary scheme of land purchase which is useless to them, and has been proved to be useless to them for the past ten years. In Ireland there is a lack of industry and enterprise, there are misery and starvation on every side, and we come here and do not receive a single word of hope or encouragement in the Speech delivered by His Majesty. Not one promise is made to our people, and we are expected to be loyal. Why, it is the old story: the Irish people are promised nothing; their miseries and needs and destitution are passed over in silence.

I did not intend to refer to these matters at all. I have been induced to do so by the speech of the hon. Member for Central Sheffield. I rose to say one or two words on the danger dealt with by the First Lord of the Treasury when he made reference to the war. What did the First Lord of the Treasury say? He warned hon. Members in this House and he warned people outside not to dare or to attempt to say one word of opposition to the proceedings now going on in South Africa, "because," he said, "if you protest or object to anything that occurs, it will be taken as an encouragement by the Boers to continue this hopeless war." I say that an argument of that kind coming from the First Lord is unworthy of his position, and it is an unfair argument to the House. What does it mean? It means that if Englishmen or Scotchmen, as well as Irishmen, who have their hearts filled with indignation when they read of the ruthless and cowardly persecution to which women and children have been subjected from one end of South Africa to another, when they read of the burning of the homesteads of people whose only crime was that they fought for their country, object to these things, they are to be told that they are encouraging the Boers in their resistance. It is these very things of which we complain—this house-burning, this wanton destruction of property, and this persecution of defenceless women and children—which steel the hearts of the Boers and encourage them to fight; and if under these circumstances they do continue this war, I say you have to blame not any advice given in this country, but the barbarous and infamous proceedings which have been done—and done, as I believe, wrongfully—in the name of this country at the present time. The First Lord of the Treasury said it was impossible to prophesy as to what would occur in regard to such a war as is now raging in South Africa. My answer to that is that all that has taken place in South Africa—the cost of money, the spilling of blood, and the waste of material—was prophesied with absolute accuracy a year and a half ago. The terrible dangers that were confronting you were prophesied not only by Members of this House, but, I believe, if the despatches were published, it would be seen that Sir William Butler also prophesied them. It is my proudest boast, after eighteen years in this House, that I in a humble way amongst the Irish Members, having had some information as to the true state of affairs, when you asked for £13,000,000, warned you that the war would cost £100,000,000—you will find it in *Hansard*; when you said the war would be over in six months (you can refer to *Hansard* again), we warned you that it would probably take two years, and that the animosity and the bitter race hatred caused by the war would probably last as long as any man in this House will live. We are proud to be able to boast that, whoever may be responsible for the injustice, misery, and bloodshed of the war, the Irish Members spoke the truth, and in face of the terridle war fever then rampant in this country, they did their duty, and therefore have no share in the blood-guiltiness which undoubtedly rests upon the heads of those who supported this war some time ago. We sometimes hear of boycotting in Ireland, or of cases in which men have been unfairly excluded from public life; we are told that the Irish are ungenerous and intolerant; but where in the history of the country can you find a case of intolerance more glaring and outrageous, or of ingratitude blacker, than the case presented by the treatment of the late Members for Plymouth and Bodmin? They are men who for the best part of their lives served their country and their people in this House—men who were opposed to the national claim of Ireland, and therefore have no particular claim upon my sympathy—honourable and upright men, men of ability, of single-minded purpose and genius; but where are they now? Their places are empty; they have been hunted from public life; they have been persecuted, derided, and ridiculed; and why? Simply because at a time when it was not popular to do so they had the courage and honour to stand up and endeavour to win the people of England from the policy which was leading them to this lamentable, miserable, unjust, and costly war. I feel convinced that so long as this impossible effort is continued to impose your will upon a reluctant people, so long will the struggle continue. Reference has been made to the mother country and the colonies. In the colonies there are large bodies of men who are willing to embark upon the duties which you require to be performed in South Africa if you pay them well enough; but I will believe in their devotion to this country and their sympathy with this war when I see the United Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth or the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada voting £1,000,000 towards the war expenses. But they will not vote £100,000 for that purpose, though there are a certain number of men who will fight for you on the terms upon which you are now enlisting the Yeomanry—five shillings a day and all found. It is a monstrous piece of injustice that the Fusiliers and the men from Scotland, England, and Ireland, who have behaved most bravely and suffered most severely, should get only a shilling a day, while these others are getting five shillings to prove their devotion to the mother country. The whole proceedings in connection with the war are so repugnant and detestable to the feelings of the Irish people that it is no wonder we make this protest, and if I have seemed somewhat presumptuous in speaking thus early in the session, I feel that I am entitled to do so because I was one of the Members who eighteen months ago raised their voices in deprecation of the war, and in warning the people of this country of the inevitable results of the policy then adopted.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): The hon. Gentleman who has just spoken seemed very much impressed with the injustice of the English electorate towards two gentlemen who were distinguished Members of this House. I for one very much regret that the hon. Gentleman who represented Plymouth is no longer a Member of this House, and I hope he may soon return to take the interesting and instructive part he always occupied in our debates. With regard to the right hon. Gentleman the late Member for Bodmin, I always thought, and still think, that if he returns—and I have no objection to his return—he ought to take his seat on the opposite benches rather than on this side of the House. But the hon. Gentleman based his charge of ingratitude on the fact that the English people declined to return two gentlemen who actively opposed one of the most important policies of the party to which they belonged. Such a result is not an unusual occurrence, nor is it confined to England. The hon. Gentleman once called himself a Parnellite, and I remember a certain amount of ingratitude on the part of the Irish nation towards Mr. Parnell and his faithful followers quite as striking as that which has been referred to. But that is not a very important question. An important charge, however, was that of maltreatment and atrocity with regard to Boer women and children brought against British troops. Vague statements of that sort are very easily made, but I challenge the hon. Member to prove any of those cases.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): We accept the challenge.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to say, so far as I am concerned, exactly what I meant. If he means that I charged the British troops with personal assaults or outrages upon women, I have heard of such cases, but I am not prepared to substantiate them myself. The charge of brutality of which I spoke—and I do not blame the British troops; they but carried out their orders—was in connection with the Boer women and children being taken from their homes and herded in camps without sufficient food or accommodation, and being treated in every respect as prisoners.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT : I am glad I referred to the charge, because we have obtained from the hon. Member a distinct disclaimer of the charges of personal outrage against women and children; and that is very important. What he means is that a certain number of the non-combatant Boer population have been taken from outlying farms and villages and placed in laagers, where they are well looked after by the British. The answer to that is that the greater number of those persons have been removed at their own desire, because they have been perpetually robbed by these Boer guerillas, or banditti, or whatever you like to call them; and I venture to say that nine-tenths of those people would be willing, if asked to do so, to sign a declaration of gratitude to the British officers for their protection.

Then I cannot but regret the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. It was, in my opinion, as mischievous a speech as could have been made by a Member of this House, especially by one holding so great a position as that held by the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman said he was most anxious to see an early end to this war, that it was our duty to bring the struggle to a speedy conclusion, and that the bulk of his supporters would not be backward in voting the necessary supplies with that object. But after making those premises, the right hon. Gentleman leads the world to believe that the Government have neglected, in their political treatment of the Boer population since the war began, some important steps which might have secured an earlier surrender of the Boer forces. He did not give any proof of that except a rather uncertain version of an interview between one of the generals Botha and Sir Redvers Buller; and the Government are certainly not responsible for the consequent action taken by the Commander-in-Chief, excepting in so far as they are generally responsible for the acts of all the generals; that is, they were not responsible in an inspiring and directing sense. The right hon. Gentleman would also lead the country to believe that the Government have it in their power now to go to the Boer belligerents and offer such and such terms. The right hon. Gentleman, if he has studied the course of the war as closely as he appears to have done, must know that no such offer would have the slightest effect at the present stage. The only result would be to persuade the Boers that we were afraid of them, and to confirm them in the idea which has been unfortunately rooted in their minds ever since the disastrous and infamous surrender of 1881—that they are better men than we are, and that they have only to continue fighting in order to get all they want. I believe, with the right hon. Gentleman opposite, that the Boers in the field, though acting with reckless madness, are fighting courageously and well; and as they are experienced in guerilla warfare they may protract the contest for a few weeks or months, but ultimate success is impossible. Every month and week of delay adds to the loss of killed and wounded and increases the ruin which this course of procedure is inflicting upon the whole of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. Hon. Members who take the line adopted by hon. Gentlemen opposite are not real friends of the cause they profess to advocate. The most disastrous thing that could happen would be for the Boers, or any section of them, to think that there is any party or leader in this country who believes the Boers have the smallest chance of success. The right hon. Gentleman made another statement which I think is much to be deplored. He gave some colour to the idea that cruelty of a very serious kind had been inflicted by our troops in the burning of Boer houses. In the case of warlike operations extending over so vast a country, and under so many isolated commands, it is impossible to guarantee that there may not have been some few farmhouses destroyed unnecessarily; but the enormous proportion of these farms were destroyed not because they belonged to men who had been fighting against us, but because they afforded most dangerous *points d'appui* for the enemy in a treacherous kind of warfare. I have not heard a word said about the bombardment by the Boers of inhabited towns, such as Kimberley, and Mafeking, and Ladysmith, during this war. I am not going complain of that, but when Members complain of the burning of Boer farmhouses, they should remember the other side also.

The right hon. Gentleman made a third serious error in his speech. It is no doubt of the utmost importance that in the long run the Dutch element in South Africa should be conciliated and fairly treated; nobody in this House wishes any other course to be followed; but at this time the one thing to persuade the whole of South Africa is not that the Dutch have to be conciliated, but that British supremacy is to be established and maintained. That is the crucial fact in the whole situation; and once that is recognised, as it will be recognised before long, by the whole of the Boer population, you will have the ground clear for a policy of just, kind, and even generous treatment. I should like to say one word with regard to the conduct of the war by the Government as distinguished from the references I have made to those who attack the policy of the Government. I should like to know if the Government have, at the earliest moment, followed the advice and satisfied the demands of those who are responsible for the military operations in South Africa. We heard about three weeks ago of 5,000 Yeomanry being sent out; we now hear of 10,000. Are these what Lord Kitchener has asked for, and are they being sent out as soon as he asked for them? We have a right to know that, and the Government cannot on the one side boast of the conduct of the war and of their determination to maintain British supremacy and to put an early end to the military operations, and at the same time withhold the reinforcements which those who are best able to judge of the necessities of the case demand. I do not say they have held them back, but there is a rather suspicious interval between the assumption of the chief command by Lord Kitchener and the despatch of reinforcements, which we all know to be absolutely necessary. The hon. Member for Pembroke made a very interesting and practical speech on some of our military deficiencies, and he criticised the way in which our Army had been kept short of horses. I believe that three-fourths of our failures in South Africa have been due to the insufficient supply of horses. In Cape Colony and in Natal there was, I believe, an enormous supply of the most useful horses which was for long never drawn upon, I do not know why; but certainly the Argentine horses were the worst horses for the kind of work for which they were required. The right hon. Gentleman also derided the Secretary of State for speaking of the present operations as guerilla warfare. There never was an example more correctly described as guerilla warfare than that at present existing in South Africa. Guerilla warfare is warfare in which the enemy divide themselves into a great number of small bands, avoid combats in the open and in large numbers, take advantage of the mountainous or marshy country, and dash about inflicting all the damage they can upon their opponents without risking a general engagement. That is guerilla warfare pure and simple, and that is exactly what is being carried on in South Africa. I know of only one engagement during the past year which might be described as ordinary warfare, and that was the attack upon General Clements' force, the success of which seems to have been entirely due to the carelessness of certain officers in not entrenching the position at Nooitgedacht.

With regard to the campaign in China, the Leader of the Opposition very properly asked the Leader of the House whether it was true that great crimes in the way of massacres and outrage of every kind had been committed by the Allied forces in China. The First Lord rather parried that question, and said that our Indian troops had conducted themselves well. I believe it is true that no case of serious outrage has been proved against the troops which fought under British leadership in China; but that is not the case with regard to our allies, and the Government are very responsible for what has happened. Massacres and outrages of a most atrocious and almost unparalleled character have been inflicted upon the Chinese non-combatant population, because our Government committed the terrible mistake of going with what they called the Concert of Europe into a military expedition into China. Nothing could possibly have turned out worse. It is true that we rescued the Legations, but we have gained no credit or advantage from the operations in China. Other Powers have gained, and we have lost, and we have inflicted upon the Chinese a sense of Christian cruelty and barbarity which I do not think can be wiped out in the course of centuries. I think the

Government ought to make some expression of regret, at all events, if not of horror, at the deeds which have been committed upon harmless non-combatants in China by the forces of the Powers with whom they were acting, and I shall never lose an opportunity of making this protest, because I think that the wholesale massacres by the Russians in Manchuria, and by the contingents of several Powers in Chi-le, constitute one of the most deplorable, disgraceful events which occurred in the course of the last century.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I think that in the last words of the hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division the House generally will be inclined to concur, but into his previous discussion as to the academic point of the meaning of the term "guerilla warfare" I shall not enter. I remember a distinguished German general, who was employed by another Power with the consent of his own Government, telling me—to give me an idea of the futility of the military methods pursued outside his own country—that a most distinguished staff student was once asked by him to compose a column and conduct it from one place to another upon the map, and to explain how he would do it, and the man began by asking whether it was a defensive or an offensive operation. I confess that it seems to me that we have to look at the essence of the war in which we are engaged and not to engage in discussions as to the particular meaning of words which may be employed. I desire to refer to the nature of the military operations in which we have been recently engaged. It appears to me to be a point peculiarly worthy of consideration on this occasion as compared with those which may be raised by Amendments which will be moved to-morrow, and on subsequent days of the debate. When we get the Army Estimates we shall discuss larger Army questions; but this, it seems to me, is the proper, necessary, and practically only opportunity for discussing those events which have occurred since we last met, and which we have our first opportunity of criticising here to-day.

What has happened since we were here in December last? There has been an invasion of the remaining portion of Cape Colony, an invasion on a geographical scale which the country has perhaps hardly realised of our old colony of territory which has been completely British since 1806, and where the invaders have reached and occupied for a considerable period districts which were settled with British settlers in 1820. That has been described by Government speakers as a mere raid, and the invaders have been termed "raiders." Lord Kitchener has used that phrase. No reference whatever is made in the King's Speech to that invasion; the Speech refers only to the war as not yet entirely terminated, and states that the capitals of the enemy and the principal lines of communication are in our possession. The country will hardly realise from those words that Sir Alfred Milner has been making speeches at Cape Town to guards raised for the defence of the capital, in which he has stated that an attack upon the capital itself is by no means outside the realms of possibility. Also since we last met a great deal of information has been afforded with regard to the details of matters which have previously occurred in the war, and which have been subjects of discussion, but as to which no official information has been vouchsafed up to the present time. As an example of the knowledge which has come to us of late, and of the necessity for that larger inquiry of which we have been told—an inquiry which, however, I fear will come after all the interest has departed and the value of the lessons to be learnt from these occurrences has evaporated and passed away—I may take the long-ago case of what happened at Waterval Drift. We have lately had a Blue-book laid before the House, which I suppose embodies, in the opinion of the Government and the generals, a sufficient and final account of that business. There is no reference whatever either to the magnitude of the losses which we suffered on that occasion or to the consequences of that loss. According to one account there were taken at Waterval Drift 173, and according to another account 175 loaded store wagons, 3,000 trek oxen, and 1¼ million days rations for the Army. Will the House believe that not the slightest information has ever been given to us officially as to the nature of that loss and its results on the position of the Army—results which may be imagined by those who have any acquaintance with military matters?

Then there is another matter. In reply to a question with regard to the necessity for inquiry, it was put forward, and assented to by the Under Secretary of State for War, that a reason for the inquiry was the bearing which such knowledge would have, not upon the satisfaction of idle curiosity, but upon the recruiting and training of the Army. That was a ground for the inquiry, and the ground upon which the inquiry was assented to. I suppose it has been found necessary—and if that is alleged I shall yield to that necessity—to profess officially that the conduct of battalions all through has been uniform—that is to say, that there has been little to choose between battalion and battalion in this war. But if we are to have knowledge upon which we can really discuss the recruiting and training of the Army, we must deal with that delicate question of the differences which the war has shown between battalion and battalion. It is, of course, a very delicate question, and if I turn to the account given in these dispatches of the attack on Long Hill in the course of the battle at Lombard's Kop, and when I remember letters in my possession from officers who were present in that engagement, and are mentioned for gallantry in the dispatches, but have since been killed; and when I read the account of that attack given by Sir George White and passed by Sir Redvers Buller, Lord Roberts, and the Government, and laid before this House as the complete and, except for anything we may probe afterwards, the final account of this engagement, I find it impossible to believe that there is any intention of giving us any information to distinguish the battalions. I hear a Member opposite suggesting that it is a difference in commanding officers. That may be alleged with regard to some of the operations, but I am certain that on this occasion that explanation cannot be given as a reason for the difference between the various infantry battalions engaged. As far as I am concerned, if that attitude is held to be necessary for the Army, I shall accept that view, and I shall not press for information on these subjects which the Government deliberately think it contrary to the interests of the Army to give. But I note the fact that when we have frequently before discussed these matters in this House we have always been told that we were right in maintaining that for our knowledge of the recruiting and training of the Army it is necessary that these things should be gone into. We now find they have not been gone into in the dispatches; I believe they never will be, and I shall accept that if the Government say it is necessary.

What is really new since we last met? We have had a continued succession of those disasters on a small scale which marked the earlier stages of the war. Some have been officially brought before us in letters and telegrams; some have not been mentioned, but have become known through the casualty lists. There have been constantly repeated captures of convoys in every portion of the field of operations, and we have the event at Helvetia on 31st December, the second affair at Lindley, and on 30th January the affair at Modderfontein. There have been a succession of similar incidents in Cape Colony itself. What has been the position in Cape Colony since we separated? When we were first told that the raiders had crossed the Orange River we were also told that they were being pursued, and that there was every probability that they would be either headed back, stopped, or captured. That invasion went on, on the contrary, for six weeks. Two columns of invaders crossed the whole of Cape Colony from the one end to the other; one column marched 300 miles to the west coast, and another column marched 400 miles to the south coast. They were sitting for six weeks in the centre of the grain-growing districts of the colony, and I do not believe they will be driven out by the reinforcements now being dispatched; but I do not believe they would have been there for those six weeks if the reasonable preparations had been made in advance which any reasonable men would have made. I was asked just now to what districts I was referring when I said the invaders had come to districts settled by the British in 1820. The hon. Member who asked will find that Uniondale, in the district of Port Elizabeth, where the Boer raiders penetrated for 400 miles from the Orange State, 400 miles across territory indisputably British since 1806, is in a district settled by the British in 1820. Let us take what has occurred for a longer period, what has been continuing, and what was already the case when we were here in in December as regards a large portion of Cape Colony. Does the House realise—I am quite certain the country does not—what has been for months the position in the British Colony of the Cape, in Griqualand, and in Southern Bechuanaland? In Griqualand and in Southern Bechuanaland we hold only two or three spots here and there at distances averaging 80 or 90 miles apart. Every one of those spots is practically besieged; they can have food and ammunition sent them only by armed and guarded convoys. Those convoys have been captured over and over again, and those who are responsible are in this position: that they have the greatest difficulty in supplying food and ammunition, and they can only afford to employ the best mounted troops for the purpose; because otherwise the convoys are too slow or too large, and cannot be adequately guarded. These posts are constantly summoned to surrender, and some do surrender, and their relief is a matter of the greatest difficulty. The reason for naming this, and the importance of the matter, is that it points to the absolute necessity of having such troops as are sent to these sterile districts efficient in the highest possible degree. You require not only mounted men, but something more than merely men with horses; you require men, if you can get them, who are the equals of the Boers. It is difficult to get these men; it is a matter of time to get them. The Australians and the New Zealanders have given us the best material of that class, and it is a matter of time to get them; and what this House ought to ask is whether the Government acted upon the information they had, whether they acted as reasonable men upon the probabilities of the case, whether they did as they were asked and as they were told, and whether they did it promptly and at the earliest moment, and whether they began to train the men—who are worse than useless without being trained—for purposes of this kind. I want to ask whether the House is really aware of the position of a large portion of the enormous territories of South Africa. Generals have to deal with districts in some cases 300 by 120 miles in extent; they have five or six garrisons dotted about; they have this small force of mounted troops; they have to be perpetually sending these small convoys with food and ammunition, and their men and horses are worn out beyond all belief. The strain and the wear and tear upon them, as they themselves describe it, is impossible for us to realise.

I wish to ask the Government these definite questions: When did Lord Kitchener first ask for reinforcements of mounted men; for what number did he ask; and did he merely say "mounted men"? Because every letter that I receive from South Africa, and everything that I read about the campaign, leads me to imagine—what we had arrived at for ourselves—that it is of the highest importance in these sterile districts not to have useful men only, but men of first-class efficiency; not men who can hardly sit a horse, who are wholly untrained, who have not their wits about them, and who are not of a very high physical standard. These men are worse than useless, and only cause an additional strain on our resources. They are the men who may surrender too easily, while others would hold on to the bitter end. Such men are in every way an encumbrance. I feel certain that if Lord Kitchener asked for this larger number of mounted men, he did not mean so many men and so many horses, but competent men capable of holding the field against the Boers. I cannot imagine what can be the use of untrained mounted men at the present time. Untrained infantry, I confess, may be of some use, for you have many officers of experience and old soldiers who could make them fit for service while holding garrisons. But I cannot conceive what the use of untrained mounted men can be. Only men of the highest possible standard of training can be of any utility at all. Now, when did the Government prepare for replacing the wounded and the stale men at present in South Africa? We know from the casualty list what the waste has been; we know from the admissions of the Government themselves, and from letters from the seat of war, what the wear and tear and strain has been, and we know their admitted anxiety to relieve portions of the force in the field. But what we want to know is, to what extent and when they began to prepare and train these reinforcements? In the official despatches we have a certain source of information which we can use before this House, apart from private letters signed by the writers. We have also articles which have been written by officers of high distinction, with their names attached. We do not know whether these officers have written with the leave of the Adjutant General or not. I know that this leave has been asked for in some cases, and I believe that in some cases it has been given. But when an officer who has been on the Headquarters Staff, and, in two or three other cases, officers who have held high position, men mentioned in the despatches, write deliberately and calmly about the war, I think the House ought to pay a good deal of attention to what they say. A most distinguished officer on Sir Redvers Buller's Headquarters Staff thus writes: "We have been short of mounted men throughout the war." That is the mistake the Government have made. It means that we have been short of trained mounted men throughout the war. The House has a right to know what preparation the Government have made for filling up the gaps in the trained mounted men, and also for supplying the reinforcements required. I take it that Lord Kitchener means reinforcements, and the Government themselves admitted that in the statement they made in January last. Now, it is doubtful whether in this war we have been able to keep up to our own standard of high efficiency. Making every allowance for the character of the country, I doubt whether we have kept up to the records of the marching and horse-mastership of the Indian Mutiny. I doubt whether the cavalry standard has not been unduly low judged by our own standard, and certainly comparing it with the great French War, with Prussian and Austrian and other recent experience. If we are right in thinking, as I do, that the Government have been sending out recently, at haphazard, hasty reinforcements not confined to trained men, then I think the responsibility they have incurred, in face of the invasion of Cape Colony, is very great indeed. What I want to know is what Lord Kitchener asked for, and what the Government did. On 15th January they announced they were preparing 5,000 Yeomanry "to make good casualties," and, as we know, "to relieve some men now in the ranks." The Government run the risk in offering the high rate of pay alluded to on a previous occasion, of placing great difficulties in the way of recruiting the ordinary cavalry. On this question of the difference of standard, have the Government kept up the Yeomanry standard, so as to justify them in paying the high rate of pay they are now offering to the Yeomanry? Now, one fact which, I think, goes to show that there was a decline in the standard when the Government decided to raise 5,000 more Yeomanry was that the riding test was made less complete than it was formerly. In the case of the first Yeomanry sent out the riding test varied much; in some counties it was very high, in other counties it was very far less high. But in the last case the Government themselves announced that the jump test for riding was abolished. I believe that was explained on the ground that jumping was not wanted in South Africa. But the jump test is the test that a man can really ride. There is something more wanted than mere riding or mere shooting in order to justify the high pay you are giving to those men you are sending out to South Africa. You must have not only good riding, but a high average of general intelligence and that horse-mastership which does not now prevail. And what about the jump from 5,000 to 30,000 which was suddenly announced on the night of 6th February? After the invasion of the southern part of Cape Colony had been going on for six months, suddenly the Government jumped from a demand for 5,000 to 30,000 mounted men. But they include in that 30,000 the original 5,000, the whole of the men for the police, so far as these have been raised, and all the Colonial forces for which credit had previously been taken, and also Mounted Infantry reliefs from home and a certain number of cavalry—which I understood to mean "heavy cavalry." Now, we were told that the reason why the Household Cavalry were brought home was that heavy cavalry were least fitted to perform the work of mounted troops in South Africa. That may or may not be the case, but at all events the cavalry sent out now are heavy cavalry, or I suppose so, for they are the only cavalry we have to send. If that be so, and if the Army has really come to the end of its tether, if there is nothing left in the way of mounted men to send out, all the more need was there for the Government to foresee that state of things—that the invasion of the Cape Colony was not a mere raid; not to shut their eyes to the facts of the case, but to prepare months, not weeks ago for drafts and reinforcements of trained mounted men which, to my mind, there is no evidence they have yet prepared.

These are the only questions which I wish to ask to-night, because it appears to me that it is far more important to press them on this occasion than to indulge in a general discussion on Army reform. It is very doubtful whether such a discussion will be any more fruitful this session than it was the last, when it was postponed till the war should be at an end. It is now a question of, at the end of the war, recreating an army which will then have ceased to exist; because everyone knows that the position of our army in India is such that you have to set to work to recreate it. But that is not a matter which will be adequately dealt with this session. What we can do, however, is to press upon and force upon the Government, if the House of Commons does its duty, to give an answer to this question: How has the Government faced the emergency which has arisen since the invasion of Cape Colony began? I have spoken with a deep sense of responsibility in regard to every word I have said. One does not wish to quote or use the information which comes to one from those on whom the strain of this war is pressing very heavily at this time. Their judgment is not what it should be under present circumstances; but there has been given to me the opinion of the very highest military authority on this subject, whose name, of course, I cannot give to the House of Commons; and he says—

> "I doubt much the value of the half-trained, hastily - thrown together units now being hurried out to South Africa."

But I can quote a less great authority, and give his name, as to the mischief which occurred in an earlier portion of the campaign, when the system of the War Office was much less open to criticism than that now adopted. Major-General Mackinnon, who commanded the City of London Imperial Volunteers in South Africa, has published his views on the subject and he uses these words—

> "Soon after our arrival the mounted infantry went to the front. . . . The sending of Volunteers straight into action is a proceeding which I hope will not be regarded as a precedent. . . . They have not sufficient practice in the art of war to enable them to take their place straight away in the first line. . . . They cannot possibly be fit to do immediate duty alongside Regular troops."

Major-General Mackinnon, in fact, blames the Government for having sent these mounted men straight into the field; and if the facts before me are true—if they are facts at all—far worse things are being risked or done now by despatching men who are not even Volunteers, but mere civilians and untrained recruits in many cases, out to South Africa, with the view of sending them at once into the field. To answer the appeal of Lord Kitchener for men to repel the invasion of Cape Colony by sending men whom he will not be able to use for two or three months is a merely illusory answer. The Government answer Lord Kitchener's request by sending men who are worse and less trained than the men mentioned by Major-General Mackinnon. The half-trained mounted men of the Imperial City Regiment sent straight into the field were at least Volunteers; but the men you are now sending are hardly as well chosen as the first; and everyone in the House knows that money is being spent in paying these men, who are but raw recruits, at the rate of officers, and that they are being enlisted in competition with the Regular Army, and that naturally the effect on the regular recruiting must be disastrous.

It is useless for us to engage in discussions on general matters of Army reform. This question must be dealt with at once; the others must wait. I do not think, moreover, that the present Minister of War is an ardent Army reformer. He may be a hard-working official in administrative work, but not the man which the occasion deserves or requires. I do not believe that we shall get from the present

Government, under his auspices, that root and branch reform of the Army which we most of us think necessary. But that can wait. The matter before us now is to deal with the invasion of the Cape Colony and of Griqualand and Bechuanaland; and, whatever may be our opinions in other respects, all must agree that it is the first duty of the Government to deal with this considerable invasion, which has been going on for months in one portion of the Cape Colony, and for many weeks in another, and which they have made no adequate preparation to repel.

CAPTAIN MILDMAY (Devonshire, Totnes): Amid the flow of eloquent testimony to the magnitude of the loss we have sustained by the death of our beloved Queen, silence on such a subject would seem most becoming in those who can add nothing to what has already been so well said; yet so ever present is our sense of grief, so completely does it fill our minds and for a time blot out all else, that it is not possible to refrain from at least faintly echoing the wail which has gone up from the whole nation. The nation rejoices in the belief that His Majesty the King inherits many of those qualities which conduced to make the reign of his mother memorable above all others; and that he may be given health and strength to discharge the difficult duties of his position, and long to reign over us, is our earnest prayer.

All absorbing as is our sense of the loss we have sustained, we must turn to other matters which claim our attention, and primarily to the fact that war still continues. There is one class of critics—not, I fear, a small class—who are little deserving of sympathy; I mean those who, as long as things go right, are full of loud-voiced confidence in the justice of their cause, only to become doubters and petulant critics in times of difficulty. Forgetful of the difficulty—I had almost said the impossibility—of tackling opposing forces which never wait, never make a stand, in a tract of country as big as Europe, every remote corner of which is known to them by heart—forces which, in face of any difficulty, can melt away only to reassemble at some predetermined spot whence looting operations can again be begun; forgetful of the inherent difficulties of the South African situation—these petulant critics, with amusing assumption of self-confidence, abuse in no measured terms the War Office and the Headquarters Staff, and blame the Government that the war is not over.

It will be remembered that, in answer to complaints by the Opposition leaders of the disfranchising results of a dissolution in the autumn, it was pointed out by supporters of the Government that the absence of so many of their adherents at the front would tell heavily against them. The rejoinder was that so inept had been the management of the war by the Government that, to a man, those at the front would vote to expel them from office. Let hon. Members disabuse their minds of any such impression. Returning from South Africa, one reads a good many extraordinary accounts from the front which cause one to smile. Desperate efforts have been made to blame Lord Lansdowne, and, through Lord Lansdowne, to throw discredit on the Government, for hardships which even those who have undergone them have felt to be more or less inseparable from a state of war. Now, of course, there was great shortness of supplies from time to time, but I return from South Africa impressed with the marvellous work of those connected with this department. It must be remembered that the German military authorities said that the supply of so large an army in the field at such a distance from its base, over a single line of rails, was impossible. In apportioning our praise and blame, do not let us forget the valuable services of the Army Service Corps, who made this impossibility possible. There is another body of men who are in danger of being forgotten. I allude to the officials of the Cape railways. Without the most self-sacrificing devotion to duty on their part, the German prediction might well have been fulfilled. As I have said, I am not concerned to deny the shortness of food supplies at times. I have got good reason to know, for I served with General Rundle's division, concerning which a question was asked in the House. So short were we at one time that guardsmen used to come into our lines in the early morning and offer a shilling for a biscuit. But does the House suppose that on this account the men went about whining, howling, and abusing the Government, as some would have us believe? No! they took the rough with the smooth as every good soldier ought to do, and every good soldier did do. They did not know whether the shortness was due to miscalculations of a supply officer, or to the inherent difficulty of the country in which we were operating; but, at any rate, it never crossed their minds to lay the blame on a parsimonious Government, mindful, as they were, of the masses of stores we had seen piled up in endless profusion at every part of our advance up the country.

We read in the papers of a great many gallant actions by individuals. Certain regiments have earned undying fame, but do not let us forget that the same spirit permeated every soldier of the Queen in South Africa, though to all was not given the same opportunity of showing it. There were some in South Africa whose work has not been much before the public, but who have contributed in no small degree to the success of our arms. I allude, amongst others, to those to whom was entrusted the duty of guarding the lines of communication. They had no chance of distinguishing themselves, in the sense that their doings did not appear in print. But, none the less, they had a very hard, a very anxious, and a very dangerous time of it. Then, I do not think that it is realised the extent to which the success of an army in the field depends upon efficient management at the base. On our arrival at Cape Town we saw immense quantities of stores piled up, mountains high, in all directions. These stores were being removed by mule teams and mule wagons, by tramways, trains, and traction engines, and it struck one how capable must be the master-mind to control all that, and to evolve order out of what looked like chaos. For whatever may be said, I shall always maintain that the management of this department was a model of orderly efficiency.

After all, the thing which above all others impressed itself on those who were at the front was the irreproachable behaviour of the rank and file. A great deal has been said about it in the press and by the Commander-in-Chief, but I doubt whether even now those at home realise of how high a quality was their courage. It was not merely a dashing courage—what the French call *élan*—they had plenty of that and to spare; but it was rather a calm and deliberate courage, a courage which calculates the danger, keeps its head cool and goes doggedly through with the business on hand. That sort of courage is far rarer; but it prevailed amongst our troops to a degree that called for the admiration of all the foreign attachés. And then, with what uncomplaining patience was suffering endured—that was always being brought home to one. I remember one action in particular, at Biddulphsberg, in which two battalions of Guards suffered very severely in killed and wounded. To add to the horrors of the situation of the latter a veldt fire broke out from which, for them, there was no means of escape, and by which in many cases they were severely burned and scorched as they lay. Add to all this the fact that there was a severe frost that night—13 to 15 degrees I think it was—and that many of these wounded were not brought into the Field Hospital until 3 a.m., when so severe was the frost that the ice had frequently to be broken in the pails at the dressing tent! The House can realise what suffering this involved. The principal medical officer afterwards gave me a vivid description of the scene. Never, said he, had he seen intense suffering so nobly borne. The same patient endurance was characteristic of the whole Army in South Africa. It is impossible to speak too highly of the material of which the Yeomanry was composed. Not only was their behaviour exemplary in times of danger, but they could be trusted to discharge any duties confided to them with intelligence, all power of individual initiative not having been crushed out of them by drill-book methods. They were always cheerful, always ready to volunteer for any dangerous work, always anxious to ensure the safety of their officers at any risk to themselves. What wonder that one became deeply attached to such men. What wonder that on one's return one feels indignation at the culpable readiness of a certain section of this House to believe evil against those who are doing the nation's work in South Africa—the same section which approaches the consideration of any international question with the preconvic_ tion that their own country must be in the wrong. Do not they realise that by leaving no stone unturned to blacken the character of our soldiers they are doing all they possibly can to increase the bitterness between Boer and Briton and to make it more lasting? As to the publications of that precious Conciliation Committee, it would appear there is no anonymous nonsense which they are not prepared to swallow, so long as it is derogatory to the British soldier. Where do they get their tales from? Where do they hear of the scandalous treatment of women, and the gutting of the churches? We never heard anything about it in South Africa, and I am glad to think that in the face of the deliberate declaration of Lord Roberts that never was the conduct of an Army in the field so exemplary, very little credence will be attached to them by the general public.

Then there was another charge against the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, to which the Member for Battersea gave circulation. To them, he said, the whole campaign was a picnic; they received exceptional treatment; they had not shares in the hardships of others, and, to use his own words, "this preferential treatment had created a profound feeling of dissatisfaction, amounting in some cases to positive jealousy." At the moment when that charge was made I pointed out how baseless it was, and said that if there was one thing more than another of which the Yeoman was proud it was that he had been treated exactly in the same way as the Regulars. They performed the most menial duties, what I may call the most revolting duties of camp life, cheerfully, without grumbling; they were even happy in the doing of them. As far as food was concerned, they had the same rations as the Regulars, and very short they were at times. With them they were reduced to half-rations, and even quarter-rations. Our officers' mess had no tinned stores from home. We drew the same rations of meat and biscuit as the men. The House can now judge what justification there was for the assertion of the hon. Member for Battersea that the Yeomen "sheltered behind zerebas of Fortnum and Mason's delicacies and tinned food." In one respect the Yeomen were far worse off than the Regulars, I mean with regard to fresh supplies of clothing. These reached the Regulars, but never a chance did the Yeoman have of renewing his wardrobe. I have a vivid recollection of the appearance of my own men in the course of the operations which resulted in the capture of General Prinsloo's forces. Their tunics were hanging in rags, their bare legs showing through the rents of their breeches, and in some cases they wound their putties round their boots in a vain endeavour to keep sole and uppers together. I do not know what we should have done but for the kindness of General Clements' brigade major, who took pity on us and handed over to us some "British-warm" coats which had been sent up country for the Malta Mounted Infantry. Unfortunately, the Regulars had absorbed all his stock of boots, so that all we could do was to replace such boots as would no longer hold together by some Boer lawn-tennis shoes made of canvas. But in spite of serious hardships—want of food, want of clothing, having only one blanket whereas the Regulars had two—a very serious deficiency in view of the great cold at nights—the Yeoman was always cheerful, always whistling as he turned out of his hoar-frosty blanket in the early morning before sunrise.

Now, in all seriousness, does not the Member for Battersea owe some sort of apology to these Yeomen, who, after all, have done their very best to do their work as good soldiers should? As a recompense for his thoughtless assertions, I do not wish him a more serious punishment than for a month to be subjected to such a diet of attenuated trek ox as we had to put up with. I do not think that after it he would be quite so—well, comfortable-looking as he was when last I saw him. I have denied that there was any jealousy between the Yeomanry and the Regulars, and cannot hon. Members understand that in face of such work as has to be done out there there is no room for petty jealousies of this kind? We have always heard a great deal of the tendency war has to make men hard, to brutalise them; but to my surprise, as was said by the seconder of the Address to the Crown, war would seem to have an exactly opposite effect. It seemed to soften the men, to make them feel for others, to make them forgetful of self in their anxiety to help those around them. It is true that one saw sights out there upon which one could hardly bear to look at home, but they only seemed to fill the men with infinite pity and to increase what I can only call the feeling of brotherhood by which all at the front were animated. Having served with such men, the House will realise with what warmth one would wish to repudiate the aspersions which have been made upon them.

Amid the constant flow of criticism on all that goes on at the front, one finds some complaints of the severity of the methods by which the war has been waged, complaints which have been voiced by the so-called Conciliation Committee. It is, I think, universally admitted that nothing could have been more humane, more gentle, than Lord Roberts's treatment of our opponents as we advanced up the Free State. Any who handed in their arms and gave in their submission were given passes to return to their farms, on taking the oath of neutrality. We were not allowed to take their horses; their property was respected, guards were even put over it. And urgent as was our need of remounts, the wisdom of such a conciliatory course then appeared to be plain. Unfortunately, experience has given us a clearer insight into the Boer character. We know something now of the importance attached by our opponents to the oath of neutrality. Everyone who has been brought into contact with the Boers, who has had frequent opportunity, as I have had, of conversing with Boer prisoners, will know—I say it advisedly—will know that, taking the generality of the Boers, there is no such word as honour in their vocabulary—honour, I mean, as we define it. To be successful by dishonourable means, to be cleverly dishonourable—to use their own word, to be " slim "—is to command their admiration. It would seem that they do not believe in any motive but that of self-interest. To be swayed by considerations of justice or mercy is, in their opinion, to show weakness, and that is why they never could understand our surrender of the Transvaal after Majuba in the sense we intended. So far from looking upon our conduct as magnanimous and putting it down to our sense of justice, they were convinced that it was only fear which dictated it, and it but added contempt to their previous dislike to us. So, in the present instance, after much conversation with Boer prisoners, I am convinced that, so far from conciliating them thereby, they have the greatest contempt for our humane treatment of them, and honestly attribute it to despicable weakness of character. As I have said, believing in the word of the Boers who surrendered, we allowed them their liberty and thereby enormously increased our difficulties. What has happened has been graphically described by one who was fighting with the Boers, and has published a book in Paris. He calls himself a subaltern of Villebois Mareuil. I translate his words—

> "How is it possible to get at and crush adversaries who continually decline to fight and who bolt as soon as a blow is dealt at them? Are they too closely pressed? each goes off as he likes in a different direction, and the commando of 500 men which yesterday attacked a small convoy is to-day melted away before a column of 2,000 men sent to capture. If one of these men is too near the English lines, the first farm that he comes across offers him a refuge; his rifle is slipped under a plank, his horse put out to graze, the white flag floats over the house, and Her Majesty the Queen has no more inoffensive servant than our burgher for twenty-four hours. Then, if the English authority is still too near, an old gun is carried to it as a sign of submission and the oath of neutrality is taken. As soon as the English are gone, the good rifle is brought out, the horse is mounted and once more en route."

This is remarkable testimony from one who has fought with the Boers, and it is corroborated by the fact that the Boers who have recently fallen into our hands have in some cases had no less than half-a-dozen passes upon their persons, involving an oath six times taken. There is no truer axiom in war than that " Stern methods are the most humane," as likely the sooner to put an end to such war. We now know that the Boer has no regard for the sanctity of an oath; and will anyone deny the justice of the steps which have been taken, steps necessarily involving hardship to many, to remove the impression that the neutrality pass issued to our conquered foe is to be used as a pass to the first commando which comes along? We still have a heavy job in hand, requiring steadfast patience; but we shall not weary of the task, because, though the way is long, we know it to be the right way. I had the honour to sit in this House with Mr. John Bright for two Parliaments. Now there must be many sitting on this side who could not always see eye to eye with John Bright, but at any rate they will admit this of him: they will admit that when once he had made up his mind what was the right view of a question to take, when once he had satisfied himself of the righteousness of his view, he stuck to that view through thick and thin. That is what we intend to do. The overwhelming majority of the nation is satisfied of the justice of the course which we are pursuing, and Englishmen all the world over mean to see this thing through.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I do not rise for the purpose of expressing any opposition to the Gentleman who has just sat down. I have no doubt he showed all that gallantry and spirit one would expect from him. We all know, also, and I quite agree with him, that we have heard comparatively few complaints. I think there has never been a war whose sufferings and hardships have been less redeemed by excitement. It has been a dull and dreary war, and it is all the more to the credit of the troops that they have borne the hardships in the way they have done. I do think that the hon. Member has chosen a very singular example to illustrate the case when he introduced the name of John Bright, because there is nothing for which we remember John Bright better, and honour him more, than the way in which, in a far smaller minority than that in which those who object to the war stand now, he stood up in defiance of unpopularity and abuse and protested against the war in the Crimea. Before I part with the hon. Member, I must express my regret that, after vindicating as he has well done the Yeomanry, he should have allowed himself to indulge in an attack on the Boers not only contrary to the evidence as we have it from people who know the Boers thoroughly—Mr. Selous, and men who have lived with them for many years—but also contrary to the testimony of a number of distinguished British officers like General Porter, that the conduct of the Boers has been quite up to the average conduct of troops in time of war. I regret that the language of the hon. Gentleman did not do credit to the chivalrous spirit which ought to animate an opponent.

I rose because it seemed to me that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury required a few words of notice. This is an important occasion. Parliament meets in the middle of a war which has been prolonged beyond our expectations, and an opportunity is given for the Government to state their views, and if possible to cheer the country, and at any rate to tell the country what they think of the position in which the country finds itself. I must say that I never listened to a speech of the right hon. Gentleman with more disappointment. He appeared to me to have very little sense of the gravity of our present position. He threw no light on the present state of things, and indicated no policy for the future. He merely confined himself to the barren phrases we have heard so often before, and did not give us any reason to believe that the Government realised the gravity of the position, nor, on the other hand, that he would take any steps to shorten the war by negotiation. The speech of my right hon. friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs was couched, I think everyone will admit, in a spirit of seriousness of thought, and it contained a great many points which were well worthy of consideration. The right hon. Gentleman did not try to answer these.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is exactly what I did do.

MR. BRYCE: I can only say—it may be my fault—I failed to discover in the *tu quoques* of the right hon. Gentleman any serious arguments in reply to my right hon. friend. We were told nearly two years ago, before the war broke out, that every speech made here would be an encouragement to the Boers to persevere in resisting the demands made by the Government, and we have been told ever since that every word said here in condemnation of the war or of the methods by which it is being conducted would be an encouragement to the enemy. There is not the slightest evidence that any word spoken here has ever had the slightest influence with the Boers. It is an idea of the right hon. Gentleman, which he continually throws out here for the purpose of silencing criticism. I submit that this House is not to be silenced in that way. It is our duty in the great council of the nation to say what we think about the state of things and the conduct of the war, and we cannot prevent what is said here from going abroad. But is that any reason why we should not tell the people what we believe to be right? The right hon. Gentleman cited a speech made by the Colonial Secretary, and he seemed to imply that the right hon. Gentleman ought not to have made that speech, because, forsooth, some paper in South Africa misrepresented him. Is that an argument to be addressed to the House of Commons? If that argument is to be used, much more might be said of the speech of the Secretary of State for War. That was a speech that might have given encouragement to the Boers to hold out longer against us. The position is a very grave one, and I cannot say that the light way the Government take it lightens our sense of the gravity. What confidence can we place in them for the future, seeing that all their past predictions have been wrong? They thought the Transvaal would submit; they thought £10,000,000 would be sufficient for the war; they thought that the war would be over in three months; and even as late as last September they said the war was practically over. The right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to shelter himself behind the statement that the same impression prevailed in other quarters. Does the right hon. Gentleman say that the Cabinet last September knew no more than the man in the street? Had he no information in September which was not shared by the whole country? ["No."] Then he ought to have had. It is a scandal that the Government should not possess better information. There were certain facts which were pretty patent. The lines of communications were of enormous length, and the Government must have known how many men were required for them. They ought also to have known the rate at which the men and the horses were wearing out, and they must have known something about the plans of the Boers. From June last the Boers continued to say that even after the capitals were occupied the war was not at an end, but only beginning. It was thought that this was an empty brag, but we know now that the Boers had a plan, and in carrying that plan out they have made the second portion of the war more painful, more weary, and more exhausting than the first part.

It appears to me that we have nothing but a record of error to look back upon. Nothing more inconsistent was ever published by the generals of an invading army than the list of proclamations. The policy of farm-burning is now admitted to be a hideous blunder. It appears to me that the Government are simply drifting. They do not seem to realise either the necessity of sending out proper reinforcements or the desirableness of bringing the war to an end. In the meantime there is a serious wastage of men and a piling up of debt going on. There are two policies open. One is to persevere in the demand for unconditional surrender. I confess I was not able to follow the subtleties of the right hon. Gentleman. People with arms in their hands are to throw down their arms. I think that was a most unwise policy. That is what unconditional surrender means.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not what is asked for. It is in the Papers.

MR. BRYCE: There are no two proclamations that agree. I defy you to state from the proclamations what the policy of the Government is. They may spend more money and send out more men. That may go on for a time, the length of which we cannot possibly foresee. I have no doubt that we shall wear out the Boers in the long run. But what will it come to? It will not be peace; it would be merely an intermission of war, a suspension of hostilities. The Boer armies will in all probability not make any regular or formal surrender, but, like the rivers of their own country, will vanish into the ground. They will scatter into remote parts of their own territory, and some into the territories of Portugal and Germany. You will not have secured peace. You will have secured a temporary truce. That was one of the dangers of the situation, and that is why I think it was a fatal mistake to reject the proposals for negotiations which were made by the Republics last spring. The Government ought to have taken that opportunity to enter into negotiations and to have announced a policy.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Unconditional surrender of the Governments—that is the point; it is not of individuals.

MR. BRYCE: That is not so.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I would like to make the point clear. Lord Roberts, in his letter in answer to Sir Redvers Buller, explained clearly. He said that what he asked for was, as regards the Governments, unconditional surrender, and that he would require with regard to individual soldiers that they should be willing to lay down their arms, to take the oath of neutrality, and to go back to their farms, and their property would be respected. That was the idea of unconditional surrender, which meant the abandonment of the idea of separate political independence.

MR. BRYCE: That is not a declaration of policy applicable to the Boers in general. That is a letter from Lord Roberts to Sir Redvers Buller.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): It is exactly in the same terms in which he sent it to the other generals in the field.

MR. BRYCE: If that is the case, I think it is very unfortunate that it does not appear in the despatches. I say that a demand for the unconditional surrender of the Governments was asking the Governments to leave themselves absolutely to your mercy. The right hon. Gentleman says that what was meant was merely that they could not in future have any independence as Republics. That is a totally different thing. I perfectly understand it was open to His Majesty's Government to say, "We will not allow you to retain absolute independence." But if the Government intended to adopt a policy of that kind, and to offer terms which merely excluded the future independence of the two Republics, it was their duty to have made that clear, and to have thrown on the Republics the responsibility of rejecting their offer, which I submit had never been properly made. What the Government has done is, I think, to drive to despair an enemy whose bravery deserves greater respect. All their homes have been burnt, their sons and brothers have perished in the war, their wives and children have been scattered, and they have nothing left to live for except a desire for revenge and their passion for independence. You have driven them to despair, and it is for you to try and bring them back from that state. Even if they are not capable—as I believe they are not—of ultimately resisting, they are nevertheless capable of inflicting great future injury upon us. You will prevail in the end, but you will prevail at a cost of a great further loss of valuable lives and a great further loss of money, and then when the Boers have disappeared into the ground they will reserve themselves with dogged patience until their turn comes some day. Meantime you have devastated the country, you have alienated the Dutch in Cape Colony, and you have the possibility before you of having to hold not only the two Republics, but also Cape Colony, with a garrison estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 men, costing five millions a year.

That is the prospect before you if you persevere in your policy of unconditional surrender. I believe the only alternative to that policy is the policy of offering terms to the generals in the field against you. [HON. MEMBERS: What terms?] It is not for me to say what terms, but I will indicate what terms I believe to be good. However, my first point is that you should endeavour to get into negotiation with the generals in the field instead of adopting the plan of sending men who are called peace envoys, but who are, as I believe, and as far as I can make out, really emissaries intended to seduce the troops from their loyalty, and to draw away individual soldiers from these generals. If your pride will not allow you to open communication with the generals, and to state in the clearest possible way what terms you are prepared to offer, there is another plan which I and many others think should be adopted. They are not the terms which the Government would give, nevertheless I will tell the House what they are. In matters of this kind one must not be afraid of being in a minority; we have the interests of the country to consider, and that ought to unlock all our lips. I have always said that it would be far safer if instead of annexing the two Republics we turned them into Protected States, strictly disarmed, deprived of all foreign relations, and rendered helpless for any kind of mischief, but not making them Crown colonies. I know that that is an idea that the Government will not entertain, and I will acknowledge also that I believe that it is an idea which the country does not desire.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): May I ask how you would disarm them?

MR. BRYCE: I really cannot enter into a discussion on every interruption across the floor of the House. But there is another plan much better than that proposed by the Government, and that is to endeavour, if we can, to secure to these States something like the freedom enjoyed in Canada and Australia, subject to the general supremacy of Great Britain, subject to the British flag, and to complete control by British officers in all matters in which contro is necessary. I believe, in other words, that what we ought to avoid is what are called Crown colonies. I believe that Crown colony government is about the worst thing that you can try, because the Boers have recollections of the way in which they were governed between 1877 and 1880. They remember Sir Owen Lanyon, and all that went on in those days, and they would be most unwilling to be put at the mercy of irresponsible officers in a Crown colony. Again, you would have under the Crown colony system a maximum of friction with the British residents, and I venture to believe that you would not hold these countries for five years without making such a government most unpopular with the British element. Natal has been mentioned, but Natal was then a small place growing up. The right hon. Gentleman alluded to the case of the military occupation of the Southern States of America, but there is something more to be said about that. He cited it as an instance of the necessity of maintaining military government. The truth is that the maintenance of military government and the dis ranchisement of the whites in the Southern States was a very bad policy. It worked very ill, and produced a crop of hideous outrages, and the best day that dawned for the Southern States was when the military forces of the United States were withdrawn in 1877. It was not the maintenance of military government but the withdrawal of it that made those States reconciled. I do not for a moment say that immediately the last arm is laid down you can establish self-government in these countries. I have never said that. Clearly the countries must be pacified, but you must also remember how Crown colony government is known to these people, and that, in the words of the Prime Minister, it may last for generations. Moreover, it will excite disgust and suspicion in the minds of the Dutch in South Africa. Therefore I do suggest to the Government that they should make a new departure and offer much better terms and a much better guarantee than has yet been offered to these people that they would be governed according to their own ideas. [Several HON. MEMBERS: "No" and "Never."]

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): You say "Never"—all right!

MR. BRYCE: I do not follow these interruptions, but my own point of view is that you must in some way or other convey to the inhabitants of these two Republics that you are not going to subject them to an indefinite continuance of autocratic government, but that you are prepared to promise them self-governing institutions in a very short time—institutions under which they may have all the freedom that is compatible with the prevention of future insurrection. The only limitation that I would put upon the measure of self-government to be given to them is that there should be no possibility of a future rising against the British Crown. I believe in that plan you will find a far better chance of peace in the future than in the policy of unconditional surrender. If you offer terms to these people that they can accept, you will have some chance at least that they will endeavour to work the new system, and that they will enter into it in a loyal spirit. If, on the other hand, you insist on the opposite policy, you will be only preparing for future trouble.

I do most earnestly wish that right hon. Gentlemen opposite would realise that whatever we say on this subject we are animated not by any desire to criticise them, but solely by a desire to avoid those evils we see in the future of South Africa. We do not wish to have these territories governed by force, or the people, hitherto free, ruled as by tyrants, and by the expenditure of immense sums annually in maintaining a garrison, with the danger of insurrection when we are in difficulty in any part of the world. We believe that it is only by a conciliatory policy that we have any chance of re-establishing permanent government in the two Republics, and, what is not less important, of recovering the good will of the people at the Cape. I believe that if we persist in the policy so far indicated we will be only increasing our difficulties and prolonging the period when our hands will be fettered and our power of action weakened in every other part of the world where there are British interests.

Mr. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I desire to associate myself with the expressions of sorrow which have been so freely expressed on the loss the country has sustained by the death of our most gracious and loved Queen. Having said that, I must say that my satisfaction is, I believe, shared very generally throughout the House, and most certainly by Gentlemen sitting on this side of the House, at the speech delivered by my hon. and gallant friend the Member for the Totnes Division of Devon, who has played such a gallant and important part in the proceedings in South Africa. The House listened with the greatest satisfaction to that speech, as coming from a man who himself has been present throughout a great part of this war, who has shared in its hardships, and who has witnessed for himself the heroism of our gallant soldiers, and the House generally heard with the greatest satisfaction his indignant repudiation of the reflections cast upon them by some hon. Members in this House. I desire also to take this opportunity of saying how thoroughly and entirely I endorse the view expressed by my right hon. friend the Leader of the House with reference to our future policy and our future conduct in bringing this war to a conclusion. I do not desire to make any observations on that subject, but I trust that the difficulties of the past will be recognised by His Majesty's Government, and that ample and sufficient preparation, even in addition to that already made, if it be necessary, will be steadily pressed forward by the Government, with a view—whatever may be the difficulties of the case—of bringing this war to as rapid a conclusion as may be.

And now, with the permission of the House, I pass from these observations in order to refer to a subject which has not yet been mentioned in the speeches delivered this evening. It was with disappointment and regret I saw that neither in the gracious Speech from the Throne nor in the utterances of Ministers themselves was there the slightest indication of any intention whatever on the part of His Majesty's Government to take action with reference to a subject which is undoubtedly of the utmost importance at the present time. I refer to the startling and serious epidemic at Manchester and other parts of the country by which so many of His Majesty's subjects have suffered most grievous sickness and a good many of them have been killed, and which has spread such consternation and alarm throughout the country. It is estimated by the Manchester Sanitary Committee themselves that during the last six months in Manchester the deaths which have resulted from this epidemic have been little less than 100, and, although we have no definite figures submitted to us, I have no doubt that at least some four thousand to five thousand people have been affected by this epidemic. No one can deny that this is a very grave and very startling state of affairs, and that it deserves the attention of the Government; and the Government cannot be surprised if, on my part and on the part of other hon. Members, and also on the part of a large section of the public, there will be great disappointment and great regret that up to the present, apparently, so far as future action is concerned, there is no intention of legislating with regard to this matter. His Majesty's Government appear to have ignored it. We know from our experience in this House that the Government have often found it convenient and sometimes urgently necessary to take action with regard to questions which have not been mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. My object to-night is to press on the Government not only the importance, but, in my humble judgment, the extreme urgency of this question—a question which undoubtedly affects very closely the lives and health of a great portion of the community. I desire also, if I can by any means succeed in doing so, to elicit from the Government some definite assurance that during the present session they will introduce, and do their utmost to carry, such a measure or measures as may be needed in reference to this question, and which will have the effect of preventing a possibility of danger or even apprehension of danger in the future. I am perfectly well aware that His Majesty's Government have appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into this question, and to inquire also into a great many other questions. First of all, the Commission is appointed to ascertain the amount of sickness and death attributable to poisoning by arsenic during this epidemic. It is further to find out whether such sickness and death was due to arsenic in beer, or in other articles of food and drink. Then it is to inquire through what ingredients and by what way arsenic was conveyed, and also in what way such ingredients became arsenicated. What I am about to submit to the House is that with regard to all these points of inquiry, so far as poisoning by arsenic in beer at Manchester and elsewhere is concerned, inquiry by a Royal Commission is altogether belated. I may be told—I daresay in the course of this debate I shall be told—that it is wholly unusual for any Government to introduce legislation with reference to a subject regarding which a Royal Commission has been appointed, before that Commission has made its report. I frankly admit it is, or so it would be, with reference to any ordinary subject regarding which a Royal Commission had been appointed. But my reply to that statement is, that this is not an ordinary case; that the Commission is not appointed *ad rem*; and that so far as this particular epidemic is concerned, I shall be able to show to the House that this inquiry is altogether belated. The Commission is also appointed to inquire as to whether we are subject to danger from arsenic in the foods we daily consume, and this inquiry is to extend over England and Wales, and is to embrace every article of food and drink consumed by man. We can easily understand that that is a very wide and extensive and difficult task which has been entrusted to the Royal Commission, and that a great deal of time will be required for its due fulfilment. For myself, I would say that if the Government really consider that such an inquiry is necessary, by all means let it be made. They have information not in our possession at the present time, and I have no word of complaint as to the scope of the inquiry on that ground. But as regards the epidemic in Manchester, by which so many people have met their deaths, and very many more have suffered illness, I affirm that the facts are ascertained, that the case has been proved, and that what we want now is not further inquiry, but a measure for making such a state of affairs impossible in the future

Perhaps the House will allow me to show them the ground on which I make these assertions. I shall point to the testimony which is to be found in four different quarters in support of the statements which I have made, and I believe that the House will agree with me that that testimony is more than ample. In the first place, as soon as there was any reason to believe that the epidemic was due to poisoning by arsenic in beer, the Manchester Brewers' Association appointed a committee of experts to inquire into the whole question. The Manchester Brewers' Association are of course very deeply interested, and it would be greatly to their satisfaction and greatly to their interest if they had been able to show by the examination they had instituted that the idea that arsenic in beer was the cause of the epidemic was all nonsense. Instead of that they were obliged to admit in their report—where it was frankly stated—that it was clearly established that the arsenic found in deleterious quantities in beer was solely due to the sugar used in its manufacture and supplied by a particular firm; and secondly, that the arsenic in the sugar was derived from the sulphuric acid used in its preparation——

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 15*th February*, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That Standing Order 195 be suspended, and that the time for presenting Petitions for Private Bills to the House (which shall have been previously endorsed by the Examiners) be extended to Friday, 22nd February.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That all Petitions deposited at the office of the Secretary for Scotland, pursuant to General Order 77 in favour of or against any proposed Provisional Order the provisions of which are subsequently proceeded with as a Bill in this House under Second 2 (4) of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, shall, on transmission from the office of the Secretary for Scotland, be received as if duly deposited in favour of or against such Bill."—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

*THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS (Mr. J. W. LOWTHER, Cumberland, Penrith): I may perhaps be allowed to briefly explain this motion. The House will remember that under the Private Bill Procedure (Scotland) Act it became the duty of the Lord Chairman and myself to divide the Provisional Orders which had been sent into the Scotch Office, and to place them into two separate classes—one of which should go forward as Provisional Orders and the other as private Bills. The question arose what was to become of the petitions presented against those Provisional Orders which it was decided should go forward as Bills. No provision had been made for dealing with them, and the parties who had petitioned were afraid that they would have to present fresh petitions in this House. The motion which I now have the honour to make is intended to obviate that necessity, and the petitions which have been presented at the Scotch Office against these Provisional Orders will come here and be treated as petitions against private Bills.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) said he understood that the motion was to repair what might be described as an omission from the Act, and it related only to the particular petitions specified by the right hon. Gentleman. If the right hon. Gentleman had satisfied himself that the motion did not go beyond that, and that other petitions would have to be deposited in the usual way, there would be no objection to the motion.

*MR. J. W. LOWTHER: That is so. But it may be desirable, before the end of the session, to introduce a Standing Order to cover cases of omission like this.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid): Will it be possible to present any fresh petitions against these Bills?

*MR. J. W. LOWTHER: No; I do not think it will be competent for that to be done. The time for the presentation of petitions is fixed by Act of Parliament, and I do not think fresh ones can be deposited after that date. But if the hon. Member wishes to bind me to an answer I should like to have notice of the question.

Question put, and agreed to.

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Petition from Maryport, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ADULTS IN EVENING SCHOOLS).

Petitions for alteration of law, from Todmorden; Bedwellty; Belper; Hedworth; and Great Yarmouth; to lie upon the Table.

MANSA, MAHOMED SOOLEIMAN.

Petition of Mahomed Sooleiman Mansa, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of law, from Middlesbrough; Tottenham; Waterloo with Seaforth; Great Yarmouth; Acton;

Yardley; Gelligaer; Crick; and Thirsk; to lie upon the Table.

RAJOO, NARAYAMA.

Petition of Narayama Rajoo, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petitions for prohibition, from Ulverston; Horsham; and Huntingdon; to lie upon the Table.

SINGH, JAMAND.

Petition of Jamand Singh; for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT 1898.

Return [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 2.]

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account presented, of the Sums received and paid in respect of the Wages and Effects of Deceased Seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.

Copy presented, of Statement of the Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st March, 1900, together with an Account of the Receipt and Issue of Stores [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 3.]

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.

Account presented, of the General Lighthouse Fund showing the Income and Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 4.]

POST OFFICE (PARCEL POST BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NORWAY).

Copy of Agreement between the British and Norwegian Post Offices concerning the Exchange of Parcels by Parcel Post [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY PENSIONS.

Copy presented, of Return showing the names of all Constabulary Officers now in receipt of Pensions, of all Head Constables, Sergeants, and Constables, and of all Widows and Children to whom Pensions have been granted since the Constabulary Estimate for 1900-1901 was prepared, with the amount and date of Pension in each case [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TREASURY CHEST.

Account presented, for the year 1899–1900, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 5.]

GREEK LOAN.

Account presented, of Moneys paid out of the Consolidated Fund for Interest and Sinking Fund on that part of the Greek Loan guaranteed by this Country and of the amount repaid by the Greek Government on account of the same to 31st December, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 6.]

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

Account presented, of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Duchy of Cornwall for the year ended 31st December, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 7.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copies presented, of Treasury Minutes declaring that that the under-mentioned persons were appointed to the offices set against their names without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Heads of their Departments, viz.:—

John William Gill, messenger, Wakefield Post Office Department, dated 5th February, 1901;

Charles Street, labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office Department, dated 17th January, 1901;

[by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1855.

Copy presented, of Account for the year 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

Account presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 8.]

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Abstract Account presented, showing the issues made from the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in the year ended 31st March, 1900, for the Interest and Management of the Debt, for the Civil List, and all other Issues in the financial year for services charged directly on the said Fund; with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 9.]

ARMY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).

Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account for 1899-1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Army [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 10.]

NAVY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).

Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account of the Navy for 1899-1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Navy [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 11.]

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow for 1899-1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 12.]

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCES).

Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. III. (St. Andrews No. 1) (Foundation of the Bute Chair of Anatomy in the University of St. Andrews) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. IV. (St. Andrews No. 2) (Foundation of the Chandos Chair of Physiology in the University of St. Andrews) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD).

Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, on 20th June, 1900, altering Statutes III., V., XIII., and XIV. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 13.]

Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 10th October, 1900, and sealed on the 23rd day of October, 1900, altering Statute III. of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 14.]

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (CAMBRIDGE).

Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of the University of Cambridge, on 13th October, 1900, altering Statute B of the University Statutes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 15.]

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 AND 1896.

Copy presented, of an Order dated 8th January, 1901, prohibiting the conveyance of animals, etc., to or from any port in Great Britain by the Steamships "King's Lynn," "Burton," and "Peterborough" [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCES).

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Minnie Wells, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the St. John the Baptist's Home, Pimlico [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Annie Combs, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CHINA (No. 1, 1901).

Copy presented, of Correspondence respecting the Disturbances in China (in continuation of China [No. 3, 1900]) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2554 and 2555 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.

Copy presented, of Order in Council, dated 13th December, 1900, amending an Order in Council, dated 26th February, 1897, relating to the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACT, 1869, AND AMENDING ACTS.

Copy presented, of Scheme for the Management of the Charity of William Price, in the Parish of Fareham, in the county of Southampton, founded by Will dated 24th August, 1721 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 16.]

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Bank of England.—Accounts of Exchequer Bills and other Government Securities purchased, and of the Amount of Balances of Sums issued for the Payment of Dividends, &c., for the year ending 5th January 1901 [by Act], to be printed. [No. 17.]

2. Public Records (Clerk of the Peace for the County of Denbigh).—Copy of a Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes and Documents in the Office of the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Denbigh, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [by Act].

3. Union of Benefices Act (All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge).—Copy of Scheme for effecting a union of the Benefices of All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge [by Act].

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES (ELECTORS, ETC.) (UNITED KINGDOM).

Address for "Return showing, with regard to each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom, the total number and, as far as possible, the number in each class of Electors on the Register now in force; and also showing the Population and Inhabited Houses in each Constituency (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 116, of Session 1900)."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—PAARDEBERG DESPATCHES.

*MR. FABER (York): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Earl Roberts has transmitted to the Secretary of State for War any despatch relating to the battle of Paardeberg, other than the one of the 28th February, 1900, which has been recently published.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): No, Sir. All that has been received from Lord Roberts as to the battle of Paardeberg has been published.

BOER INVASION OF CAPE COLONY.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, for the convenience of Members, he will have placed in the Tea Room a map of the portions of Cape Colony which the Boers have recently taken possession of, similar to those already placed there of the Orange Free State and Transvaal.

*MR. BRODRICK: The Boers have not taken possession of any portion of the Cape Colony, though their columns have moved through parts of the colony closely pursued by His Majesty's troops. A map shall be placed in the Library.

MR. FLAVIN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how much of that portion of Cape Colony have His Majesty's forces surrendered to General De Wet?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE NOOITGEDACHT DISASTER.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can give the House the numbers of British troops killed, wounded, and taken prisoners at the disaster to General Clements's force at Nooitgedacht; whether the kopje commanding the camp had no entrenchments or sangars; and if a court of inquiry has been held, and with what result.

*MR. BRODRICK: Nine officers and fifty-seven non-commissioned officers and men were killed; seven officers and 180 non-commissioned officers and men were wounded; and fifteen officers and 331 non-commissioned officers and men were taken prisoners at Nooitgedacht. A court of inquiry was ordered to be held, but the result has not been reported.

ARMY AND NAVY PENSIONS—PROPOSED COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

MR. WHARTON (Ripon): I wish to ask whether the Leader of the House is prepared to make a statement as to the Government subventions in the case of the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the war.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): As the right hon. Gentleman is aware, the Government have decided on a system of pensions to be paid out of public funds to the widows and young children of soldiers and sailors who have lost their lives when on active service. This necessarily makes a great change in the character and functions of the Royal Patriotic Fund, or any other body administering the resources for which that body is now responsible. I have been in communication with the Duke of Cambridge, and he, with his colleagues on the Commission, concurs with His Majesty's Government in thinking that an inquiry would be desirable into the best machinery for dealing with the altered circumstances. Probably, the best course would be to appoint a joint committee of both Houses to make proposals on the subject.

JOINT NAVAL AND MILITARY COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, can he state the nature of the functions exercised by the Joint Naval and Military Committee on Defence, consisting of five Naval and five Military Members, with two joint secretaries, as set forth in the Navy List. Do these functions resemble or overlap those exercised by the Cabinet Committee of Defence; and, if not, in what way do they differ from them. And, are the members of the Joint Naval and Military Committee appointed for a definite number of years, or during their tenure of other appointments *ex officio*; do any of its members receive any, and, if so, what extra rank or pay on appointment to this Committee; is any record kept of this Committee's proceedings; and how many times did it meet during the year 1900.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The Joint Naval and Military Committee is an inter-departmental Committee composed of four Naval and four Military Members, with the Under Secretary of State for War as President, and with two joint secretaries, of whom one is Naval and the other Military. The Committee was formed for the consideration of questions of coast defence, in which the Admiralty and the War Office were jointly interested. Subjects for consideration are referred to the Committee either by the War Office or by the Admiralty, or by both in agreement. Subjects may also be referred to it by the Colonial Defence Committee. Subjects for consideration can also be brought before the Committee by individual members of the same. The Reports of the Committee are submitted to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and to the Secretary of State for War. The functions of the Committee do not resemble those exercised by the Cabinet Committee of Defence. The members are ex-officio. They do not receive any extra rank or pay on joining the Committee. A record is kept of the proceedings. The Committee met once during the year 1900.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Was Gibraltar one of the questions referred to it?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I am not aware; I must ask for notice.

COOPER'S HILL COLLEGE.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, whether he proposes to lay before Parliament any of the Reports or other documents upon which the decisions of the India Council in reference to the appointments and curriculum of Cooper's Hill College have been arrived at.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): Yes, Sir, Papers on the question will be in the hands of Members in the course of a few days.

GERMANY AND THE CONGO FREE STATE.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, is His Majesty's Government aware that in September, 1900, a German force forcibly seized a considerable portion of the Congo Free State, and turned the Belgian forces out of their stations there under a threat of war; and that the Germans have thus taken possession of the strip of territory leased to Great Britain by King Leopold of Belgium in 1894, which territory was abandoned by Great Britain owing to the objections of the German and French Governments. Has His Majesty's Government made any representations to the German Government on the subject, or do they propose to make any. And what grounds are alleged by the German Government for seizing a territory which they objected to being occupied by Great Britain, and the lease of which Great Britain abandoned on German representations; and does this seizure deprive Great Britain of the possibility of connecting British South African possessions with countries occupied by Great Britain in North Africa.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord CRANBORNE, Rochester): His Majesty's Government have no official information as to the circumstances referred to in the question. Inquiry will, however, be made.

THE WRECK OF THE "GOONLAZE."

*MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the circumstances connected with the wreck of the schooner "Goonlaze," in Bideford Bay, on the 5th instant, when the whole of the crew consisting of four men were drowned. Whether he is aware that one of the bodies of these men was found while still warm at 8.45 a.m., and that another body was found at 11 a.m. in a field 250 yards away from the edge of the cliff, the deceased man having evidently climbed the cliff and subsequently died of exposure. And, seeing that these bodies were both found within a quarter of a mile of the coastguard station at Peppercombe, whether he will order an inquiry into this matter, and also into the question as to whether the coastguard service at Peppercombe is sufficiently manned.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (MR. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): Yes, Sir, my attention has been called to the case to which the hon. Member refers, and I have ordered an inquiry to be held into the circumstances attending the wreck. With regard to the coastguard service at Peppercombe the Board of Trade will place themselves in communication with the Admiralty.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL TAXATION.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department when the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation will be completed and issued to Parliament.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. RITCHIE, Croydon): I understand that the Local Taxation Commission, as was stated in answer to a similar question last December, are considering their Report, but it is impossible to name a precise date for its appearance, though no unnecessary delay will take place.

INSPECTION OF BOILERS.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he intends to introduce a measure this session to provide for the better inspection of boilers.

*MR. RITCHIE: I have not in contemplation any general legislation on the subject of boilers; but in the Bill of which I have given notice there will be found provisions dealing with the matter so far as regards factories and workshops.

SCOTCH PRIVATE BILL PROCEDURE.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether, in the case of the seven Provisional Orders applied for to the Secretary for Scotland under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, which have been ordered to be dealt with as Private Bills and not as Provisional Orders, the 129 petitions which have been deposited in opposition to those Orders at the office of the Secretary for Scotland, and are now superseded, will be held to be petitions in opposition to those Bills in Parliament, and thereby avoid the necessity and expense of depositing fresh petitions under the Standing Orders of Parliament; and, if so, whether the fees paid on the deposit of those petitions at the office of the Secretary for Scotland will be refunded, or the corresponding fees payable under the Standing Orders of Parliament remitted in the case of the said Orders and petitions, in the event of the said Orders being proceeded with in Parliament.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): The Secretary for Scotland has been in communication with the authorities of the two Houses of Parliament on this point; and it has been arranged that notice of motion will be given in each House on the first opportunity to the effect that petitions relating to Provisional Orders under the Scottish Procedure Act shall in the case referred to by the hon. Member be treated as petitions relating to the substituted Bills. The question of fees has also been under consideration and will be settled as soon as possible, but the hon. Member may assume that they will not be charged twice over.

STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—INADEQUACY OF ACCOMMODATION FOR MEMBERS.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can inform the House by whose authority Members were excluded from the seats in the gallery of the House of Lords allotted to them when the attendance of the House was commanded by the King on the 14th instant; and by whose authority strangers are admitted, to the exclusion of Members of this House, when their presence is thus commanded in the House of Lords.

The following question on the same subject also appeared on the Paper:—

MR. CALDWELL: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the attention of the Government has been called to the totally inadequate accommodation provided in the House of Lords for Members of the House of Commons, whose presence and attendance have been commanded by His Majesty the King; and whether it would be possible to arrange either to increase the space for the House of Commons or to fit up Westminster Hall as a reception hall when the King commands the attendance of both Houses.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There are two questions on the Paper on the same subject. There is, of course, no doubt that the accommodation in the House of Lords for Members of this House when they are summoned by His Majesty to attend is quite insufficient for the number of Members desiring to do so on an occasion like that which occurred yesterday. It is also true that on similar occasions there is no room in the House of Lords even for all the Peers. The arrangements are in charge of the hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain. A suggestion has been made that Westminster Hall should be used. It is quite impossible for me, without much longer notice and without an opportunity of consulting the persons in authority, to give an opinion upon such a suggestion. I may say, at the first glance, that however well suited for a great pageant Westminster Hall may be, the cost of the fittings for that pageant would be very considerable. I believe that on a previous occasion, a good many years ago indeed, there was a ballot taken in this House to settle by lot who should be the Members of the House to attend the House of Lords. For my own part, if no other solution of the difficulty is proposed, I think that would be a great improvement.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: Does not the right hon. Gentleman consider that the arrangements should be such that Members of the House of Commons should come immediately after members of the House of Peers and before strangers?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The arrangements made yesterday were, I believe, in strict accordance with precedent. [Cries of "No."] Certainly, I think they were, but, of course, it does not rest with me; I am not responsible for the arrangements, neither is the Government.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Is it not the fact that during the last thirty years Members of the House of Commons have been always admitted to the side galleries when her late Majesty opened Parliament?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am informed that when Parliament was opened in state the Members of the House of Commons did not have greater accommodation than they had yesterday.

COLONEL NOLAN: The right hon. Gentleman has not given a direct answer to my question with regard to the side galleries.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I did answer. I said I was informed that the accommodation given yesterday to the Members of the House of Commons in the House of Lords was in accordance with precedent when Parliament is opened in state. That does answer the question.

Colonel NOLAN: I beg to say that it is a question of the calculation of square feet. I cannot get the Leader of the House to answer the question whether the side galleries were open or not. It has been put forward that the accommodation we got below equals that which we had in the side galleries. That is the point on which the right hon. Gentleman failed to satisfy me.

Sir W. HART DYKE (Kent, Dartford): May I ask whether, considering the very grave dissatisfaction which exists with regard to the accommodation afforded to members yesterday, it would be possible to appoint a Committee of both Houses to go into the whole question?

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: In case the right hon. Gentleman consented to the appointment of such a Committee, will the Committee be empowered to consider the position and functions of the Lord Great Chamberlain?

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a large section of members below the gangway were quite satisfied with the want of accommodation yesterday?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am glad that some one was pleased. In answer to my right hon. friend I cannot tell him now whether it would be a fitting course to appoint a joint Committee of the two Houses to consider this question, because I really do not know on what basis the jurisdiction of the hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain rests.

Mr. CALDWELL: I beg to give notice that when the Vote in connection with the alteration of the House of Lords comes on I shall move a reduction.

Mr. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): May I ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can arrange that the officials of the other House shall receive Members of this House with that amount of courtesy which is consistent with the dignity of the position we occupy as representatives of the nation?

[No answer was returned.]

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the absence of any mention of an Alien Immigration Regulation Bill in the gracious Speech from the Throne is an indication that His Majesty's Government has abandoned its intention to introduce legislation upon the question, in spite of the declarations thereon of the Prime Minister on 17th July, 1894, and 23rd May, 1898, and of the Home Secretary (when President of the Board of Trade) on 10th February, 1897.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. As my hon. friend is aware, the absence of a particular measure from enumeration in the King's Speech by no means indicates, one way or the other, the policy of the Government.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: Can my right hon. friend mention a date when the Bill will be brought in?

[No answer was given.]

THE CORONATION OATH.

Mr. WINGFIELD-DIGBY (Dorsetshire, N.): I beg to ask the first Lord of the Treasury whether there is to be an alteration in the Coronation Oath; and if so, whether any alteration can take place without an Act of Parliament.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It would require an Act of Parliament, and I do not propose to introduce one.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): May I ask whether an Act could not be introduced to omit from the Coronation Oath the words which refer to the Roman Catholic religion as superstitious and idolatrous?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not catch the hon. Member's question.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: I will repeat the question on Monday.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): Would the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to having a copy of the terms of the Coronation Oath sent to the Irish Catholic soldiers now serving in South Africa?

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, That this House, at its rising this day, do adjourn till Monday next.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Edward Charles Thompson, esquire, for County of Monaghan (North Monaghan Division).

BALLOT FOR BILLS AND MOTIONS FOR THE FIRST FOUR THURSDAYS.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In moving the resolution which stands in my name, I may say that although, as it appears on the Paper, it is proposed to make it a Standing Order I do not in the least desire to press that if hon. Members think we have not had sufficient experience of the rule to make that course desirable. It would not be worth while having a discussion on it.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That no Bills, other than Government Bills, be introduced in anticipation of the ballot, and that all Members who desire to ballot, whether for Bills, or motions for the first four Tuesdays of the session, do hand in their names at the Table during the sitting of the House on the first or second day of the session, and that a copy of such notices be handed in at the latest during the sitting of the House on the third day of the session. That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and motions be taken on the third day on which the House sits, at a convenient time and place to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the introduction and first reading of Bills on the fourth sitting day be taken before Questions and as soon after Three o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of making a different use of Fridays in the future?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is a totally different matter.

Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this Order be a Standing Order of the House."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY said he had no desire to oppose the motion, but he would suggest that the right hon. Gentleman might go a little bit further. Fifteen years ago a recommendation was made by a Standing Committee that the absurd custom of bringing in Bills by first asking permission and then being called from the bar to the Table, and all that sort of humbug, might be abolished. Surely the First Reading was sufficient in itself.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is not relevant to the question before the House. It has been decided to adopt a certain Sessional Order, and the point is now whether the Order, worded as it is, shall be a Standing Order.

MR. T. M. HEALY: But if we now make it a Standing Order we shall defer our hopes of reform on this point. So long as it is merely a Sessional Order we can raise the question every session in the hope of inducing the Government to introduce a change which is certainly most desirable. You, Sir, must realise its absurdity when you have to call a hundred members to the Table.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must stop the hon. Member. The subject is quite irrelevant to the question before the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: After the expression of the opinion of the hon. Member, I do not wish to press the motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[SECOND DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): The House is much fuller now than it was when I rose for the purpose of addressing it last night. When we adjourned I was calling attention to the serious epidemic which had broken out in Manchester and the north of England, and by which so many people had been rendered grievously sick, and so many lives had been lost. I was asking, too, for an assurance from the Government that they would take some action with regard to this question during the present session. I had expressed my deep disappointment that there was not even the slightest mention of the question, or any expression whatever of sympathy with the sufferers, contained in the gracious Speech from the Throne or in the utterances of Ministers, and I further added the opinion that so important and, in my humble judgment, so urgent was the matter, that it ought to be dealt with without delay. I was pointing out that the fact of a Royal Commission having been appointed was no justification whatever for delay, inasmuch as the facts had already been ascertained and the causes of the epidemic proved, and I was asking the leave of the House to prove these assertions when the hands of the clock pointed to the hour of twelve, and the debate stood adjourned. With the permission of the House, I will resume now where I left off, and I will endeavour to prove that the statements I concluded by making last night are absolutely borne out by the facts of the case.

I relied on the testimony of witnesses from four different quarters. In the first place, I referred to the commission appointed by the Manchester Brewers' Association to inquire into this question the moment there was reason to believe that the illness and deaths were due to the presence of arsenic in beer. The admission made in the commissioners' report was very significant, because they are necessarily interested parties. They say they consider—

> "that it is clearly established that the arsenic found in deleterious quantities in the beer was solely due to the sugars which had been used in its manufacture supplied by a certain firm, and further, that the arsenic in the sugar was undoubtedly derived from the sulphuric acid used in its preparation."

I come next to the opinion of some of the local authorities chiefly concerned, based on the expert opinions of their analysts and medical officers. There is the very important report of the Sanitary Committee of Manchester itself—

> "The outbreak [they say] has been due to the consumption of beer and stout, especially the former, of the cheaper kinds, and it has been confined to adults, which practically exonerates bread, jams, syrup, cheap sweets, etc."

This is important, because it had been suggested that these articles might be responsible for the outbreak. They go on to say—

> "The quantities of beer used to produce symptoms did not, in some cases, exceed three or four glasses daily. The amount of arsenic present in those beers must therefore, at some period, have been large, or arsenic must have been present in a specially poisonous form."

Now, with regard to the number of casualties that have occurred, there has been a report presented by an Inspector of the Local Government Board, and recently laid on the Table of the House, in which he tells us—what I have no doubt is perfectly true—that he is unable to give any reliable estimate at present of the number of deaths which have occurred. But the Sanitary Committee of Manchester estimate the number of deaths in 1900 at little less than 100, calculating them as follows—

> "From peripheral and other neuritis there have died in 1900 thirty-five persons more than in 1899. These deaths must be ascribed, we think, to the arsenical glucose and inverts. From cirrhosis of the liver there have died in 1900 thirty-three persons more than in 1899. The majority of these are probably due to the consumption of arsenical beers and stouts. From alcoholism there have died in 1900 twenty-eight more persons than in 1899. A portion of these have probably owed their deaths partly to the presence of arsenic in beer. The number of deaths, however, is by no means a measure of the widespread disablement which has been caused."

They further add this very important statement, that—

> "Though the danger is less than it has been probably for a considerable time, it is im-

> possible to say that injurious results are not still being produced."

I may go on to point out that although the commission was appointed on the 11th January, and their report is dated the 30th, they wind up with the following resolution, adopted by the Corporation of Manchester at a full meeting—

> "That having regard to the serious loss of life and injury to health which are disclosed the Local Government Board be respectfully requested to take into their grave and immediate consideration the state of the law affecting the question, with a view to the same being strengthened by further legislation."

Now I pass from the city of Manchester to the reports of the Public Health Committee of the county of Lancashire, and I will read a few words from these in order to put before the House what are the views entertained by that very highly responsible body. In the first place they say, referring to the large number of cases of peripheral neuritis, that they were—

> "clearly traced to the consumption of beer contaminated with arsenic. Further examination showed that the presence of the arsenic was due to certain invert sugar used during the process of brewing being heavily charged with that drug."

The medical officer in his report goes on to add—

> "The number of deaths in the county I have not so far been able to ascertain, but there is reason to believe that many deaths not always recognised as due to arsenic have taken place during the past few months."

He further makes this very important statement—

> "But the evil has not yet passed away, as two of the samples purchased on the 8th inst. (January) had each been found to contain one tenth of a grain of arsenic per gallon."

That, I am informed by the highest authorities, is an amount of arsenic in beer which is likely to prove most exceedingly dangerous. The analyst for the county of Lancashire deals with two points in particular which I desire to urge upon the attention of the House, for I am sure they are deserving of serious consideration. He gives, in the first place, a very complete contradiction to the statement, which has been so freely circulated, that the mischief—the accident, as in some quarters it has been called—was due to the misconduct or the misfortune of one firm alone. Indeed he gives quite a different view of the question, because in his report will be found this sentence—

> "Besides the one firm of manufacturers alluded to, the sugar from two other firms has been found to contain arsenic. One of them whose product was sent from different districts of the country had evidently been using for making sugar pyrites sulphuric acid imperfectly purified."

I submit that, if three cases have already been found out, it is not unreasonable to suppose there are many more cases which have not yet been detected. The second point to which I wish to call attention is this. He shows that the scare which it has been endeavoured to raise with regard to arsenic in malt itself is practically devoid of any serious or any real foundation. What he says is this—

> "All malt necessarily contains on its surface, as it comes from the kiln, traces of arsenic, which can be removed by the ordinary process of brushing and cleaning."

Then he adds—

> "It is evident that some maltsters do not clean their malt. As a rule the traces which remain are of no more consequence than the arsenic in the air of every city burning coal as fuel."

It is right and only fair that I should add the following extract—

> "In the course of my investigations some samples of beer—*i.e.*, beer brewed from malt and hops—have been found containing more than traces of arsenic which was derived solely from uncleaned malt, and in a few instances it was considered advisable to destroy the beer and to send back the remaining malt to be cleaned."

That is a matter which he treated in this way. He said the arsenic can be easily removed, and that all that is necessary is that maltsters should be careful with regard to the cleaning of their malt.

I think, Sir, I have said enough for the present with respect to the views of the various local authorities. But before I part with the question I should like to add that it seems to have been a very dexterous move on the part of our opponents to try and create great alarm with regard to the presence of arsenic or other poisonous matters in malt. There are, however, two answers to that which I think deserve the serious attention of the House. So far as I know, the methods of malting to-day are precisely the same as they have been for many generations in this country, and if it be true that there is this hidden danger lurking within it, can anybody explain why it is that during all these hundreds of years there has not been the slightest trace of danger? There is another very remarkable coincidence. I am informed that in the suburbs of Manchester itself, in the heart of one of the districts in which this epidemic has been raging, there is a well-known brewery which brews from nothing but malt and hops, and, up to the time of my information, in the whole district supplied from that brewery, although illness and death were daily occurring all round, there had not been one single case attributed to the beer from that brewery. I think these two points go far to justify the confident belief which I entertain that there is really little or nothing in the alarming scare which it has been endeavoured to create on that point. I do not want to weary the House, or I would refer to reports which have been received from the health authorities of the counties of Shropshire and Staffordshire, each of them tracing the mischief to its source in much the same way as the other bodies whose reports I have quoted. There are other testimonies which favour the view I entertain. There has been the inquiry before the Coroner at Manchester, and there is also the report of Dr. Buchanan, the Inspector of the Local Government Board. As to the coroner's inquiry, which lasted over a great number of days, and in the course of which evidence of a most voluminous and exhaustive character was taken, the ultimate result was that, although the jury differed as to the persons on whom the blame was to be affixed, they were absolutely unanimous in the view that the epidemic was due to the presence of arsenic in beer. One juryman, indeed, went so far as to say that no sane person could have any doubt as to that. The report of Dr. Buchanan has been published within the last few days, and I think it will be sufficient for me to say, in regard to that, that he emphatically confirms the evidence already given by the other bodies I have alluded to, tracing the evil, in the first place to arsenic in the beer itself, from the beer to the sugar, and from the sugar to the acids which were used in its preparation. Having said this, I submit to the House with all confidence that I have made good my assertion that, so far as the epidemic which has been raging during the last few months in Manchester and the Midlands is concerned, the facts have already been ascertained, and that what is wanted at the present moment is action on the part of His Majesty's Government, rather than futher inquiry.

Let me remind the House what has happened in regard to this matter. The last time this question was raised in Parliament was in 1896.[*] Then, as now, it was proposed to refer the whole subject for inquiry. My hon. friend the Member for Sudbury, who has for years made this question his own, and who has stuck to it with a tenacity which I believe sooner or later must meet with success—a success which will be well deserved—agreed, wisely, as I thought at the time, to the proposal for an inquiry. An inquiry was accordingly held. It was entrusted to a Committee which was described by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer as the best Committee that could have been constituted upon the question. So it was, no doubt, from the Treasury point of view. It was most careful, whatever else it did, to do nothing in the world that could prejudice or interfere with or injure in any way the revenue. But when we come to the much more important question of the public health, the question which was really before the Committee, then I am bound to say that in my humble opinion, judging by the light of subsequent events, I doubt very much if the public can altogether endorse the high encomiums passed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon that Committee. We all remember what happened at the time. The Committee consisted of six members, and one of the number, in a Minority Report, basing himself entirely on the evidence given before the Committee, declared that, in his opinion, legislation was urgently necessary. The remaining five declared that none of the substitutes for malt which at that time were used were deleterious, nor was any danger to be apprehended from them. They, therefore, reported that no legislation whatever was required. Yet within a few months—because many of these cases of poisoning are said to have occurred at least six months before public attention was called to them—we find that thousands of people became grievously ill and that deaths occurred by the score from causes against which Parliament had been already more than once warned. The history of the past and the facts of the present being what they are, it is not very surprising that a great deal of alarm and consternation has been aroused throughout the country, and that it has been strikingly manifested during the last few months in a variety of ways. To my own knowledge within the short period resolutions have been passed by between 300 and 400 different public bodies in the country, notwithstanding the fact that the recent death of Queen Victoria put a stop to all proceedings on public questions for a considerable time. Still, boards of guardians in great numbers have passed resolutions on this subject. So too have parish councils, county councils, and public meetings of all sorts and kinds. Besides that, numerous agricultural bodies have followed their example. Let me say just one word on that point.

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[*] For discussion on motion for Second Reading of the Beer Adulteration Bill (1896), see *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. xxxix., page 86.

It has been suggested in some quarters that this is nothing but an agricultural movement. It would be very odd indeed if agriculturists were not very deeply interested, seeing that farm labourers form probably the most numerous class of working men in this country, and are at the same time among the chief consumers of beer throughout the United Kingdom. But I want to point out to the House that this movement is not by any means limited to agriculturists, for I can give a list of trade unions which to my knowledge have already taken up this question, and are deeply interested in it. There may be, for anything I know, a great many more, but I am in a position to state that among those who have already taken action are the trade union organisations of Manchester, Salford, Newport (Monmouthshire), Hull, Southport, Heywood, Radcliffe, West Bromwich, Edinburgh, Gloucester, Preston, and North Staffordshire. All these have passed resolutions calling upon the Government to promote such measures in Parliament as will ensure that only pure and wholesome beer shall in future be sold to the public, and they go on to urge that legislation shall be immediately introduced without waiting for the Report of the Royal Commission. No doubt this Commission will be accepted as one of the best ever appointed, and deservedly so. So far as I am concerned I desire to speak with the very highest respect of its *personnel.* But when I remember the result of the investigation conducted by the last Committee, I am not greatly encouraged with regard to the prospects of this Commission.

We may be asked what it is that we propose. If we are, my reply would be this. If the case is so grave as to call for intervention, no one, I think, will deny that it is for the Government, with all the means and all the resources it has at its command, to make its own proposal for dealing with this important subject. But there are various methods by which as it seems to me it might be dealt with by the Government. The Government might prohibit the use of substitutes altogether, as is done in Germany at the present time, or they might limit their prohibition to the use of sugars which have been proved to be injurious, or they might restrict the use of sugars within such limits as would be safe—a course which, personally, I am inclined to think might be the better—or they might discourage and sufficiently limit their use by imposing a higher duty on the beer in the production of which sugar is used, or, if it be thought preferable to go a step further, they might revert, to some extent, to the system which formerly prevailed, and charge the duty on the materials instead of on the product. By a higher duty they might effectually discourage and restrict the use of those sugars which have been so much complained of. I myself pronounce no opinion on the merits of any of these proposals. It is no part of my business, nor is it my duty to do so to-night.

But if the Government are not prepared for any of the methods I have suggested as possible, there is one expedient to which I cannot conceive there can be any very substantial objection. They could, by a very short Act of Parliament, give the public an opportunity of knowing what, when they ask for beer, they are really invited to drink. And they could effect this by simply requiring a declaration showing what substitutes, if any, are used for malt in the manufacture of beer. That principle has been established quite recently in another Act of Parliament, and why should it not be extended to the manufacture of beer? I want the House to remember that there is a new terror in connection with this question for the consumers of beer which has only been recently disclosed. It is not only arsenic that is to be dreaded. The latest discovery by competent experts, as has been pointed out in a journal strictly devoted to these subjects, a journal of great reputation, namely, the *Lancet*, is that there is another poison called selenium, which, it is stated, is equally liable, when these substitutes are used, to have most injurious effects upon the consumers of beer. It is well to remember, too, that the Commission which has been appointed to examine into this question will find that this particular point is beyond the scope of their reference, as that reference, from beginning to end, in every line, is strictly limited to the question whether arsenic is present in the beer. It is possible that some hon. Members in this House, and some opponents of this movement, may contend that the precise causes of this epidemic have not yet been sufficiently proved in all their different details, but I defy anybody in this House or elsewhere, at all events, to deny that the presumption that the use of these substitutes is attended with danger to the public, is absolutely and conclusively established. And, if that is so, I say we have no right in Parliament to allow the continuance of this danger until any Commission, however responsible, has reported its verdict and its opinion. Let your Commission proceed by all means, and let it make its report as early as it can, but until it has done so, and until you have from it the assurance that these things do not constitute a danger to the public, I say that the very least you can do is to give the public the opportunity and the means of protecting themselves by allowing them to know what it is they are going to drink when they ask for beer—to protect themselves, remember, against such a calamity as occurred only the other day, and which might very easily have been attended with even more serious results. From the information we have, it might very easily have been a supreme disaster.

I have made these few observations to-night in no spirit of hostility whatever to His Majesty's Government—my old friends and associates on that bench will give me at least credit for this; but I have spoken to give them the opportunity of explaining most fully what are their intentions with regard to this question. It has never been my habit, nor is it my intention to-night, to say anything whatever in the nature of menace or threat; but I sincerely hope that the reply will be one favourable to the views which I entertain—views which I know are shared at this moment by a great number of Members in this House. In the meantime, I should shrink from what I regard as a positive duty if I were to say anything else than this. Should the reply we receive be entirely unfavourable, and should it hold out no hope and give no indication of any intention on the part of the Government to deal with this grave and urgent question during the present session, why then, of course, we must reserve to ourselves the right to take whatever steps we think desirable for the public safety.

*MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I notice from the speeches delivered by hon. Members opposite with respect to the war in South Africa that there is a disposition to attribute to those on this side whose opinions are antagonistic to the war a desire to take advantage of the difficulties of the situation, and to declare that it is because those difficulties are increasing that we are urging more strongly than ever that steps should be taken to put a stop to hostilities. Such a charge is not at all warranted by the facts of the case. We realise that there is a moral law for nations as well as for individuals, and it is because the war at the present moment has reached a phase entirely different in every respect from what it presented at its inception that we urge its cessation. In the opinion of many it could always be looked upon as a blunder, but in the present situation it must be looked upon as absolutely wrong and a crime. It can be said that the war ought to have come to a conclusion on many dates since it began. One opportunity which was not taken advantage of by us to urge the acceptance of terms of peace was when we had succeeded in repelling the invasion of our territory. There was again an opportunity for further efforts being made when we occupied Bloemfontein. There was a third, and perhaps the best opportunity of all, when Johannesburg and Pretoria were occupied by our troops, and when we practically obtained military supremacy. In place of any real efforts being made to stop the war we by our own action, as I shall prove conclusively, revitalised the war and gave it a further term of life. After the fall of Pretoria what was the state of the Boer commandoes in the field? They were disheartened, demoralised, bewildered, and they were wavering. If at that time British policy had in any way been a conciliatory one towards them, or, what is even more important, a definite one, there is every human probability that the war would have been over. I want the House to contrast the spirit of the Boers at that time and now. We see now not only a complete change in the character of the war, but in the spirit of the men who are fighting. We see a stubborn doggedness and courage such as was not expected. How is this to be explained? The Afrikander character is a character which can be led but cannot be driven. The Afrikander is patient and long suffering until he is aroused, when he becomes stubborn and unforgiving, and it is because these men have been aroused by a sense of gross injustice practised on them that we see the present situation. Their memory is a long one. They have a longer memory as a nation than perhaps any in the world. They are not likely to forget the injustices to which they have been treated. How have the promises we gave them by the proclamations of Lord Roberts after the occupation of Pretoria tallied with our performances of them? We promised them protection immediately after the fall of Pretoria—protection and freedom from molestation under certain conditions. The conditions were that they should take the oath of neutrality and surrender their arms. I believe the feeling which animated them when they heard that proclamation was one of astonishment. They saw through the darkness a ray of light. They believed that what they had heard about British pretensions was false, and that, after all, we intended to treat them generously. They acted in accordance with this proclamation. All the evidence goes to prove that after the occupation of Johannesburg and Pretoria the number of arms given up was unprecedented, and greater than it has ever been since. But alas! they were again disillusionised. Our performances did not come up to our promises. One of our first acts was to demand that some of their leading citizens should come forward and travel as hostages on the trains where the lines were damaged and broken up—a proceeding such as had never hitherto disgraced British military annals in the conduct of war against belligerents in the field. So indefensible were such proceedings that they could not be continued because they were contrary to all military law. Well again, the Boers saw themselves, in spite of the proclamation that they would be protected and unmolested, threatened with fines and taxation on their land, because, forsooth, different parts of the railway were being broken up by the belligerents in the field. They were even obliged to act as heralds of the proclamation in their own district, and they saw—and here comes the worst of those features—farms burned over whole districts. To a certain extent that farm-burning has gone on since the inception of the war. We have heard that Lord Methuen after crossing the Orange River commenced this farm-burning. It is sometimes denied that this farm-burning took place. I do not wish to give any anonymous statements, and I shall read what Lieut. Morrison has published under his own name. He served in the Canadian artillery, and in view of what he states it would not be right to be silent. I will only read a few words which he has written describing this farm-burning. He writes—

> "The country is very like Scotland, and we moved on from valley to valley lifting cattle and sheep, burning, looting, and turning out women and children to sit and weep in despair and utter misery beside the ruins of their once beautiful homesteads."

And then he goes on to say—

> "We burned a track about six miles wide through these fertile valleys, and completely destroyed the village of Wilpoort and the flourishing town of Dullstroom. The column left a trail of fire and smoke behind it that could be seen at Belfast. Many of the houses were surrounded with beautiful gardens abloom with roses, lilies, and hollyhocks, and embowered with fruit trees, and with my glasses I could see the women and children bundled out, their bedding thrown through the windows after them. The cavalry would ride rapidly away, and the poor women and children, utterly confounded by the sudden visitation, would remain standing in the yard or garden watching helplessly their homes disappear in fire and smoke."

This is a written statement made by an officer who took part in the fighting, and who is mentioned in despatches for his gallantry in action. If false, why is it not taken notice of by the Government and contradicted? I say that when these facts come to be known not only shall we be convinced that the Boers have been treated with injustice, but that the whole character of the war has changed. We are face to face with a very different situation now from that at the time when we were asked to vote supplies on the issue of the ultimatum and the invasion of our territory. But even as a matter of policy alone what an impolitic action it has been. The Boers had nothing more to lose and everything to gain by continuing the struggle. It is said the Boers in many cases broke their oath of neutrality which we forced on them, but from their point of view the oath was a conditional one, and if our part of the agreement was not carried out they were naturally freed from theirs.

A further thing which prevented the war from coming to a conclusion was, after we occupied Pretoria, the injudicious action in the successive appointments we made. The attention of the House has already been called to this matter by the very complete disclosure, which attracted so much notice, by the hon. Member for Macclesfield last session. I have evidence in my hand on this matter from a very unexpected quarter. It is from the very men for whom we are supposed to have gone to war—namely, the Uitlander body. What do these men say as a protest against our own action after we occupied Pretoria with reference to those one-sided partisan appointments? They say—

> "No sooner did the end of the war appear to be in sight than the capitalists, who had hitherto apparently been actuated by a desire for 'good government and pure administration' threw off their disguise, and with unseemly, indecent haste they rushed in to seize the spoils of war. Pretoria had barely fallen when Field Marshal Lord Roberts and the Military Governor at Johannesburg were already surrounded by an atmosphere of 'interests,' and the most responsible civil positions in the Transvaal were filled by former representatives of the interested corporations, many of whom, by virtue of their new offices, became armed with the most extensive powers for prying into the private financial affairs of the absent community."

This is the language of Uitlanders of Pretoria, dated October last year.

> "The Transvaal capitalist is not an Imperialist, although he has rendered valuable assistance to the Imperial cause, but only to attain his own sordid ends."

So the Uitlanders have discovered the truth at last, and perhaps in time the people of this country also will learn it.

> "Even the large sums of money he has contributed towards the equipment of men to fight for the Empire he regards as but part of a necessary business transaction, seeing the great interests he has at stake. The main idea in his policy is expressed by the words *monopoly* and *centralisation.*"

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): Can the hon. Member tell me who signed that?

*MR. PIRIE: It is contained in a protest issued by the Uitlander Refugee Committee at Cape Town, and giving an account of a mass meeting of refugees on Saturday, 27th December, to be addressed by his Worship the Mayor of Cape Town, Hon. A. Wilmot, Colonel Schermbrucker, Mr. Zietsman, Major-General Brabant, and Major Crewe. It is a protest against capitalistic legislation.

*LORD STANLEY: Who made that particular speech?

*MR. PIRIE: This is from the protest issued by the Refugee Committee. There was a further inducement to the Boers to resist in the wholesale exportation from their country of even crippled and physically infirm men under charges which were to a very great extent exaggerated. I exonerate the military from participation in these exaggerated charges because they were misled by the very men against whose appointment I have been protesting, but they should have guarded themselves against the pernicious influence of the "atmosphere of interests" in place of being led by it. After the speech of the hon. Member for the Macclesfield Division last session, even the Chancellor of the Exchequer was unable to defend the appointments, and had to admit that they were made on the spur of the moment and would be revised. But the harm was done. The question had to be settled on the spot, and the Boers were instigated to continue their resistance by such partiality and injustice. The Leader of the House yesterday said that he did not think the Government or anyone else was very much to blame for the mistake of thinking the war was over in September. To my mind a greater confession of absolute ineptitude could not be made by any Government. It was their duty to know the real facts of the case. There was not only a want of grasp of the situation, but also an utter inability to realise the natural feelings of manhood which ought to animate every nation struggling for its liberty and country. That was at the bottom of the ignorance and the want of provision made by the Government. They ought to have known that this would be the natural result of their policy, but it is hard perhaps in these days for anyone, much less His Majesty's Government, to realise that there are still people who will fight for justice and ideals. This example of the Boer Republics will live in the history of the world, and benefit humanity at large. When the names of our commanders are forgotten the names of Cronje and De Wet will be honoured by the world, and their example admired by all true soldiers.

I listened with the utmost regret to the speech of the hon. Member for the Totnes Division last night, and, while I would be the first to compliment and congratulate him on the gallant part he has taken in the fighting, I do not think there has ever been a more unsoldierlike speech made by a soldier, in whom respect for a brave enemy ought to be a first quality. The idea of saying there is no such thing as honour in the Boer vocabulary! That may be the opinion of the hon. Gentleman, but it is not the opinion of Lord Methuen or of General Porter, or of scores of other brave soldiers who have seen most of the active service. I took but a humble part in duties on the line of communication, but I met a great many officers, and I say that the more the officers came into contact with the Boers, and the more actual fighting they saw, the more deeply were they impressed with the soldierlike qualities and bravery of the Boers. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies said in 1881, after enumerating their characteristics—

> "Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of English race? Are they not virtues which we are proud to believe form the best characteristics of the English people?"

And there are scores of others to the same effect. Sir George Colley says—

> "The Boers are in the main a brave and high-spirited people, and actuated by feelings entitled to our respect."

I have heard the same thing from the lips of the late Sir Herbert Stewart, who was made a prisoner by the Boers, and than whom the House could not listen to a braver or more humane soldier; and who was never tired of extolling the manhood and bravery of the Boers. Since the issue of the Ultimatum the situation has in my opinion entirely changed; it was then our bounden duty to strain every effort to repel the invasion and to furnish supplies for that purpose, but under the changed conditions, owing to the lack of all endeavour to conclude a peace, as far as I am concerned, unless we get some proof positive from the Government that some genuine communications are going to be entered into with the Boer leaders, and that some terms other than unconditional surrender are to be proposed, I should absolutely refuse to vote any further supplies. It is said to be our pride that is preventing us taking such action. In my opinion it is vindictiveness, and it appears to me that the spirit which is animating the Government at the present time is that of a vindictive bully. There is never any shame in generosity or magnanimity, especially to a beaten enemy. Our military supremacy has been proved as far as numerical strength is concerned; we have occupied the capitals of the States, and surely it is time we brought statesmanship to work.

Doubtless I shall be told it is wrong to bring out these facts, but the Government are responsible for them. The charge of defamation of one's own country is the last resource of those who have no other defence to make. Lord Salisbury's speech yesterday was not only injudicious, it was impolitic, it was directly playing into the hands of the young Dutch party—men who are not greatly interested in cementing the bonds of friendship between our colony and ourselves. Our action has been not only a great blunder but a great crime, and unless we get such guarantees as I have indicated, I, at any rate, shall refuse to vote any further supplies for this war.

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER (Suffolk, Sudbury): It is very difficult to bring one's mind all at once to the difference between the smiling, fertile lands of the Transvaal, to which the last speaker has alluded, and the slums and the alleys of Manchester, to which I desire more particularly to refer. I also regret that the speech of the hon. Member should have followed that of the right hon. Gentleman behind me, who from his long experience and his well-known and honoured career at the Local Government Board and other departments of State, made just the sort of speech we should have expected from him under the circumstances. It can but add to the force, dignity, and welfare of the movement with which I have been so long connected to have associated with it one so deservedly loved and respected as my right hon. friend.

There is a very strong volume of opinion in the country, and also, I believe, in this House, as to the injudicious action of the Government in not making any allusion in the King's Speech to a calamity of such great importance as has recently occurred in the north of England. Without being in a position to produce actual proof, I have repeatedly hinted that there was distinct danger under the present conditions, and that must be remembered when we consider whether or not the officials of the Government departments have had warning. It is clear that the action of this Commission, if it is to be thorough—as I am sure it will be when I consider of whom it is composed—must necessarily take some time. We have heard that another serious poison, entirely outside the terms of reference, has been discovered, so that unless the terms of the reference can be enlarged, I presume that when this Commission has reported we may look forward with hope to the appointment of another Commission to inquire into this fresh poison which has unfortunately cropped up at the very moment the constitution of Commission No. 2 has been settled. I say "Commission No. 2," because the House will remember that the Government granted a Committee in 1896, and I suppose they hoped that that would be the last. But it so happens that, although the majority of that Committee reported that there was nothing deleterious in beer, that the Inland Revenue authorities had ample powers, and that everything was as serene as it could be, and although only this last autumn one of the officials, on some festive occasion, congratulated the brewers that there was an end to all that fantastic movement called the "pure beer movement," and that they were to be left alone in future in full enjoyment of their innocence and purity, at the very moment he was speaking, their able and intelligent medical officers in the north of England were finding out that what had been put down previously to alcoholism was a fearful disease traceable to the action of arsenic. It is a very dangerous thing to prophesy until you know, and I hope that in future, until you know what is in the cask, we shall have no more prophecies from the officials of the Government. The real question is, ought we not to have had some reference to such an important question, and if not, are we not to look forward with hope to the explanation of my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board? It is a great pleasure to think that we shall have an explanation from him, because they always come from him with so much eloquence that if you do not agree with him you know that he has done what he thinks is right. He has only recently gone to that department, and we do not expect him to do more than others would have done in his place. I should like the House for a few moments to consider what he has done. A terrible epidemic breaks out, and even to the man in the street it occurs what is the proper thing to do. I ventured to write to *The Times* newspaper, and I stated that it was the first duty of the Government to institute an inquiry and find out the real cause of this epidemic. Instead of doing this they let the brewers in before them.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): We did not do that. We decided to send an inspector, and later we thought it best to have the assistance of another inspector.

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER: The brewers had formed a committee of experts, but amongst them were two experts usually employed by the Government Department, and the unfortunate man in the street could only come to the conclusion that it was a sort of inquiry by the brewers, assisted by the distinguished men who advise His Majesty's Government. We now hear that the right hon. Gentleman sent down a distinguished officer connected with his own Department to make those inquiries, and that distinguished gentleman hasreported. I have his report here, and I do not know whether the House has had time to read it during the recess. I admit that the time is short, but I do not see the advantage, when you send an eminent man down to ascertain the cause of a disaster of this kind, involving an independent examination, of getting a report second-hand. This, in my opinion, detracts very much, not from the ability of the gentleman employed, but from the value of the report. What is the general effect of this report? Does it contain a description of the examination of the materials which caused the epidemic? No, it does not. Has the inspector obtained samples for himself? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will be able to answer. Has he obtained samples for the Government laboratories? Has he obtained any first-hand information as to the disposal of the incriminated materials and beers, or has he thrown any new light on the causes or extent of the poisoning? Has this inspector given us any figures of his own as to the amount of poison in any of the samples of poisoned beers or sugar? No; the report is a compilation of second-hand information, gathered from sources to which we have, for the most part, had access for some time. I am endeavouring to deal with this report, because, no doubt, it is going to be put forward as a reason for not granting what we demand. Up to the present moment we have no authoritative information as to the amount of arsenic or other poison present in the beers and sugar which have caused such dire mischief. Surely in this, the first Government Report on the subject, we might have expected such vital points as these to be fully dealt with. I do not blame Dr. Buchanan, and I wish to make it perfectly clear that I am not attacking him personally in any way. What I do say is, that the matter has not been dealt with from the beginning in the manner that its importance demanded. I ventured to point out in December last the necessity for immediate action, and I can only suppose that when Dr. Buchanan arrived upon the scene the materials which he required had either been destroyed or else placed beyond his reach. What would have happened in France if a calamity such as this had occurred in that country? It would have been immediately referred to the Council of Hygiene, or in Germany to the Imperial Board of Health, and upon their report the Government would have either taken action or refrained from doing so. They would have received from the local authorities the samples required; but what is our system here? One medical officer of health says he believes that the impurities are confined to the glucose of one manufacturer. The next day another expert says it is not confined to the glucose of any one manufacturer. The fact is that these dangers, whether of arsenical or selenium poisoning, are all discovered, not by the Government authorities or the brewers, but by private individuals. I consider this so serious a question, that the Government ought to have taken some more adequate action. If they do not feel inclined to introduce legislation, some of us can undertake it ourselves, if the supporters of the Government will assist us. If the Government will not protect us, then we must try to protect ourselves. There are ways by which we can protect ourselves, and all I blame the right hon. Gentleman's Department for is, not that they have not done perhaps all that they were in a position to do, but that they have not placed themselves in a position to deal with any such future outbreak in a more thorough manner.

I cannot believe that the appointment of a commission with so wide a reference as the present Arsenical Commission will achieve much good. A good deal has been made out in regard to the discovery of arsenic, which is now being found everywhere. It has been stated that arsenic is to be found in malt, but I do not think many of us would have been alive now if there had been any appreciable amount of arsenic in malt. I will tell the House why. A very eminent professor—Professor Campbell Brown, of the University College, Liverpool—has made an analysis of a sample of sulphuric acid taken from Messrs. Bostock's works, and he has made a calculation of the total amount of arsenic found. This calculation extended for thirty weeks in the summer delivery, and it gave a total of over four tons of white arsenic in the season, which was upwards of 300 lb. per week, or 2,191,000 grains per week. The professor goes on to state that if this quantity of arsenic were divided into equal doses and administered at one time to people, it was enough to kill 1,000,000 people per week, or the whole of the inhabitants of Great Britain in a season. The most curious part of all this is that no one has published any figures showing that anything approaching a deleterious quantity of arsenic per gallon has been found in any beer brewed from malt and hops alone. I do not think it has ever been seriously stated that beer brewed from barley malt and hops contains any appreciable quantity of arsenic, or, indeed, any arsenic at all. From time immemorial beer has been brewed from malt and hops, and the people have flourished. I think it is absurd to compare these minute quantities of poison found in some malts with those found in the condemned sugars. We want some remedy which will ensure us getting what we ask for, and if we insist upon beer being made of barley malt, hops, and water we may take it as absolutely certain that we shall be safe from any similar calamity.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport): I have for a long time been identified more or less with the subject which underlies that which we are now discussing, and, loyal supporter as I am of His Majesty's Government, I should be failing in my duty if I did not place distinctly on record my regret that the Government have not seen fit to take up a different line of attitude on this subject than they have done. I can assure the representatives of His Majesty's Government who are present, that if they would go into many parts of the country, not only in the rural districts but in some of our largest towns, they would find that this question has occupied attention in only a secondary degree to the events in South Africa. We had hoped that we should have seen an appreciation of the serious condition of things which has prevailed in consequence of this outbreak, and we had hoped to hear some promise of legislation dealing with the manufacture and the sale of beer. My right hon. friend who introduced this subject alluded to a very widespread and mistaken fallacy on this question. He spoke of the idea being entertained that this question was being pressed forward by a large section of this House solely and only in the interests of agriculturists. There are very few agriculturists who are not perfectly aware of what was stated by the representatives of the brewing interest not long ago, to the effect that any such measure as that which is now being advocated would undoubtedly do away with the purchase of some of the inferior class of barley, and that the trade would suffer rather than gain from such action. Farmers are aware of that, and have taken it into consideration. I would remind the House that, if this is to be talked of as an agricultural question, it is easy to demonstrate that it is not merely an agricultural question, but one touching the immediate fringe of a great national question, probably one of the largest with which we have at present to do—namely, the re-population of the rural districts, the finding employment for our agricultural labourers, and the re-establishment on the land of that large section of the people who are some of its most valuable inhabitants, and on whom we depend to draw our recruiting strength for our military forces. Therefore, if I am to be challenged on that point, I have a very conclusive answer, and can rapidly transfer the scene of action from the agricultural to a broad, national point of view. I want to say on this subject that, although we naturally utilise to the utmost the arguments provided for us by the recent cases of poisoning in Lancashire and in other parts of the country, still we do not for a moment wish to allege that the only and sole reason for justice being done in this case, and for action being taken by the Government, depends on the recent poisonous outbreak. We believe we have an absolutely clear case for supporting the elementary right of the consumers of beer to a proper legal definition of that which they asked for and which they expect to be supplied to them. That is a point of law on which there seems to be considerable doubt. I believe that, from recent experience, we have a right to demand the recognition that the consumer shall be fairly protected when he asks to be supplied with beer as one of the well-known articles of food and diet. Recent legislation tends altogether in that direction. The analogy of the Margarine Act is extremely close, although I will not follow it up; and I know no fair reason why the consumer of one article of food and diet should not be protected as well as the consumer of another. What is needed is to bring this elementary right into action, and to give the people the advantage of it. What is wanted is, in fact, a reasonable definition of that which the consumer has a right to be supplied with when he asks for an article by a certain name. Why is that definition not given? There would be nothing startling or revolutionary in providing it. Some of us may desire that it should be a very narrow definition; others that it should be larger and wider. But that would be a matter for the wisdom of this House. At all events a definition ought in fair play to be legally established. I am not sure—I am not an expert in these matters—but that some of the Government Departments themselves would not be very anxious to see this definition established. I am not quite sure that a lack of such definition is not owing to the action of some of these Government Departments, and that when a change was made in Inland Revenue legislation in 1880—1, the power was not given which would have been quite sufficient to enable these departments to supervise the use of substitutes for malt in brewing, and to limit their employment if there was the slightest notion that they contained any deleterious mixture. I rather think that these powers are already in the Statute-book, and I see no reason why they should not be called into play, and why consumers should not have that protection which the law intended them to have. If it is so, and if these powers have been allowed to lie dormant for a want of definition, it is not unfair to call on the Government or its departments to take steps to immediately provide such a definition as will be reasonable and effective and give the consumer those rights we are now demanding.

I will not elaborate on this subject, although it is one which would bear considerable elaboration. I wish the Government to recognise that this is no small or factious cry, but is the deliberate demand of a very large number of His Majesty's subjects, based upon fair grounds, after the exercise of a great deal of patience, and one which I think no Government can afford to delay granting even this year. I may be told that a definition would not sufficiently establish protection for the general public; but if we had a definition so as to exclude all deleterious mixtures, the public would be supplied with a sound article and would be saved from the effects which have struck the country with consternation. It would be for the Department to take the necessary steps to protect the public at large, and there is no reason why what we ask should not be rapidly given without waiting for the report of the scientific results of the Royal Commission.

*MR. WALTER LONG: I suppose I may state at once that the Government entirely sympathise with the remarks made by my right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford, with reference to his whole attitude to the Government on this particular question. No Member on these benches, any more than any other Member, would ever think of attributing to my right hon, friend any other than the very highest motives; and the House has seen to-day, from the r experience of his treatment of this question, that not only can he bring the facts of the case clearly and forcibly forward, but that he can do it in that particularly agreeable and practical manner which lends a special charm to any subject which my right hon. friend chooses to make his own.

I have no right to complain, indeed, I do not wonder that this question has been raised in debate early in the session. I confess I am sorry that my right hon. friend and those who act with him should think that by omitting from the King's Speech any reference to the recent lamentable epidemic in Manchester we have been guilty of any want of sympathy with the sufferers from the unfortunate outbreak, or that we have desired—as I understand to be my hon. friend's comment upon our action—to ignore altogether the serious character of that outbreak. I very much doubt whether it has been the usual practice to make references in Speeches from the Throne to epidemics of this character. Whether that be so or not, I can honestly say that the Government learned of the epidemic with the greatest possible regret; that we felt the deepest possible sympathy with the unfortunate sufferers; and that we—I speak not so much for the Government as the Department with which I am specially connected—felt that the gravity of the case and the serious consequences arising from it, and, if I may say so, the fact that these consequences might and ought so easily to have been avoided, required that the greatest possible care should be exercised in dealing with the case, and that it should receive from the commencement our unremitting attention. The remarks which have fallen from my right hon. friend, and also from the hon. Member for Sudbury, rather appeared to me to reflect their opinion that the Local Government Board has not taken sufficient action in reference to this matter. We have been found fault with because an inquiry was not instituted as soon as the existence of the epidemic was known, and that when one was so instituted, it was not of a sufficiently weighty character. Well, I do not know what inquiry of a better kind could have been instituted. Supposing at that time we had appointed a Royal Commission what would have been the immediate result? The House will agree that the first thing to do was to find out, if possible, what brought about this epidemic; and, if possible, to take all steps that were possible to arrest or stop it altogether. If we had appointed a Royal Commission immediately, the brewers, their employees, the medical officers of health in the various municipalities—all those connected with the manufacture and distribution of beer, or with the care of the public health—would have had their attention diverted from their proper work, instead of devoting themselves, as they were doing, to the examination of the facts of the case and taking the proper steps to arrest the epidemic. They would have been compelled to come up and give evidence before the Royal Commission, and that would have been throwing impediments in the way of their most important work. But in addition to that, I submit that to send down a competent inspector, a man whose name is well known throughout the country, was the best practical means of getting, first of all, the information we wanted.

It will be admitted that this epidemic came like a bolt from the blue upon everybody. It is perfectly true that there had been some suggestions made before the Committee upon the Pure Beer Bill that certain ingredients used in brewing might contain poisonous matter. The only reference I have come across in my researches in that respect was in the supplement to the Report of that Inquiry, and that reference related to the possibility of arsenic being found in glucose manufactured from potatoes. I want to say one word as to the epidemic itself. This was a case where suddenly it was found that a large number of people had been seized simultaneously with a disease which when it occurred in individuals had been regarded as an alcoholic disease and had not previously been considered to be related to this particular poison, arsenic, or to be a disease which could occur as an epidemic. It was necessary at once to ascertain the facts of the case, so far as they could be ascertained, in Manchester itself. It was also necessary that every step should be taken to ascertain whether this poisonous beer, if it were found to be poisonous, was in general circulation in Manchester or elsewhere. The Department despatched, first of all, a single inspector to Manchester; and then, as soon as that officer reported that his labours were getting rather heavy, we sent to his assistance a second inspector. In addition to that, we issued a circular to county councils. corporations, and other local authorities in which we called their attention to the fact that arsenic had been found in beer manufactured from glucose and other substitutes for malt, and that it was their duty, as the local authorities responsible for the public health of their districts, to secure that proper articles of food were supplied to the people, to obtain samples, and test by experiment whether there were chemicals in these articles of food which contained poisonous ingredients. It was also pointed out that there was no difficulty in detecting the presence of arsenic. Well, we have been found fault with for bringing to light the fact that arsenical poisoning ingredients might have been found in other articles than beer. The Local Government Board has been found fault with for calling attention to the fact that this poison might be found in other articles besides beer. But surely that was the absolute duty of the Public Health Department.

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER: I am very loth to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, but no one has blamed him for making the investigations complete. He is blamed for not making them complete enough.

*MR. WALTER LONG: I gather that my hon. friend blames me for the course I have taken since the outbreak. He animadverted on the sending of an inspector down, and he questioned the work done by the inspector on the spot and the report afterwards presented. I am explaining to the House what I did with respect to the appointment of the inspector, and also the instructions given to the local authority.

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER: If that is the idea the right hon. Gentleman derived from my speech it was certainly the very opposite to what I meant to convey. It was not a prompt, thorough, and complete investigation.

*MR. WALTER LONG: I do not know how we could have made this inquiry in a fuller manner than we did. I have already said that I did not know any other form in which to make the inquiry except through the medium of an inspector, which is the usual and most direct course. No inquiry by a Royal Commission or a Departmental Committee could have been so prompt and so effective at the first stage of the epidemic as the form we adopted, namely, the sending down of an inspector who, by his own knowledge and training, could deal with the questions that arose in a manner that no layman could possibly have done.

My hon. friend went on to say that this report is not of very much value because it contains statements obtained at second hand. I am quite unable to follow my hon. friend, as I cannot understand how the facts relating to an epidemic of this kind can be ascertained otherwise, and I am very glad to hear from him that he did not suggest any slight on the Government. I am quite sure that if my right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford had knowledge of the immense labour performed in Manchester, and if he could realise how hard Dr. Buchanan worked, and for how many hours he was engaged in prosecuting his inquiry, he would immediately acknowledge the valuable service rendered by that gentleman. The evidence he obtained justified further inquiry into the matter. I really think that my hon. friend, although I entirely accept his assurance that he meant to cast no reflection on the inspector, did him at least a kind of injustice when he said it was a report at second hand, and that there was nothing in it to contribute to our knowledge of the subject. I think the community at large are deeply indebted to Dr. Buchanan for the work he did, and for the accurate knowledge which he has placed in our possession in regard to this serious and grave condition of things.

My right hon. friend, who dealt with this question generally, and who devoted a large portion of his speech to proving that this epidemic had arisen from the presence of arsenic in beer—my right hon. friend and his friends blame us—or rather, I do not say blame us, but are disappointed because we have not taken immediate steps in the form of legislation. No one denies for an instant, so far as I know, that a large quantity of beer in the Manchester district, and other places, brewed from certain substitutes, was found to contain arsenic which was highly poisonous and dangerous, and that this particular epidemic was caused in the main from beer brewed from those substitutes for barley malt. It certainly appeared at first that the circumstances were clear and simple. At first it appeared that nearly all the cases were those of people who had been large consumers of beer. But before the inquiry had proceeded more than a short time it was quite apparent that many of the sufferers had been consumers of very small quantities of beer—in some cases a pint or a pint and a half per day of stout or beer. I have no more technical knowledge of this subject than an ordinary layman, but this immediately offered to the scientific experts to whom I have to resort for advice and information a new field of inquiry with regard to this particular form of poisoning. The question immediately arose whether this particular result appearing in people who had not been large consumers of malt liquors was due to cumulative effects of arsenic in small doses which hitherto had hardly been suspected, whether it was due to some special circumstances connected with the individual or his condition at the time, or whether the arsenic so absorbed in the system came into bad company by meeting some other poison which made it suddenly become active where previously it had been locked up and doing no harm. These were the questions immediately raised by the scientific experts and brought before me, and which justified, and not only justified, but called for the appointment of the Commission to which so much exception has been taken to-day. My right hon. friend who initiated this debate knows better than I do, because he has had longer experience, that in questions of this kind to a very large extent the President of the Local Government Board must look to experts, and rely upon their assistance. We could rely with absolute confidence in this matter upon the medical officer of the Local Government Board. Distinguished as have been the Board's medical officers in the past, Sir George Buchanan and Sir Richard Thorne Thorne, the Department is now fortunate in having as their successor one who is so eminent scientifically, and who has so much administrative ability as the present medical officer. In his judgment and knowledge I can place the fullest reliance, and that being so, I had no hesitation in accepting the advice given to me that it was absolutely necessary a further scientific inquiry should be made into this before the Department could accept certain allegations as facts. In addition to this it was suggested by some—reference has been made to it in the speeches of my hon. friends to-day—that do what you would, brew from what you like, glucose or malt, some quantity of arsenic would be found. It was suggested that in some cases the amount of arsenic which might be found might be so small as to be medically harmless, and that no exception ought to be taken to it. If that be the case it is all the more a subject for investigation by a scientific body. Further than that, and this is a most important point, if it be the case that under certain circumstances this terrible poison may be introduced into the substitutes used for brewing beer, it may be necessary to impose on the manufacturers of these articles greater restrictions than at the present time. This all shows that it is a subject on which we required further inquiry by a scientific body to which we could look for advice and guidance.

The suggestion which has been made by my hon. friends who have spoken is, that we should adopt what is called "pure beer" legislation of one form or another. My hon. and gallant friend behind me says that sound legislation of that kind ought to be adopted, not because of the public health so much as because he considers that the individual has a right to know what he is buying. I need not say more about that than, in passing, to remind him and the House that the legislation to which he refers was not initiated and passed through the House in the interests of public health. It was passed through the House in order to prevent fraud. I am bound, for the purpose of this discussion, to look at this question solely from the point of view of public health—solely how the health of the community can be best protected, in view of the facts disclosed by this epidemic, and what is the duty of the Department responsible for the administration of the public health laws. I do not think I have exaggerated what the position of this or of any Government must be in regard to any legislation upon a subject like this. Surely, it would be impossible for the Government to introduce legislation either of a prohibitive character, or of a character to enforce the declaration of the articles from which beer is made, unless three conditions were first fulfilled. Surely, it would be necessary to show, before prohibiting the use of substitutes altogether, or differentiating as against them by the alteration of duties, or by imposing any other of the numerous restrictions suggested, that the use of these substitutes was so inevitably connected with danger to the public health, either in whole or in regard to a large part of the substitutes, that their general use must be made illegal. Surely, if you are forbidding one of the articles used in the manufacture of a particular thing, and therefore confining the manufacture to the only remaining one—barley malt—that one also must be indisputably proved to be always sound and wholesome, so that no risk, however small, would be run. Witnesses who believe in one article or another may give their evidence, but the House knows perfectly well that before a Government Department can adopt legislation such as this they must have all the doubts, whether great or small, cleared away by careful scientific inquiry. They must be satisfied before they adopt legislation of that kind that it is based on just and reasonable grounds. The third condition the Government must be satisfied of before asking the House to legislate is that the measure they are proposing is one which can be carried into effect, and will do the work it is wanted to do. Not one of these conditions will be fulfilled at the present stage of the inquiry. My right hon. friend referred to the fact that there is in one of the reports the statement that arsenic was found in sugars supplied by firms other than Bostocks. I saw that statement at the time, and I took what steps I could to ascertain whether there was anything in that statement. It does not rest on the same solid foundation as the statement with regard to Bostocks. It is undoubtedly the case that a great deal of the sugar was supplied to the brewers through middlemen, and it is very probable that after the poison was detected in Manchester all the poisonous sugar was not discovered to have come direct from Bostocks. I think that, in common justice, I ought to say that, notwithstanding the fact that the brewers of Manchester stood to lose very heavily, they offered to supply every possible facility in the inquiry conducted, and did all in their power to help in the elucidation of the facts of the case. The investigations of the inspectors and the evidence given in nearly all the cases, and the reports of local medical officers, all went to show that this particular epidemic in Manchester and district was due, as I said before, to the substitutes supplied by one manufacturing firm, into which the poisonous matter had got, owing to carelessness so extraordinary that it is difficult to realise even now how it could have happened. When it is considered how easy it is to prevent the introduction of this poison, and when it must or should have been known that this sulphuric acid was to be used for certain purposes, it is almost inconceivable that such carelessness could have taken place. I think there can be no doubt that this particular epidemic was due to glucose manufactured by one firm, and I am informed that that firm only manufactured about five per cent. of the beer substitutes manufactured in this country. Now, I put it to the House that the evidence so far is practically, if not absolutely, confined to that one firm. There seems to be very strong evidence that the epidemic, if not entirely at an end, was arrested and dealt with almost as soon as the poison was discovered. There would appear to be scarcely any cases in which poisonous symptoms appeared for the first time after the nature of the epidemic became generally known. Therefore, would it be possible for anybody to say, speaking on behalf of the Department, that the case against substitutes was so firmly established, either in whole or in part, as to justify prohibitive legislation, or even declaratory legislation? I was astonished to hear my right hon. friend suggest in his speech, and I think the suggestion was taken up by the hon. Member for Sudbury, that the allegations about barley malt were a red herring drawn across the path. The statements were not invented by the brewers or the brewers' friends, or by anybody of that kind. The statements emanated from men whose sole object was to ascertain facts, and to put the public in possession of the truth. The first I heard of this was in a report by the public analyst of the city of Manchester. It is said it referred only to arsenic in minute quantity. This is not the case. He found arsenic to the extent of one-tenth of a grain per gallon. If proper precautions are adopted with regard to the treatment of substitutes the same must follow in the case of barley malt. Do you mean to tell me that the presence of arsenic in malt is not important? It seems to me to be perfectly clear that the same precautions will have to be taken in all cases.

I am the last person in the world to raise a scare about the existence of poison either in barley malt or anything else. I feel very strongly that an epidemic of this kind opens up a new field of knowledge and inquiry, and that it is my duty to see not only that everything is done that can be done under the law as it stands, and that all possible information is given to those who are locally responsible for the protection of the public health, but also that every inquiry is made that is likely to throw further light on the subject, in order, if necessary, to take any fresh legislative action that may be taken on the solid basis of ascertained fact. Therefore it is that, I submit to the House, in the present state of our knowledge there cannot be given by those eminent scientific and medical men on whom the Local Government Board rely that clean bill of health which would surely be an absolute condition before it would be possible to exclude everything else and leave the manufacture of beer to one article alone. My hon. friend the Member for Sudbury drew a very moving picture of what might happen if things go on as they are at the present time. He gave us some remarkable figures, and asked if the Government is going to do nothing. I ask my hon. friend and those who agree with him what would be the safeguard, even supposing the conditions he asked for could be fulfilled; and though I were prepared to recommend to the House immediate legislation such as he desires, where would be the effect of that legislation upon this immediate epidemic and this immediate danger? There is, to say the least, very strong division of opinion amongst those who know as to whether legislation of this kind could be effectively enforced. I do not wish to make comparisons between different scientific witnesses, but I have read every word of the evidence given before the Committee to which my right hon. friend has referred—I have read it three or four times absolutely impartially; I had no preconceived views, but I approached the subject from the public health point of view—and I do not hesitate to say that anybody who will take the trouble to read it will find that the bulk of the evidence given either by scientific or practical people shows that there is the gravest doubt as to whether legislation of this particular kind could be given effect to or not. It would be practically impossible to apply the test in the open market, to go into the open market and test the beer and ascertain whether it was made with one class of materials or the other. It would be trifling with the House of Commons for the Government to come forward and propose legislation of that character when they are face to face with this mass of evidence——

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER: I am sorry to interrupt my right hon. friend, but he rather took me to task for trying to minimise the evidence of the Local Government Board. That being so, I do not think it comes well from him——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is replying.

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER: But I think I have a right to complain that the right hon. Gentleman is attempting to minimise the evidence——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

*MR. WALTER LONG: I really do not think my hon. friend's criticism is justified. Surely I am entitled to read and weigh the evidence carefully, and come to an opinion as to the side on which the balance lies.

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER: We have neither the resources of the Local Government Board nor the brewers.

*MR. WALTER LONG: My resources are my eyes; I have read the evidence and arrived at a conclusion. What my hon. friend means by the resources of the Board of Trade or the brewers I have no idea.

*SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER: You compared the evidence of our experts with those of the other side.

*MR. WALTER LONG: I think my hon. friend is unduly sensitive. What I say is, that having approached the subject with an impartial mind, and having most carefully read the evidence, I was forced to the conclusion that the balance of scientific evidence lay on one side and not upon the other. But apart from that altogether, how could legislation deal with this immediate problem? Supposing the Government felt that legislation was urgently necessary, and we came down to this House and asked for the suspension of all the Standing Orders, and asked the House to pass with the utmost rapidity this protective legislation, it would be impossible for it to be enforced against beer which had been legally brewed from these materials, which, after being analysed by experts, was certified to be free from deleterious and poisonous matter. Such legislation would not stop the epidemic, and the Government is not justified in proposing it. But what, on the other hand, are we to do? We have appointed a Royal Commission; I am the Minister responsible for the appointment of the Royal Commission, the justification for which was found in the existence of this scientific question, as to which our knowledge now is imperfect, and upon which further information is required, and my action was based on the recommendation of expert medical advisers. Moreover, I earnestly assure my right hon. friend that, in order that I might have the advantage of obviously unbiassed opinion, I did my best to get outside advice. So far I have not discovered any eminent scientific opinion to point out that we are wrong in the course we have adopted in asking the Commission to elucidate some of these questions.

It is said that the Commission covers too wide a ground because it covers arsenic which may be contained in other food; but knowing as we do that arsenic has been found in this brewing substance, and knowing that this glucose is used for the manufacture of other things—confectionery and sweets, particularly of the cheaper kinds—is it fair to say that we are only to inquire into one branch of the subject? We are bound to ask the Commission to look into it with respect to all classes of food. Is it unreasonable to suppose that, realising as they must the seriousness of this particular epidemic, if the Commission can give some answer to the greater question we have submitted to them that they will do so, and does the House doubt for one moment, when we are in possession of the knowledge necessary for us to act, we shall hesitate to act in such a way as to ensure that the law of the country shall be effective? The hon. Member for Sudbury asked a question as to selenium. So far as I can ascertain, the knowledge upon this subject is not very great, but this poison is one that can be found if it exists in any substance.

With all the good will in the world, I do not think it would be possible for one in my position to advise his colleagues to take any line other than the one we have taken on the facts as they exist. I am quite certain it would be a most unfortunate thing for a public department to take action upon a question like this, affecting public health, concerning scientific questions such as those referred to in this inquiry, unless we had ascertained and solid knowledge. To enter into legislation of this kind in this way would be absolutely disastrous to public health. My right hon. friend and those who feel strongly with him may rely that we shall not hesitate to act, and we shall not be afraid to do our duty in the interests of public health at the Local Government Board.

In this matter we have nothing except the interest of the health of the community at heart—that is the sole consideration which guides us; and while I regret that I am unable to give the promise asked for, when the Royal Commission recommends a course, either by legislation or otherwise, which they consider necessary or sufficient for the purpose, we shall lose no time in dealing with the subject.

*MR. STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.) said he could not help thinking that the position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman amounted to a *non possumus.* It was undoubtedly the fact that the production of impure beer had had a very disastrous effect on the public health of the country, though happily at the moment the serious epidemic was not recurring. It was not only a question of dealing with pure beer upon the ground of a great epidemic; it was necessary to approach the question from the point of view of the consumer, and he could not help comparing the present speech of the right hon. Gentleman with the attitude taken up by the Government during the existence of the last Parliament, when the question of adulteration of food and drugs was before the House, and when the right hon. Gentleman was not ready to prevent the people getting sham milk and butter instead of pure milk and butter by stopping the colouring of margarine and of separated milk. The right hon. Gentleman was apparently quite ready to allow the brewers of this country to adulterate their beer by brewing, not with barley malt and hops, but any kind of substitute which would produce a beer which publicans would not be able to refuse to take owing to the system of tied-houses. A great number of brewers were brewing from foreign substances and sending out beer to tied houses which were obliged to receive it, and it appeared to him that those brewers were to be allowed to brew from any materials so long as the revenue did not suffer. That was the position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman in the previous year, when speaking on the arsenic epidemic caused by adulterated beer, and when he said it was a matter which had to be looked at to a great extent from the point of revenue.

*MR. WALTER LONG: No.

*MR. STRACHEY: Did not the right hon. Gentleman say it must be looked at to a great extent from the point of revenue?

*MR. WALTER LONG: My hon. friend has put on my remarks so different an interpretation to that which I intended to convey that I did not recognise them.

*MR. STRACHEY expressed great satisfaction that the idea that the question of revenue should stand between the consumer and his beer was repudiated by the right hon. Gentleman. At the same time, the right hon. Gentleman having taken up the attitude that the Government could not do anything at the moment, it was to be hoped when a Bill dealing with this subject was introduced into the House by a private Member he would at least allow it to go to Second Reading.

At the present moment there was no definition of beer at all in the same way as there was a definition of milk and butter. Beer could be made from any kind of rubbish; but it was only fair that when a consumer asked for beer he should receive an article brewed from barley malt and hops, and not from substitutes of various kinds. To the threat of the brewers that if they were not allowed to brew from these substitutes they would buy foreign barley and brew from that he would reply, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* The barley growers of this country did not, in supporting legislation for pure beer, come to the House and ask for protection in any shape or form—all they asked for was a fair field and no favour. Many people outside the House regretted that the Government had not seen their way to promise legislation of some kind on this subject, in order that the public when they asked for pure beer might be certain they were getting it and not some mixture containing anything which might be cheap, in order to enable the brewers to pay the very large dividends they were continually declaring. He hoped that the Government would be forced to change their mind with regard to this question.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): There is one question connected with the war in South Africa which has not hitherto been brought before the attention of the House, but which excites and will continue to excite considerable interest in the country. That question is the terrible loss that our armies in the field have sustained through the ravages of preventible disease. I think the subject deserves the consideration of the House, and as the Report of the Hospitals Commission has just been placed before the country it is only right that I should refer to some points connected with this matter. With reference to the terrible losses sustained by our forces in the field I need refer only to the fact that up to the end of last year the loss was 7,500 men from disease alone, while some 30,200 men were invalided home not because of wounds inflicted by the enemy, but in consequence of being attacked by disease during the progress of the campaign. The death-rate per thousand of our soldiers was no less than 37½, which is about six times the rate in the same class of population during times of peace. That is a condition of things which at all events requires some consideration. If you analyse the figures up to the end of September—the figures to the end of the year have not yet come into my possession—no less than 3,642 deaths, or nearly one-half, were caused by typhoid or enteric fever, which is eminently a preventible matter. Up to the 28th September, no less than 15,655 men were stricken by that disease, of whom 9,128 were invalided home. When it is remembered that each one of those men had gone through an illness of probably four or five weeks' duration in South Africa and then came home at the expense of the Government and were invalided here for a further period, it will be seen what an enormous amount of loss that means to the country. The death-rate from typhoid fever alone has been about ten per thousand men engaged in the campaign, which is eight or nine times as great as the death rate under similar circumstances on service in this country or South Africa. This mortality is to be all the more regretted because it exists among those men who under great hardships and at great sacrifice have been devoting themselves to the defence of our Imperial interests, and I feel compelled therefore to call special attention to this grave matter. I have held for a long time past that a great deal of this disease was preventible, and the more I study the Report of the Hospitals Commission the more I am convinced in that opinion. It was certainly foreseen, but just as certainly as it was foreseen it was not provided for. Everyone who considered the nature of the war saw that we should lose more men by disease than by the weapons of the enemy. The war was to be in a country in which these diseases are practically always at home, and therefore it was only right that precautions should be taken. That was the reason some of us at the commencement of the war thought special provision should have been made to try and place the troops in a position in which they would be protected as far as possible from the ravages of these diseases. With that view I thought, and I still think, the Government ought to have sent out a special corps or body of men to look into these matters. The Government did wisely in sending out a certain number of men to look after the surgery of the campaign, but they must have known that we were going to lose double as many men by disease as from wounds, and it was even more incumbent upon the War Office to guard against that danger.

I myself suggested that some such steps should be taken, but the answer from the War Office was in these words—

> "The need of special assistance is not the same in sanitary matters as in surgical operations. The general practice of an Army doctor must necessarily make him inferior as an operator to skilled specialists, but sanitary investigations are amongst the most important of his daily duties, and he is constantly accumulating evidence in regard to them. The Director General, therefore, does not regard as necessary the establishment of such a Commission as you recommend."

That is to say, the War Office, acting on the opinion of the Director General, did not think it necessary to send out any experts to consider this question of the sanitation of camps and other places in which the soldiers were congregated, because the Army Medical Department was quite competent to undertake this work. That conclusion, arrived at deliberately by the War Office in November, 1899, is absolutely contradicted by the Report of the Hospitals Commission. The Report is full of evidence that the War Office was wrong in that particular matter. There are several extracts which point to the necessity of improved sanitation. On page 44 there is a remarkable sentence or two which I think ought to be placed before the House. In speaking of the sanitation of Bloemfontein, where, it will be remembered, some of the saddest occurrences connected with the epidemic took place, the Report says—

> "At the end of March a sanitary inspector was appointed by the military authorities for the whole town and camp, but he was not a specially trained sanitary authority. Some difficulty was experienced in getting a suitable man for the post, as is evidenced by the fact that the inspector had to be changed more than once by the military authorities. That some trouble arose by reason of the defective sanitation of the town we think is very probable, although we do not consider that the great outbreak of enteric fever or any considerable portion of it was due to preventible causes."

In that passage the Commission point out that the necessity for a sanitary officer was felt at the time, and an endeavour was made to meet it, but there was nobody qualified to do the work. At Pretoria there was the same kind of experience. Then, after the epidemic at Bloemfontein and the equally deplorable and lamentable scenes witnessed at Kroonstadt, it was determined as far as possible to remove these evils, and not only to have persons treated more satisfactorily, but to do all that was possible to prevent disease. So at last the authorities consented to the kind of assistance they ought to have had at the beginning of the war, and they sent for Dr. Turner, Medical Officer of Health to the Cape Government. He was consulted on the subject by Lord Roberts and authorised to deal with the sanitation, and matters were soon remedied.

> "Previous to his appointment great need existed for a good expert sanitary officer properly to supervise the town and the camp, and also to select proper and healthy sites for the troops to camp upon."

These are the very grounds upon which I urged the necessity of having such officers, and at Pretoria the evidence placed before this Commission was so strong that it is mentioned in the Report that such a course was necessary. The need of this is shown by a statement of Dr. Turner in his evidence that—

> "a very insanitary site was selected for the Welsh Regiment on its arrival, which might have led, if it had not been changed, to considerable sickness being developed in that regiment."

I believe there are other cases in which serious sickness has been developed through bad sites being selected, but all such conditions would have been avoided if there had been proper sanitary experts attached to the forces fighting on our behalf. These extracts are sufficient to show that the mind of this Commission has come absolutely to the point which the Government refused to recognise in November, 1899, and the fifth recommendation at the conclusion of their Report is the appointment of properly qualified officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps to undertake sanitary duties. The finding of this Report, both in the letterpress where it deals with the facts brought out in evidence, and in the conclusions which are put forward as necessary for the proper organisation of the Medical Service, absolutely contradicts the conclusion at which the War Office arrived and supports the suggestion which was made to the Department as far back as November, 1899. I therefore feel that that suggestion has been justified by the results of this Inquiry, and I want to know from some responsible member of the Government what steps are proposed to be taken to carry out this recommendation, and to prevent the lamentable loss of life on the part of the brave fellows fighting for their country in South Africa, by the appointment of some special corps to look after these sanitary matters. This Commission will not have been issued in vain if it has the effect of bringing about such a reform as that—a reform which, I believe, will save scores of lives in the future by giving the Army that sanitary advice which in this campaign has been so evidently lacking.

I should like to refer here for a moment to the excellent work done at Pretoria by the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley. Before, or possibly after, the sanitary expert was called in a local commission or body of gentlemen were appointed to look after sanitary matters. The hon. Member for Bow and Bromley happened at that time to be in Pretoria, and he took an active and distinguished part in carrying out the sanitation of the town. I think the country is indebted to him for the services he performed there. Many admirable things were done, which unfortunately were left undone at Bloemfontein, in order to lessen the virulence and severity of the epidemic. The hon. Member found that at Pretoria the pail system was used for carrying away the refuse and excreta from the hospitals, in which excreta were contained the very germs which caused the spread of the epidemic. The Report ingenuously says that these excreta were in most places properly buried at sufficient depth. They ought to have been buried at sufficient depth in every case. But the hon. Member took a better, more scientific, and more thorough method of protecting the lives of the soldiers: he made arrangements for doing away with this pail system, and had furnaces erected in which all this poisonous stuff was destroyed by fire and thus rendered innocuous. Such furnaces would have been erected at Bloemfontein if there had been a proper sanitary authority to look after the matter. I believe the record of the lack of foresight shown by the War Office in this matter is to be found in the loss of hundreds of lives in the course of the campaign.

This Report has been described in some of the papers as a "whitewashing" Report. I do not think that that is altogether an accurate description. A good deal of whitewashing has been attempted, possibly with the best of motives, but the whitewash was apparently not sufficient to extend over the wide surface to be covered. Here and there it is extremely thin, and you see the lurid facts betraying themselves under the covering with which the Commissioners have endeavoured to hide them. There is in this Report an almost absolute confirmation of the statements made a few months ago in connection with what was called the "hospital scandal." The Commissioners say that they do not think there was a hospital scandal. If there was not a hospital scandal there were certainly very grave conditions affecting the nursing and treatment of our soldiers which should be sufficient in this or any other country, even under the conditions of warfare, to cause a considerable amount of heart-searching and trouble on the part of those responsible for the work. The hon. Member for Westminster, in a very remarkable letter in *The Times*, drew a graphic and, I am inclined to think, after reading this Report, an absolutely unexaggerated account of the conditions existing at Bloemfontein. What do I find on reading this Report, which practically says there was no scandal in South Africa? In the pages referring to Bloemfontein I find there are admitted evils in connection with one of the hospitals there, and the same evils with reference to No. 9 Hospital. What are these evils? There is admitted to have been overcrowding. In one case, the capacity being for 521 persons, there were 1,398; and the other hospital, with the same capacity, had no less than 1,600 persons in it at one time, or more than three times as many as the staff and equipment were equal to. Then there were too few doctors and too few orderlies, and these doctors and orderlies were not properly supervised and looked after. Some of the orderlies are admitted to have been inattentive and drunken. Moreover, many of these men had to work thirty-six hours out of forty-eight; and all honour to them for such devotion to their duty, but all blame to those who caused such work to be necessary. We were told that there were not sufficient nurses up to the end of May to look after the patients. Then there were insufficient clothing and insufficient hospital utensils; and yet the authorities were able to accumulate food and supplies for the whole army for forty-five days, and while that was being done these unfortunate men who were lying in the hospitals at Bloemfontein had not the ordinary appliances that were necessary. Again, the washing was improperly done, whilst in other hospitals it was done properly. The cases were not properly distributed, and the latrines were not properly covered up. There had been delay in serving patients with food, due to the fact that there was not sufficient boiling water to be obtained; and in other cases the proper cooking utensils for these men who were dying were not provided. There was also a deficiency of blankets to cover them; and yet in the stores at Bloemfontein the Commissioners' Report shows that there were plenty of blankets if the medical officers had only known where to send for them. The Commissioners also speak of the lack of organisation, for when deficiencies arose the officers did not seem to know where to apply. Then there is the very serious charge that some of the patients who were too ill to walk were often obliged to walk to these hospitals. I remember some years ago an epidemic of cholera which occurred in Dublin. There was a hospital specially opened for this epidemic, and what puzzled everybody there was the fact that a larger proportion of the patients in the ward upstairs died than was the case in the ward on the ground floor, although in both wards the patients were treated on the same principles, fed with similar food, and attended by equally skilled nurses. The staff at that hospital were puzzled to account for this, and they could not understand why the patients upstairs did not get well so quickly as those downstairs. The reason was that the patients upstairs had their vitality broken by the last straw of effort in having to walk upstairs. Therefore the fact that these men suffering from typhoid fever had to walk to the hospitals was one way of adding seriously to the mortality of this campaign. I mention this simply to illustrate the gravity of this admission on the part of the Commissioners. I am very glad that, in some respects, this Commission has not distributed blame too widely, but in many cases they have been almost superstitiously delicate in avoiding blame. This particular hospital is referred to in this way—

> "The principal medical officer, owing to the crowded state of his hospital, had many things to attend to"—

A man is likely to have a good many things to attend to when he has in a hospital intended for 500 patients no less than 1,300. The Report proceeds—

> "and great difficulties to meet, and this probably accounts for the fact that he was so seldom seen in the tents of the hospital or amongst the patients."

I think that is an unworthy attempt to try and get rid of responsibility. So much for the reference to Bloemfontein. I think that those who read between the lines of the Report will find that it contains the same confirmation of the statements made by those who spoke plainly months ago on these benches and elsewhere. There is also a confirmation of those scandals in connection with the hospitals at Kroonstadt. The condition of things there was appallingly bad, and I find the Commissioners reporting this, which I think ought to be mentioned before the House. This was the first place where there was any delay after Lord Roberts's march from Bloemfontein, and many men attacked with typhoid at Pretoria pluckily determined to go on with the onward march. Some of them fell out, and others struggled on with aching limbs and parched tongues, only to fall down helpless at Kroonstadt. And how is their condition described? Professor Henry Edward Clarke, chief surgeon in charge of the Scottish Hospital, in his evidence, shows how urgently aid was needed at Kroonstadt even on 25th May, when he arrived there. The town had been occupied ten or twelve days before. The Report says—

> "He found all the buildings which had been taken as hospitals overcrowded; for instance, he found men in the Grand Hotel lying on and under the billiard table and on the settees and floors. All had mattresses, but three-fourths of them had no bedsteads to lie on. Owing to the lack of orderlies and utensils, he found that

some men remained unwashed for some few days, and that their clothing remained unchanged even, in a few cases, when fouled by evacuations. He further says that sometimes they could not get proper comforts, and that there was a temporary deficiency of certain medicines, and he adds that this condition of affairs lasted till about 8th June."

I do not see how that can be excused. There was a condition of things necessarily tending to add to the mortality from disease, and add to that long death-roll which is one of the saddest features of this campaign in South Africa. These admissions as to Kroonstadt and Bloemfontein are the two greatest blots on our campaign, and they prove the case that these unfortunate men, from some cause or other, did not have that attention which I am sure this country and every Member of this House desired that they should have. It has been said that they could not have them on account of the difficulties of transport. With reference to that I will make this observation. While we have admissions as to the gravity of the conditions under which these poor fellows were placed, we have the evidence also that during the time the army was at Bloemfontein, Lord Roberts had sufficient transport at his disposal to accumulate food for forty-five days for the army before he made his advance. I have no doubt this was a proper advance to make from a military point of view; but surely if you could accumulate food for an army of 40,000 men for forty-five days, there might have been the delay of a day or two in order that something might have been done to alleviate the suffering and the disgraceful conditions under which the sick and wounded were placed. It was not essential that Pretoria should have been taken on any particular day, and it was a matter of moral certainty that it would be taken, whenever the advance was made. There was no necessity to keep to the time-table of a particular day, and if Johannesburg and Pretoria had fallen a week later and this had saved a few hundred lives of our soldiers it would have been a national gain. That might be a question for military experts, but it seems to me that there was in this campaign, from some cause or other, a lack of preparations for the sick and wounded, and a breakdown of the arrangements which ought not to have occurred, considering the way in which the Government have been backed up by the country, and the generous way in which the public have endeavoured to do everything they can to render the condition of our soldiers satisfactory and healthy.

I want to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War whether steps have been taken to remedy these defects, and whether he proposes to reorganise, as far as possible during the continuance of the war, the medical services so that these things cannot occur in the future. This Report recommends the reorganisation of the Royal Army Medical Corps to a considerable extent, and it recommends also the appointment of a further Committee. I want to know what kind of a Committee the right hon. Gentleman is going to appoint to do that work. Will it be a body calculated to do the work in a thorough fashion, or will the inquiry be referred to a small Departmental Committee, or a body of men of whom we shall hear nothing until we have their Report before us? I think this question ought to be approached in a broad and vigorous spirit, and I believe the right hon. Gentleman's intentions are strongly in this direction. I believe that he is desirous of meeting the difficulties which have overtaken the Army Medical Service with a strong hand, and of making it not only better manned, but placing it under better conditions and more fit for future service. I think that should be done. I will not use the word "radical," but I hope it will be done in a spirit of thorough reform in order that we may have none of these difficulties and dangers in the future. While the Report of the Commission recommends this reorganisation, I think it gives us also a sufficient justification for all that has been said in this House, and for all that has been written in the newspapers as to the breakdown of our Army Medical Service, which would have been considerably greater if it had not been for the splendid efforts made by private generosity. I do not think that we ought to rely upon private generosity in this matter, because the taxpayers of this country are quite willing to find the money necessary to make the Army efficient and to protect the health of the men. We ought not to rely in the future on private effort coming to our aid, and we ought not to rely either too much on civil surgeons to supplement the deficiency of the Royal Army Medical Corps, but we should equip our Army with a proper medical service just as thoroughly as we should equip the Army with artillery. We should also have the same foresight with reference to disease as we ought to exhibit in every other military operation. I will ask the right hon. Gentleman in his reply to give us some assurance that he will deal with this matter from top to bottom in a thorough spirit, so that the condition of things to which I have referred can never occur again.

*MR. GUTHRIE (Tower Hamlets, Bow): As this is the first occasion upon which I have addressed the House, I ask hon. Members to grant me their indulgence. I thought it desirable to refrain from speaking before, because I had every confidence in the Government, and I believed that they would do everything in their power in order to inquire fully into these matters with a view to the reorganisation of the Army Medical Department. Now that the Commission has reported, and the matter is no longer *sub judice*, I would like to pass a few criticisms not only upon the action of the Government, but also upon the Report of the Commission itself. I am not going to pass my remarks in any spirit hostile to the Government, but I make them because at the last election I pledged myself to the electors to use every effort in my power to force the Government to go on with Army reform, and I feel that I should be neglecting my duty if I did not call attention to some things which came within my own personal knowledge during the time I was in South Africa. I have not the slightest doubt that when the fever was at its height at Bloemfontein the Government were quite as ignorant as the country as to the true state of things existing in that city. I remember the consternation and surprise caused in Bloemfontein upon the receipt of the speeches made in London by Sir William MacCormac and Mr. Treves. Sir William MacCormac said—

> "It would not have been possible to have anything more complete or better arranged than the Medical Service in this war."

Mr. Treves endorsed those words, and he also went out of his way, if I may say so, to wantonly insult a body of women in South Africa, some of whom, I admit, were perhaps very much in the way in Cape Town, but many of whom were doing good service to their country, and in my opinion their patriotism was not less than that of Mr. Treves. I do not wish to belittle the services which were rendered to the country by Mr. Treves, which I have no doubt were underpaid at the rate of £5,000 per year, but I repeat that I do not think that he had any right to insult certain women in South Africa who were working simply for the love of their country, and not for £5,000 a year. When the celebrated letter of the hon. Member for Westminster was published, consternation was, I believe, widespread; it came like a bombshell to the English people. With regard to the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry into the hospital arrangements I am only sorry that, when the debate came on in this House and the Government promised to appoint that Commission, they did not consult the opposing faction with the view to allowing them to nominate one member to represent their views on that Commission. I am certain that the Government had the intention of getting at the truth of the matter, and I think they made a mistake in not appointing one man from the other side. Naturally, great weight is attached to the evidence given by the officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps. I hold in the greatest esteem many of the medical officers out there with whom I came into contact. General Wilson has given evidence which shows what a lot of good work they did. On the other hand, you have to weigh very carefully the evidence they give, because they are practically on their trial, and therefore the evidence of civilians ought to carry more weight with the Commission than the evidence given by these men belonging to the Royal Army Medical Corps. Perhaps the most glowing tribute which has been paid to the Royal Army Medical Corps is that of a colonel, who says—

> "I never saw a thing more splendidly done by the Government; and goodness only knows what the bill will be when it comes in."

When I read his evidence in *The Times* I could hardly believe my own eyes, when I saw that this man had had the audacity to go and give evidence before the Commission. I went to the War Office and I asked if I had made some mistake in regard to this man, and I asked whether they had received certain reports concerning him. I was unable to see anybody but the private secretary to the Adjutant General, Sir Evelyn Wood. I asked if I was right in supposing that this officer had been in charge of 1,700 patients in Bloemfontein, and if I was right in supposing that he was the same man who had been placed under arrest for what rumour generally spoke of as drunkenness. The reply which reached me from the War Office was as follows—

> "Dear Sir,—You are quite right in supposing that a report about Lieut.-Colonel ——— had reached the War Office. It has, and his employment has been discontinued in consequence. I drew the Adjutant General's attention to these facts, and he thought it would be best for him to write to the Secretary to the Commission. I enclose a copy of the letter he is sending. This does not, of course, preclude you from making any other communication you wish. If you desire to make any further inquiry here you had probably better see the Adjutant General. I go on leave to-morrow evening.—Yours truly, P. HANSON."

Here is the copy of the letter which the Adjutant General wrote to the Secretary of the Commission. It is addressed to Mr. Church, one of the members of the Commission—

> "Dear Mr. Church,—It has been brought to Lord Lansdowne's notice that some of the evidence tendered by Lieutenant-Colonel ——— conflicts with that tendered by other witnesses to your Committee. I am directed, therefore, to inform you that the officer in question, who was on the Retired List, and was especially employed in South Africa, did not give satisfaction, and that as Colonel ———'s employment is about to terminate, Lord Lansdowne thinks you should be in possession of this information in order to estimate correctly the value of any evidence which Colonel ——— may have given.—Yours sincerely,
>
> EVELYN WOOD."

Now when I take up the Blue-book I find there is no mention whatever in the cross-examination of this officer in regard to this fact, neither was he recalled to be re-examined in regard to it. There is not a word about it in the Report. Now I do not find that the Commission were so delicate in dealing with the feelings of others who did not happen to hold so high a position. I notice that there is a footnote to the evidence given by Captain Barrett Lennard, as follows—

> "Untrustworthy—charges were not well founded."

If any evidence ought to have been received with a certain amount of doubt it is the evidence of a man who is found so unfit to retain his post that he was dismissed and sent home in disgrace. I would, if I had time, like to have analysed a good deal of the evidence that was given by civilians in order to compare it with the evidence given by the Army Medical authorities, for I think I could have shown to the House that instead of credence being placed in the evidence given by civilians, more weight has been attached to the evidence given by the officers of that very branch of the service which is practically on its trial. There is a story well known to every Member of this House, which created some sensation when it appeared in one of the letters written by the hon. Member for Westminster. I believe the Leader of the House said that were it true it would make one's blood run cold. The Commission took special pains to investigate this story. They examined myself on this particular subject, and they also examined the hon. Member for Westminster, Colonel Exham, Captain Lawrence, Dr. Stoker (the surgeon in charge of the Irish Hospital, to which these men were eventually admitted), and others. I have since read the evidence I gave, and I find it agrees with the evidence given by these other witnesses, with the exception of Colonel Exham. I find that in the Report of the Commission they have not only disregarded my story, but they say that the facts were not fully known to me; and they practically take for gospel the story of the very man who is responsible for the mistake occurring. They disbelieve my story, but certainly do so very politely, they do not actually say that I lied to them. They also believe Colonel Exham's story as against the story told by the surgeon of the Irish Hospital, who had nothing to conceal and who had no personal interests to serve. I will give an extract from the evidence of Colonel Exham, who says—

> "The men were suffering from fever, which subsequently proved to be the early stage of enteric. They were mostly asleep, and none

were in such a condition to make an early removal an urgency."

Dr. Stoker says—

> "These were all serious cases of enteric. One of them had double pneumonia when he arrived, with a temperature over 105. Three others were also very bad. Honestly, I am afraid those two poor chaps are dying."

And yet the Commissioners preferred to believe the evidence of Col. Exham. He says he went to the station, but I did not see him, although I was there the whole time. If he did examine them he could not have done it with any care, and how could he under these circumstances have come to the conclusion that none of them were serious cases of enteric? I believe it is almost necessary in order to diagnose an enteric patient to undress the man, to see exactly the condition of his body. He also says that supplies of food were ordered to be sent from No. 9 General Hospital; no doubt they were, but I very much doubt if they ever arrived. I have mislaid the quotation, but the Commission summarised their statement by saying that this was more or less a unique occasion; that it did not occur very often. Now, one of the witnesses, Captain Lawrence, the railway staff officer at Bloemfontein, a man who had every opportunity of judging, because his work kept him at the station all the day and night long—in fact he slept at the station—was asked by the Commission whether there were many occasions on which men were kept waiting a long time at the station, and his answer was, "I am sorry to say there were; it was a constant occurrence." He agreed with me that this was only a typical instance, and in truth I was only taking one of a very great many cases which I myself saw occurring day after day. Well, I went to report the case to the P.M.O. at Bloemfontein, and asked him if it were not possible to have an orderly specially in the station on permanent duty, to attend to these cases on arrival; and he said he would consider the matter. But what I say is this: he ought not to have considered then, but months before. It was perfectly easy to get men from the base. I find no fault with the authorities for not getting up supplies. I quite believe it was impossible to get up supplies, although every man from Lord Roberts downwards did everything he could to do so. But the P.M.O. could have got orderlies and nurses from Cape Town, and if the Surgeon-General had had an orderly at the station at Bloemfontein constantly on duty, none of these horrible catastrophes would have occurred; and I have no doubt that from the want of an orderly if lives were not lost, at least health was very seriously injured.

Then I was asked, while giving evidence before the Commission, by the President to suggest the name of any witness whose evidence might be useful to the Commission and among others I gave the name of a civilian who was my assistant in Bloemfontein, and who had spent a good deal of time in the station, who knew the town thoroughly, and saw a great deal of work in the hospital there. I wrote to this gentleman and asked if he were willing to give evidence, and he at once wrote from Germany, where he was travelling at the time, to the Secretary of the Commission and said he would be delighted to come over and give evidence on any day appointed. The only answer he received was that the Commission did not think it worth his while to take the trouble of making such a long journey to give his evidence. Then I come to another civilian whose evidence was not given, but whose evidence would have been of more importance than much which appears in the whole of the Blue-books—I mean Dr. Murray of Johannesburg. That gentleman wished to give evidence before the Commission; he made repeated inquiries as to how he could give it, but he could never find an opportunity and was never invited to do so. Then Dr. Kelner, the head of the Folks Hospital in Bloemfontein, why was his evidence not taken? and why were the valuable statistics he had compiled refused by the Commission when tendered by Dr. Stoker? I have not the slightest doubt had these statistics been printed they would have compared favourably with any statistics offered to the Commission. I find that I made a few mistakes in my evidence before the Commission, because, contrary to all precedent, no proof was sent to me for correction. I called on the Commission one day in London to inquire when it would be convenient for them to hear my evidence, and was told that if I did not give it there and then I would have no other opportunity of doing so. I protested as strongly as I could against this, and pointed out that I had none of my notes with me, and that to give evidence at a moment's notice and without my figures before me, was extremely difficult. However, I proceeded to give the evidence as best I could, but again I say it is not my fault if a few mistakes were made, because they did not take the trouble to send me a proof. One of these mistakes related to Colonel Stevenson. I said that he had taken no trouble to requisition things in the town, and had bought nothing in the town or elsewhere. I ought to have said that he bought comparatively little, and that he might have bought more, because I knew for a fact that a great many things had been bought by other people. The Colonel says in his evidence that he spent £9,000. That is no doubt true, but he spent about Pretoria £7,000 of that after the Commission had started their work, and after Mr. Coutts's charges had been brought forward. I bear this well in mind, because Colonel Stevenson came to me and said, "Where have you been able to buy these things in Johannesburg? Will you give me a list of the shops where I can get them?" I should like to pay, at this point, a tribute to the success of the Irish Hospital, and the skill with which Sir William Thompson, surgeon-in-chief, and his staff conducted it. The Commission say there were some little discrepancies between the evidence of some of the witnesses in regard to the management of this hospital, but the essential fact was that the 500 beds had been committed by Lord Roberts to the Irish Hospital. All I can say is that the charge never was taken or accepted by the Army Medical authorities or anybody else except the Irish Hospital. The total staff of that hospital was 198, of whom sixty were natives; only one single man, a corporal, belonged to the Royal Army Medical Corps. And yet the Commission, instead of paying some little tribute to the services of the Irish Hospital, took any credit there was for the Army Medical Department.

Then the Commissioners go on to say that there was some evidence to the effect that there was a deficiency in regard to drugs, dressings, and blankets, but that on the whole they thought these articles were not wanting to any substantial extent. Well, when I arrived in Pretoria every hospital in the town was absolutely deficient in everything, with the exception of a few bandages, a few utensils, and in some cases beds. The others were in a most deplorable condition. I was not working without authority at that time. I had a letter from Colonel Stevenson, the Principal Medical Officer, authorising me to visit the hospitals, to look at the books, and to ask any questions I liked of the medical officers. I went over the hospitals and made out a list of their wants. I wished to submit it to the Commission, but I had not got it with me, for the reason I have stated above, when I gave my evidence. But when Sir William Thompson gave his evidence he tendered the list, which was refused by the Commission, and which would have proved conclusively that the hospitals were not only deficient in a few articles, but absolutely deficient in nearly every necessity. I am not talking of luxuries, but of those things which no hospital ought to be without. Why, there was only one clinical thermometer to every 150 patients! And yet the Commission report that there was some evidence that there was a deficiency in drugs, dressings, and blankets! Sir William Thompson, as I said, tendered this list to the Commission of the articles supplied to the Pretoria Hospitals, which cost, roughly speaking, £15,000 to £20,000, and which had been bought in the course of a week or ten days. The articles distributed amounted to over 100,000, and they were all procured by private initiative.

I have not passed these criticisms in any hostile spirit to the Government; for I am sure that the Government wish to arrive at the truth, as does everybody else. I hope they will forgive me for pointing out the faults in the Report of the Commission, and I suggest that when the new Committee which will institute an inquiry into the Royal Army Medical Corps is appointed, it should not be a Departmental Committee, but should be a Committee of a much wider scope, and should have on it a representative of the civilians who took some part in the management of the hospitals in South Africa, so that the Committee may not be entirely at the mercy of the Royal Army Medical Corps officers for information. I thank the House for having listened to me so long and so patiently.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): We have listened with very great interest to the speech which has just been delivered by the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley. I may venture to say that it was on a subject in which hon. Members on this side of the House are much concerned. It is notorious that a great number of our fellow-countrymen are serving in South Africa; and, consequently, it is the duty of their representatives here to see that those who have to fight have proper assistance when wounded or sick, and that everything is done for their recovery.

In regard to the Speech from the Throne, opinions have varied in various parts of the House; but from the Irish point of view, I think it is the most unsatisfactory that I have ever heard. One would have been inclined to think that at the commencement of a new reign and the commencement of a new century some matters of pressing Irish interest might have been alluded to. Nothing is said as to the constitutional disabilities under which Irishmen suffer at present, and there might have been some allusion to placing the Irish people under the same guarantees for constitutional liberties as the people of the rest of the United Kingdom enjoy. We should have thought that something would have been said as to Irish University education, which is certainly ripe for legislation. During a visit which the late Queen paid to Ireland Her Majesty granted a Charter providing for the University education of her Catholic subjects in Canada. Now, of the whole population only 40 per cent. were Catholics, whereas the Catholic population of Ireland was 90 per cent. of the entire inhabitants. It is a remarkable fact that in that year, 1852, when the late Queen granted a Charter to the Catholic population of Canada, that great Englishman Cardinal Newman drew attention, in a remarkable letter, to the condition of Catholic education in Ireland. We are also naturally disappointed that no allusion was made to an Irish grievance admitted, not by a body of Irishmen, but mainly of Englishmen. I refer to the grievance brought out in the Report of the Irish Financial Relations Commission, which examined the greatest financial experts in the country.

We naturally take a deep interest in the question which occupies the minds of most people at the present time, I mean the war in South Africa. We have this peculiar interest: that however this war goes, Irish blood has been spilt fairly freely on both sides. I am cognisant of one case in which two brothers lost their lives—one on each side. The most lamentable thing in connection with this war, which is costing two millions a week, is the fact that though the people of this country may advocate the war strongly, not one in twenty can tell you what the war is about. I remember well in this House, before hostilities commenced, and when negotiations were going on between the British Government and the South African Republic, that the Colonial Secretary said there was little or no difference between them; that the two Governments were agreed on nine-tenths of the questions at variance, and that the remaining question was as to whether the franchise should be given in seven or five years. I know that the most warm supporters of the war maintain that it is about the question of suzerainty, but we say that it is a war for gold and territory. I do not think that any candid man, looking at the war and the way in which it is being conducted—no matter what his views may be in other respects—can say that it has redounded to the credit of England, but quite the contrary. What is the condition of affairs? When you recently sent an armed force to China, it was thought that a British general would command the International army. But so great was the prejudice existing amongst the Continental Powers against English generals, owing to the bungles they had lately made, that no European Power would send a contingent if it was to be commanded by a British officer. I believe that to be the case, and I am not astonished at it when we remember the advice that was tendered at the commencement of the war by a distinguished Irish general, Sir William Butler, when we remember that he was almost degraded when the Queen went to Bristol, and when we remember the pride and arrogance with which you said you were going to subdue these Boers in a few months, and then found that your calculations had been completely upset. And what about the whole conduct of the war? So many generals have been sent back that it proves that you had not the confidence in your own generals which possibly you think you ought to have. And how has this war been carried on? It has been carried on in the most wanton and inhuman of ways, and when you have not been able to beat these poor farmers fairly in the field, you have had recourse to other means and resorts which reflect great discredit on you, because it is notorious that wherever the force opposed to you was even fairly equal to yours, these poor farmers held their own and more than their own. I think that it is inhuman in an especial manner to burn not only the homes of those on commando, but the homes of the prisoners you hold in St. Helena and in Ceylon and other places. That is notorious. I am glad to say that voices, even from the Conservative party, have been raised against the present system, and that a Member of this House—I forget his constituency—wrote to the papers from the front, complaining of the farm-burning, which, he said, so far from doing good was doing harm, and, in his opinion, was preventing peace. If we want to see the harm which it has done, we have only to look at one of the greatest generals of the Boers—General De Wet—to find that he was at first opposed to the war; but when his farm was burned and his family had to take to the veldt, he felt that there was nothing else for him to do but to go on with the war. I will venture to read an extract from a letter which appeared in my part of the country, from a soldier serving at the front. I believe that this letter may carry some weight from the fact that the writer and I do not agree on many points. In that letter he alludes with great pride to Lord Roberts, and to the ride to Pretoria. He said—

> "We represented the ould country in the annexation parade and the grand march past."

Then he goes on—

> "I see by the press that they are raising a fund to erect a memorial to Lord Roberts at Waterford. I was glad to hear it, and I hope it will be successful."

In regard to that point I may be allowed to say this: Lord Roberts's father was connected with my constituency, but I disagree *in toto* with the views put forward by this soldier in regard to the proposed memorial to Lord Roberts. I hope that nothing will ever induce my constituents, the people of Waterford, to turn the great Franciscan ruins in that city into a memorial of a war which has been carried on with such barbarity. But I wish to read what the writer says in regard to the burning of the farms that is going on. He says—

> "It is our awful fate to witness and hear the cries of the women and children looking on at their houses and homes and all their belongings burned. I am fairly sick of it. The bailiff's work, too, fairly sickened me. The fellows in the regiment are going wild over it; but we have to stick at it. If we set to work against it, we know what we would get."

He has to do it, and many of these Irishmen have to do it.

And this brings me to a point I wish to make. I can well recognise that if Irishmen are with the colours, they must do their duty to the colours. I recognise that our race is a martial race, and that the Army will always have attractions for people of Celtic blood. But when I look at the condition of the rural population of Ireland, at their poverty, at the constitutional disabilities under which they suffer, I ask myself what possibly can induce Irishmen to spill their blood so freely in upholding a cause and a Government under which they have suffered so much. I say I am lost in wonder, considering the way we have been treated, and the brutality of many of those wars in which Irish blood has been too prodigally spent in upholding the cause of England. I suppose we shall have an Amendment on the main question as to the way this war has been carried on. But I venture to say that the Boers have given a lesson in humanity to the British; and the treatment British prisoners have received at the hands of a people they call barbarians compares favourably with the treatment given by the British authorities to Boer prisoners when these had fallen into their hands. We feel it our bounden duty to express our opinion, and the opinion of those who sent us here, upon this war, and the policy of this war, and the way it has been conducted. It reflects the greatest discredit upon you, and our admiration is unbounded for these people who are anxious for peace, but to whom you will not give peace because you think they are weak and unable to resist you.

*MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): Rising for the first time to address this House, I do not think I should be true to the constituency which I represent if I did not protest against the oath taken by His Majesty yesterday. I regret that legislation has not altered the form of the oath, which is an insult hurled at millions of His Majesty's Catholic subjects throughout the Empire, and the numerous Catholic sovereigns who were here as mourners at the funeral ceremony of his late mother.

Last night and to-day I have listened with great interest to many speeches on both sides of the House in relation to the Boer War; I have listened to the history of atrocities perpetrated, as some allege, by the Boers, but, as we allege, by the British Army. I think those stories may be exaggerated to a certain degree, but it is on record that the British Army has violated Boer homesteads and outraged Boer women. I heard the hon. Member for Sheffield in strong and animated language yesterday refer to the atrocities committed by the Allied troops in China, and I regretted he had not similar words for the conduct of the British troops in South Africa. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury admitted yesterday, I think, in his speech that the only terms to be offered to the Boers was unconditional surrender: that if they laid down their arms and went back to their farms they would hear no more of the war, and that after a year or two of Crown colony administration they would receive self-government. But I take it that the Boers have read history, and have heard of the surrender of the Irish troops at Limerick, and have seen how the people of this country broke the treaty before the ink with which it was written was dry. And what guarantee have the Boers that similar treatment will not be meted out to them at the close of this atrocious war? I am also of opinion that the Boer leaders must have read the history of the Irish rebellions written by the hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Dublin.

Passing from that question, as coming from a constituency which to a large degree is a congested district, I regret exceedingly that the Speech from the Throne did not contain some reference to future legislation with regard to the congested districts of Ireland. I thought the journey of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary through some of the congested districts would have borne fruit; that having seen the poverty of those districts he would have taken steps to introduce in this House this session some remedy for the poverty that exists in some parts of Ireland. With regard to the reference in the Speech from the Throne to the factory legislation to be introduced by the Government, I would point out to the Minister responsible for the Bill in the present session that the Factory Act passed for England and Scotland last session does protect the persons of those districts, but that the conditions of labour in our country are quite different from those here, and Acts which are required for the protection of the industrial classes in England have been used in Ireland for the purpose of driving out the few industries we have left in that country. I would suggest instead of the administration of the Factory and Truck Acts, so far as they relate to Ireland, being as they are at present under the control of the Home Office, they should be handed over to a new Department in Ireland, which should give the various exemptions required in the factories in that country. I do not intend to address the House further now, and can only thank hon. Members for the patient hearing they have given me.

*MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) said protests had been made from the Irish benches against the war. The Irish Members had been perfectly consistent in the attitude they had adopted towards the war.

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present. House counted, and, forty Members being found present—

*MR. TULLY (continuing) said the Irish Members had nothing to regret and nothing to recant with regard to the war. They had gone on the same lines all through. They had been against the war at every stage, and they would continue to oppose it. When the war was finished—and perhaps it will not be in one or two years—English Members would regret that they did not take the advice tendered to them from the Irish benches. When they wanted to be taught the proper management of hospitals, when they wanted generals who could win and soldiers who could fight best in the hour of trial they came to Ireland, and he thought they would have done better if they had gone to that country for a policy also in South Africa, and there would have been no war,

It was an extraordinary thing that so much of the time of the House on the first two nights of the session should have been occupied in discussing, not the war in South Africa—the greatest they had been engaged in for over a hundred years—but the peculiar beer produced and sold in Manchester, and the question whether it was poisoned or not. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House had reproached the Government with having taken no steps to deal with the epidemic caused by poisoned beer, and they got very little satisfaction from the President of the Local Government Board. The only satisfaction they got was to be told practically, in the words of one of the leaders of the Manchester school of political economists, that adulteration was a form of trade competition, and that this adulterated beer must be imposed on the public as a legitimate article of trade. He hoped that Members on the opposite side were satisfied with that statement from the Government benches. They had heard a great deal last year about the effects of the poisoned fumes of lyddite in knocking out the Boers. It did not seem to have occurred to Gentlemen opposite that one of the resources of civilisation they might use against the Boers in South Africa would be some of the Manchester beer. It was an old trick in Ireland to use poisoned wine when they wanted to get rid of a leader. They had tried it with success on a great Irish chief, Owen Roe O'Neill.

The speeches they heard on the Liberal side of the House on the South African War dealt in a gingerly way with the great issues involved. As long as that was the spirit which animated the Front Opposition Bench the Liberals were destined for a long time to sit on these benches. The hon. and gallant Member for North Aberdeen had condemned the war and everything connected with the war. If the Liberal Opposition had had courage to act as he did, and if they had denounced the war and all its works, they would not have been humbugged as they were at the General Election by lying bulletins from the front that the war was over. Until the Liberal Opposition faced this question in the same manly way as the hon. and gallant Member for North Aberdeen had done that night, the Liberal party would be simply a mockery and a reproach, and probably, as an article of politics, would be no better in the market than some of the Manchester beer. The hon. Member for Totnes had related his great feats in the war. Although they were told that the war was over, it was going on still, and the hon. Member was there at his leisure in the House of Commons, instead of helping to finish the war in South Africa. The hon. Member made a bitter attack on the Boers, and stated that they had no respect for the sanctity of an oath. The Boers professed a religion similar to that of the great majority of the Members of that House. He thought that if the respect which the Boers had for the sanctity of an oath were compared with the respect which Englishmen had for oaths and treaties and their plighted word the Boers would come out of the comparison with very great advantage indeed. In the present war how many incidents had they heard of—and they could only hear of them from English sources—where there had been deliberate breaches of faith when dealing with the Boers! In the despatches published in the *London Gazette* a few days ago there was one remarkable evidence of British want of faith in dealing with the Boers. He referred to what Lord Roberts did a

Paardeberg. When General Cronje and 3,000 or 4,000 men were surrounded by 50,000 or 60,000 British they asked an armistice to bury the dead. The British officer then in command gave the armistice, but when Lord Roberts arrived on the scene he broke the armistice. They talked of these men not trusting the English word, but even Lord Roberts had been guilty of a gross breach of faith. [AN HON. MEMBER: Lord Roberts is an Irishman.] He is an Irishman who has been through the English mill. The hon. Member who attacked the Boers about breaking oaths seemed to have the impression that there would be no war at present in South Africa if these men had observed the oaths of neutrality when they surrendered on the faith of some proclamation issued by Lord Roberts. That also was the view put forward in jingo newspapers. Hon. Members who made use of that argument proved either too much or too little. Let them take it for granted that 3,000 or 4,000 Boers took the oath of neutrality and broke it. Well, if that were so, then 3,000 or 4,000 had been able to keep the war going up to the present moment, and had occupied the whole attention of 300,000 British. That seemed absurd on the face of it. If a few thousand Boers, by breaking the oath of neutrality, had coped with the best generals and an army more than a quarter of a million strong, what would happen when they had patched up some kind of peace, and when the other Boers who were in exile came back to settle down in the land if they broke their oaths? When last year the Irish Members said the Government had bitten off more than they could chew they were sneered at: but who would have believed that when Parliament met in February of this year, instead of being conquered, the Boers would be more formidable than ever, that that specially favoured general, Lord Kitchener, would be surrendering towns which had been captured and withdrawing to his lines of communication, and that General De Wet would be actually operating in British territory? British tactics in South Africa had entirely failed to bring about the desired results. The tactics of Lord Roberts in his rush to Pretoria to save the gold mines—in moving like a greyhound instead of slowly like a tortoise had only taught the Boers—if they needed to be taught—what they could do by attacking the lines of communication and practically stale-mating the immense army in the field. Lord Roberts was therefore brought home, and in his place was put a general whose name in connection with the proceedings at Omdurman it was expected would strike terror into the hearts of the Boers and put an end to all further resistance. There was plenty of evidence in the letters which had been allowed to trickle home in spite of the strict censorship that most horrible brutalities had been carried on by soldiers and officers under the direct orders of the commanders. The atrocities connected with the burning of houses, the flinging out of women and children to starve on the veldt, and the concentrating of people in the towns, beat anything in the record of savage warfare. Tears of hypocrisy were shed over the sufferings of the Armenians, but none of the deeds of Bashi-bazouks could equal the atrocities which had been perpetrated under the direct orders of the British commanders. The Boers were asked to surrender unconditionally, but they knew what Ireland's experience of surrendering unconditionally to England had been, and they knew that England would treat them as she treated the Irish in Leinster. As long as a single Boer could bear an arm the struggle would be continued, and England would at last have to restore the freedom and independence with the manliness and courage of the Boers deserved. The unfortunate and defenceless people who surrendered their arms very speedily found out what were the English ideas of liberty and freedom. Over and over again, almost immediately after persons had taken the oath of neutrality, they had their houses burned over their heads. Then there was the case of Hans Cordua, who was brutally murdered on evidence on which one would not hang a dog. There had been a great deal of canting hypocrisy about the unjust treatment of Dreyfus by the French, and yet as soon as there was a chance much worse treatment had been meted out to this unfortunate man. Reference had been made to the hospital scandal. Wounded soldiers had been practically left to die and rot for lack of proper care. Some of the Irish Yeomanry who distinguished themselves so greatly at Lindley had been practically butchered by the inexperienced doctors who had to treat them. The war was conceived in a lust for gold, and it had been carried out by corruption, peculation, and brutality, without any regard for human life or suffering. Such a war was not going to end in a month, or six months, or a year. The case was not hopeless for the Boers. In 1881 the British occupied Pretoria as now, but yet they had to surrender, and if the Boers continued fighting with the same resolution and determination fair and honourable terms would eventually have to be made with them. At any rate, they would have no faith in British benevolence, as British benevolence was like British beer: it was poisoned at its source. They were promised equal laws, local self-government, and autonomy; but all these things had been promised to Ireland, and therefore they knew exactly what to expect. The Irish Members had been hostile to this war all through; they had nothing to regret and nothing to recant, but on every possible occasion they would fight the policy of the war and oppose the voting of further supplies for its continuance.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): One of the most important issues before the House is as to the point upon which the late election was fought. The Leader of the Opposition has stated his opinion, and it was the opinion of everybody. The country was told that the war was at an end, and the electorate were invited to vote in favour of the Government because their policy had proved triumphant and there was to be no more money spent or lives lost. What is the reply of the First Lord of the Treasury to that? I am accustomed to the breezy way in which he puts aside all attacks, but I really was surprised at his astounding statement upon this subject. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Government had never said the war was over, and afterwards he explained that the Governmental organs had stated the war was over, but that was simply in anticipation that it would be over if it was said to be—because the Boers would be such fools and understand their own interests so thoroughly as at once to submit and surrender at discretion. If that is the way battles are to be won there will be a great many more battles won than history records. Not only were we told the war was over, but every effort was made to encourage the belief; troops were brought home, and glorious receptions announced. A great many deluded electors believed it was over, and the Leader of the Opposition said he was himself misled. The right hon. Gentleman has been very long in public affairs, he has been at the head of Departments, he is a cautious and careful man, and is endowed with a full measure of that canniness which is characteristic of his countrymen; and if he was misled is it surprising that the poor innocent elector should have been misled also? But I was not misled, because I have no confidence in the Government. I began with a certain amount of belief in them; but they have made so many misstatements, either through ignorance or—I will not say of deliberation, but they have made so many misstatements that I do not believe a single word that any Gentleman sitting on the Treasury Bench says.

We have to face the actualities of the moment. The war is a fact, and the Parliamentary majority of the Government, however improperly obtained, is also a fact. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury laid down the policy of the Government and what their intentions were. He said they were going on with the war until absolute and complete conquest of the enemy and the enemy's country had been achieved. He added a few vague words that the Boers would perhaps receive free institutions, and that they might receive autonomy some day. Do you believe that that is enough to convey to the Boers the impression that they are ever to receive free institutions or autonomy? Do you suppose that "some day" is enough in these matters? What did Lord Salisbury himself say—Lord Salisbury, the head of the Government, the man best fitted to tell the Boers what are our intentions? Are they not to believe Lord Salisbury? He told the country, and, through the country, the Boers, that it would be generations before they had free institutions, and that they were never to receive one single shred of independence. My right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition put before the House the contrary policy. He spoke as the Leader of this side, and I think everyone will agree in the policy he suggested. He said that so long as the war lasts we are necessarily obliged to send out reinforcements to feed the army in the field; it would be monstrous if we did not, or if we sent out an inadequate number of troops, ordered them to fight, and refused to fill up the vacancies or to send a sufficient number for the job. But he also said he wished the Boers in some sort of way to have it made clear to them that they would receive full autonomy and some sort of arrangement on the Australian model of a Commonwealth. The Leader of the House was defiant, and replied that surely some time must elapse between the end of hostilities and a settlement on such lines. Nobody denied it; everybody knows that the Australian Commonwealth took some time to build. But what we want is that in some way we should make known to the inhabitants of these Republics that our aim is so soon as possible to give them such a scheme of government as exists in Australia—*mutatis mutandis*, of course. By "so soon as possible" I do not mean that we are to wait to see how they conduct themselves, but to at once tell them that that is our aim, and that "as soon as possible" simply means as soon as it is possible to arrange the matter and give it practical effect.

All agree that it is desirable the war should cease. We have these terrible death lists every day, and we are carrying on the war in what I should call a somewhat un-English fashion. Probably I am an old-fashioned Conservative in these matters, but while the mode in which we are carrying on the war at present may perhaps be necessary if you wish to crush out a national uprising of people against being conquered, still it is a way against which we have protested again and again in the cases of Poland, Turkey, and others. We have shown our superiority of arms in the field. [Irish cries of "No."] Of course it exists. It is a war between a small country and one of the greatest Empires in the world, and when it comes to meeting face to face in a battle we must in the end win. We have, in fact, occupied their capitals and shown what is called our superiority in arms. [Renewed Irish cries of "No."] When the greatest Empire in the world is fighting against 50,000 or 60,000 peasant farmers it would be ridiculous not to suppose that our superiority in arms not only existed before, but that it must show its effects in the war. What we are fighting against now is this—we have the area against us; we have the climate against us; we have the determination of these men against us. It is a noble determination on their part, although it may not be one of expediency. Certainly when I hear of men determined to incur all risks and all cost in fighting rather than submit to a foreign foe, I honour them for doing it. But on the broad grounds that we wish this terrible loss of life to come to an end, that we ourselves do not wish to continue spending about £2,000,000 per week, that we wish these means which we are told are necessary, but which I regard as un-English and inhuman, to cease—on all these grounds every Gentleman in this House must desire the war to come to an end. But there is a stronger ground still, and that is that we are at present acting against our own permanent interests in South Africa and against the permanent interests of the Empire. You have a Dutch majority in South Africa; you cannot alter that fact. In Cape Colony you have a majority of the inhabitants who are of the kith and kin of the people against whom you are fighting, and, if they do not overtly join their kinsmen, unquestionably their sympathies are with them. In the Transvaal you have people whom you wish to make citizens of the Empire, and whose territory you want to include in the area of the Empire, but who will be bitterly hostile if you do it by force of arms. If you overcome their resistance by conquest, the very fact of being conquered will rankle in the breasts of this majority in South Africa; you will by the fact of conquest itself sow the seeds of disaffection. It is not such a desirable thing as some gentlemen seem to imagine that we should obtain the results we desire by conquest alone. You admit the fact that even if we bring this war to a close by conquest we shall have to have a huge garrison in South

Africa. It is not as if you had in that country a race that was dying out, for it is an increasing race, and you will find that the proportion of Dutch as compared with the English will increase. I think that truth is admitted. Now, what is a reasonable solution in view of the present situation? The only reasonable solution that we ought to aim at is that we shall be able to establish in South Africa such a Commonwealth as exists in Australia and Canada. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has said that a Commonwealth is a federation of independent sovereign nations, and we ought to try to establish one of these independent nations in South Africa. That would be a source of strength and not a source of weakness to the Empire. A federation based upon conquest and upon the predominance of the race representing the minority over the majority will not create that sort of Commonwealth which will be a strength to us, and which would be loyal in its connection with the Empire. There is no place in our Empire for such a Commonwealth. That would not be a Commonwealth, but simply a garrisoned dependency consisting of new citizens forced into citizenship without the sympathies of citizens, and they would think that they were being treated as an inferior race.

Can anybody tell me in this House why we should not propose terms to these people? I do not know that there is anything dishonourable in proposing terms. The Government issued a proclamation saying upon what terms the Boers might surrender. Soon afterwards they modified that and promised to issue another. They managed to pick up a quantity of miserable emissaries and induce them to go into the Boer camp. They were not to address themselves to the commander of the Boers, but they were to try to suborn some of the Boers into deserting their own flag. I have seen it stated in the newspapers, and I think I have heard it said in this House, that General De Wet perpetrated a brutal murder in shooting one of these peace emissaries. Now Lord Kitchener is not a very mild man, and I wonder what he would do if a Boer were to appear in the British camp and try to induce, say, an Irish regiment to lay down their arms and surrender. I think such conduct as this is mean and contemptible and degrading to the country. I read in a newspaper a few months ago that we had now adopted a new plan. This story was probably not true, because it was in a newspaper, and we are getting quite accustomed to the sort of lies that are so often palmed off as facts. I speak of the telegrams from South Africa. I read that we have induced the wife of General Botha to go to her husband in order to prevail upon him and the Boers to surrender. I can understand meeting your enemy in the field; but could anything be more utterly contemptible than to send the wife of the Boer commander-in-chief in order to urge her husband to surrender, and to tell the Boers that they are mistaken, that it is not to their own interest to hold out, and to try with all her womanly feelings to induce her husband to give up? I hope that this story is not true for the sake of the country. Will hon. Gentlemen opposite cite me one single case in which terms have not been offered to an enemy when one country is engaged in war with another country? I cannot remember one. This is all the more monstrous when we remember that this war partakes of an internecine struggle between ourselves and people who acknowledged our flag. I think this is the very case in which you ought to propose terms of accommodation. Putting aside all questions of humanity, I can imagine nothing more utterly impolitic than the course taken by His Majesty's Government in this matter. Our aim is that all should live happily together. We wish to safeguard our interests so that there can be in our South African colonies, as in Canada and Australia, the *Pax Britannica.* But we are not going the right way to arrive at that. You are now taking the course which must end in making those great countries in South Africa hostile to us, and they will no doubt seize the very first opportunity when this country is in difficulties elsewhere to turn against you. I think the Leader of the House asked, Whom would you negotiate with? He asked—How would you do it? We do not want such questions, for we want the thing to be done. We want a proclamation to be put out and conveyed to the enemy. I do not believe in this idea of refusing to negotiate with your enemy. You should at least see if you can come to a peaceful arrangement which will be satisfactory both to them and to us. Of course in all these things you cannot expect the *status quo ante bellum* to continue. There must be a certain amount of give and take on both sides. When you get men meeting together honestly determined to look to their mutual interests then you might possibly come to some arrangement which would be infinitely better for us and our permanent interests than by carrying on the war as at present. My right hon. friend the Member for East Wolverhampton, who is a belligerent Nonconformist, I believe, went about the country swaggering and saying that we ought to fight it out to the bitter end. [AN HON. MEMBER: He said "fight to a finish."] I am not so well acquainted with the prize ring as my right hon. friend appears to be. That was his idea, at any rate, of what we ought to do. The Government, however, seemed to prefer to do everything else. They said they would conquer, and therefore they must conquer. They have not the strength of mind to admit that they have been in error, for it requires a strong hand and not a weak mind to do it. I can see nothing but drift and weakness in the policy pursued by the Government. Complaints have appeared in their own newspapers of the weak, wobbly way they have carried on the war, and they do not understand their own vile business themselves. [Ministerial cries of "Order, order!"] If that word is too strong I will say their own glorious business.

I cannot help saying that in this matter the Government are doing exactly what they have often complained that we have been doing, and that is that they are preferring their party to their country. They know that they have blundered and muddled. First one member of their own party attacks them and then another. They have made a mess of the hospitals and of the war, and they have made every species of mess and folly, and it would be difficult for them to discover any more follies for them to commit. They now hope, if they can only appeal to the passions of the people, as they have appealed before, that they will ride off on the general triumph of their policy. That is why they are keeping up this war, and why they refuse to follow the advice of the Leader of the Opposition. The Leader of the House is a great deal too fond of lecturing us, but I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that we have opposed the war from the first, and we were told that we were traitors. We urged conciliation, and we were again told that we were traitors. We said the Government were mistaken in saying that the war would not cost more than £10,000,000, and again we were called traitors. We took the liberty to criticise the military operations of the Government, and still we were traitors. We now urge terms of settlement, and again we are traitors. But we have had wars before. Lord Chatham protested pretty strongly against the American war, but he was not called a traitor. We had the French wars against which Mr. Fox protested, but he was not regarded as a traitor. We had the Crimean War, and Mr. Bright protested against it, but he was not called a traitor. [AN HON. MEMBER: What about Majuba?] But is the Government always right? You revile that great man Mr. Gladstone at the present moment, but you cowered before him when he was alive. But be this as it may, we are quite ready to accept the responsibility ourselves in tendering this advice to the Government. We were opposed to the war at the beginning, for we thought it impolitic, unwise, and unjust. Here is an opportunity to bring it to an end, and we believe our leader has suggested the best means of bringing the war to an end in the best interests of the Empire. We are ready to accept the responsibility, and all we ask hon. Gentlemen opposite to accept is the responsibility for their own actions. Instead of doing this they are always shirking their responsibilities. You tell us that the war would be over very soon if it were not for us wretches on this side. They say you must trust everything to the general; but who ever heard of trusting politics to a general? We do not have a committee of colonels in this House, and say to them that whatever they do is wise in regard to politics. We do not throw any sort of responsibility on them. We accept the responsibility for what we do, while the Government try to evade their responsibilities upon every single occasion. I say deliberately that if I knew that a continuation of the war for one week only would lead to this conquest and surrender, I should still be in favour of conciliation, because I believe that that conquest and surrender would be the most injurious and harmful thing that could happen to the Empire. I do honestly believe that at the present time the Boers perceive that we are stronger than them. If you are ready to spend the money and find the troops, and send them out to South Africa, in the end you must, in the very nature of things, wear the Boers out. But in doing this you are preparing for yourselves a terrible future in South Africa. That is not the way the Commonwealths of Australia or Canada or New Zealand were founded. That is not the way to inspire loyalty amongst these people. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has said that this war is the most unfortunate war in which England was ever engaged. I think I saw the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs here just now. He said that he regarded the war as an unmixed blessing. I rather agree with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, for has not Canada become loyal to the British by becoming an independent State? And your best way to arrive at that end in South Africa is not to fight to a finish and insist upon conquest and surrender, but try to induce the people, as practical, sensible men, to come within the area of the British Empire, by giving them a guarantee and an assurance that they will have the fullest autonomy, and be able to continue to live under their old laws and customs. You must not be surprised if they distrust you. They remember the raid, and that after that Mr. Rhodes gloried in being at the head of it, and he was afterwards made a Privy Councillor. The hon. Member opposite referred to Majuba. They remembered what happened when we, in the most infamous manner, declared that they were to form part of the British Empire, and then we cheated them out of their independence. We assured them that they should have a free independent Government and a full representative assembly, and we did not keep our promise. That is why I am so anxious that we should make it clear at the present moment that if they will only accept our terms they shall have the fullest autonomy. For my part I do not care whether they call themselves republicans or subjects of the Sovereign. Surely the German Empire is a strong Empire; then let the Boers have Republics like the Hanse towns in Germany, and let us be generous in all these minor details.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): That is inaccurate and absurd.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Oh, everything is absurd and ridiculous that the hon. Gentleman does not believe in. The German Empire is one of the strongest in the world, and there you have a State that owes its allegiance to the German Empire and recognises as its overlord the German Emperor, and that is a republic. That is why I say it is comparatively unimportant whether the Boers call themselves republicans or anything else if you pursue the course indicated by the Leader of the Opposition, and substitute conciliation for this fighting to the bitter end. Your object is to win their affection. We have now fulfilled our duty. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition has told you what the policy of the Liberal party is, and what we think is desirable in the interests of the Empire in order to put an end to the war. We are in a minority, and the recent election proves nothing except the hard fact that you have a majority; but that majority was obtained upon a false issue, and if we had another election now I think it is probable that we should have a majority. But we are now face to face with the fact that you have a majority. We are absolutely powerless and can do nothing. We do, however, claim our right to free ourselves from the responsibility for the continuation of this war without submitting terms to the enemy. I am perfectly convinced that every day that this war continues will bring a greater number of adherents to our views than are likely to be won over by your policy. I think you will admit that the war is not quite so popular as it was, and every day that it continues and these terrible losses go on, entailing enormous expense, you will find it more difficult to say that the war was necessary. You say that you do not like the burning and the desolation that is absolutely necessary to carry out your policy, but all this will tell with the country. The new phase of the war is less popular, and time is with us, and if the Boers continue to resist the time will come when you will be ready to admit that the Leader of the Opposition gave you good advice.

*LORD STANLEY: I have to ask the indulgence of the House while I address a few remarks to hon. Members upon this subject. I do not intend so much to go into controversial matters, which will be dealt with by my hon. friend the Secretary of State for War, but I will try and deal with a few questions with which I have been brought into personal relation, and about which there seems to be some misunderstanding.

It appears from what one hears and sees that there is a prejudice on the opposite side of the House, in that they believe that because the Members on this side of the House support the war, believing it to be right and inevitable, therefore they must be pro-Boer in the way they speak of an Englishman as against a Boer. I am not one of those who wish to run down the Boers as men or as a nation. I do not agree with those people who run him down as a coward, for to do so would be to depreciate the courage of our own troops, and I appreciate the courage of the Boers. As a race I think they have their failings, but we must admit that they have some of those qualities of tenacity which we are in the habit of priding ourselves upon possessing. The right hon. Member for South Aberdeen, who spoke last night, fell foul of the hon. Member for Totnes, who spoke about the Boer having no sense of honour. I know what the hon. Member for Totnes means, and when he used that expression, while I knew what he meant and felt with him, at the same time I could quite feel with the Member for South Aberdeen and those who agree with him. As a man, I do not think that we can say that the Boer is devoid of honour when we consider the humanity he has always shown to our sick and wounded, but I should not wonder if some hon. Gentlemen on the other side will not agree with me when I say that when you come to the question of the Boer's honour in fighting tactics, to put it mildly, he has a sense of honour peculiar to himself. His idea of fighting is to go out with the prospect of killing—— [Ironical Nationalist cheers.] So is ours; but at the same time, he thinks it no dishonour to fire from under the white flag. [Nationalist cries of "Oh."] In that way, I say, his sense of honour is, to say the least of it, peculiar. Again, there is the question of taking the oath of neutrality. That has been mentioned as one of the instances where the Boer has not much appreciation of honour in the way that we consider honour in regard to an oath. There is not the slightest doubt, as my hon. friend the Member for Totnes has reminded the House, that in many cases Boers have been taken with not only one but several oaths of neutrality upon them. In one case, a well-known field cornet of one commando came to a small post, took the oath, and two days afterwards, at the head of a commando, demanded the surrender of that small post. So their sense of honour with regard to an oath is also a little peculiar. At the same time, let me be as perfectly fair as I can be to the Boers. I think that the new way of dealing with the Boers has proved to be better than that which we pursued at first—namely, allowing them to come in and voluntarily surrender their arms, placing them in big camps, and giving them all possible protection. I believe myself that it will be found that many who under other circumstances would not have been willing to come in are now perfectly prepared to do so.

The right hon. Member for South Aberdeen made a speech which was undoubtedly a pro-Boer speech; he will not be prepared to deny it; but at the same time, as a reason or excuse for making that speech, he said he was certain that no words uttered in this House or in this country had any influence on the Boers in South Africa. Now, the right hon. Gentleman is too modest; that is a fallacy which it is easy to disprove. When the troops got into Kroonstad there was found there the latest edition of the well-known Boer paper, the *Standard and Diggers' News*, in which there was an account of the

National Liberal meeting. I do not know whether the account was a true one or whether it was garbled; but at all events, in a paper that is not large there was a good column given up to this meeting, and a leading article as well. To show what effect that meeting had upon the Boers, I would ask the permission of the House to read a sentence from that article. That article, referring to the Members of the Volksraad, said—

> "There is the same clear ring of conviction about him, and the same spirit of stubborn resistance, and in his attitude as a whole he finds opportune encouragement from the views of Liberalism, which proclaim him in the right, urge him to continue, and in the meantime condemn the men of Downing Street and all their doings."

Will anyone deny that these words have reached South Africa; or will he deny, whatever the effect of this article, the wish of the writer was to show that the voice of Liberalism was used in this country to help the Boers in their country to continue the war? Therefore I beg hon. Members opposite—who must remember that, however anxious they may be for the finish of this war, we are equally anxious on this side—to let no words fall that will in any way prevent the conclusion of that peace for which we all hope. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen also said he thought we had not taken enough opportunities of communicating our terms to the enemy. I interrupted him last night in order to mention the case of the Commander-in-Chief having communicated with General Louis Botha, and the right hon. Gentleman asked me whether he communicated with Steyn. May I say that quite early in the campaign, on 13th May, a telegram was sent to Steyn—I forget what it referred to, but not, I think, communicating terms of peace—and also to Mr. Kruger. The telegrams were answered respectively by De Wet and Botha, who said that all communications should be addressed to them. Therefore, after that, it was not necessary to make any communications either to Kruger or Steyn; any communication was made to the commanders of the opposite forces, De Wet and Botha. First of all, as to whether any communication was made to Botha. On 8th June a verbal message was brought from Louis Botha requesting an interview with Lord Roberts. Lord Roberts answered the letter in his own hand consenting to an interview between the outposts, but Botha's answer was not satisfactory in that he would not agree to the terms on which they were to meet. I myself have not seen the actual letter, but I believe Botha stated that he did not mean to consider any terms unless independence was assured. With regard to De Wet, on 17th September the District Commissioner of Kroonstad, with P. M. Botha, met De Wet, with Lord Roberts's sanction, to discuss the uselessness of continuing the struggle. De Wet declined to discuss any terms whatever unless the independence of the two Republics was first guaranteed.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can lay any Paper before the House giving actually what passed between General Botha and Lord Roberts.

*LORD STANLEY: Would the hon. Member be good enough to put a question on Monday, because I cannot do it on my own responsibility? I do not know what hon. Members may think, as to what terms should have been discussed, seeing that the question of independence was to be discussed with other terms. My object was really to try and show the House that so far as my late chief was concerned he had done his best to communicate with both Boer Commanders-in-Chief, and to show that he had been perfectly ready and willing to meet them and discuss terms. The question of farm-burning has been brought up, and there have been many arguments as to whether it is right or whether it is wrong. Hon. Members have rather taken it that those farm-burnings were done without authority by irresponsible persons. [HON. MEMBERS on Opposition side: "No, no," and "Proclamation."] If I remember right, Lord Roberts, in his proclamation, did not say that when the railway was broken farms within ten miles should be burned, but that they would be liable to be burned. For some time afterwards no farm was burned. After that farms were, by Lord Roberts's special orders, under certain conditions, burned. These orders were to general officers commanding to the effect that, if they were convinced that a farm had been used to harbour in any way those who meant to break the line, or who had broken the line, or that if an act of treachery had been committed on a farm, then that farm was to be burned, provided the general officer commanding thought that it was right that that course should be taken, but it was only to be done under his written order. This burning of farms has been done under a system which, I believe, has existed in previous wars; and nothing, I am perfectly certain, would have made so humane a man as Lord Roberts put his name to such a proclamation if he had not felt that by that means, however harsh it might seem, he was doing something to bring the war nearer to a conclusion. Whilst down in the south this policy may not have had any great effect, in the north it undoubtedly had a great effect, and the burning of a very few farms had completely stopped, except in one place, the breaking of the Delagoa line and of the Standerton and Johannesburg line. Moreover Lord Roberts, having given freedom from such burnings so long a trial, was justified, when he saw his leniency was abused, in taking the other means which hon. Gentlemen opposite think so harsh. I will now deal with one or two smaller questions in regard to the war. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean has made a mistake, if I may say so, with respect to what he said as to the C.I.V. Mounted Infantry.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I did not use a single word of my own. I quoted General Mackinnon.

*LORD STANLEY: General Mackinnon could not have meant mounted infantry. If so, he must have spoken not from what he had seen himself, but from information he had received from another.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I will read the words. General Mackinnon was the officer commanding.

Lord Stanley.

*LORD STANLEY: No, he was not.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Well, I will read General Mackinnon's words. He wrote—

> "Soon after our arrival the mounted infantry went to the front. . . . The sending of the Volunteers straight into action is a proceeding which I hope will not be regarded as a precedent. . . . They have not sufficient practice in the art of war to enable them to take their place in the first line . . . and could not possibly be fit to do immediate duty alongside of Regular troops."

*LORD STANLEY: I admit at once that the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly right in his construction, but, as a matter of fact, it was not so. The mounted infantry arrived some time before General Mackinnon. They went up, when they arrived, to Modder, they then came from Modder, and had their first fight at Jacobsdal, when they pleased everybody and were well pleased themselves. [Laughter.] They had every right to be pleased with themselves at their first fight. It will be remembered that the colour which they carried through the streets of London when they came back was the colour which they took at Jacobsdal. Whatever, therefore, General Mackinnon's view may have been from second hand evidence, as a matter of fact these so-called untrained men, whom he was not willing to send to the first line, did go to the first line and did extremely well. Much has been said about the deficiency of supplies in South Africa. I must say, in justice to those at home sending out supplies, that it is not right to say that there was a deficiency of supplies. The difficulty was to get the supplies from the seaports to the troops at the front. He had Lord Roberts's authority to say that never once had he had occasion to ask for supplies of food or forage from home, for they were always at hand before he had to ask for them. It was only right that that testimony should be known, as the good work done by the Army authorities at home is rather liable to be overlooked in the general praise of anything out in South Africa. The insufficiency of horses has been alluded to. I admit at once that that is one of the most difficult questions that anyone can take up and argue before this House or before a Committee. I have not the slightest doubt that the great proportion of the horses sent out were good. A certain percentage were undoubtedly bad, but at the same time you must remember the great trials to which the animals were put. It was impossible to do anything else than to take the horses off the ship and send them up country. If it had been possible to allow the horses a short rest after they had been landed from the transports, and again to have given them a week or ten days rest when they had been brought up country, I have no doubt whatever they would all have proved most serviceable. But that could not have been done. The animals had to be used at once, and, as a consequence, the mortality among them was, I am afraid, perfectly appalling. I know that there were suggestions to have places up at the front where we could have kept horses and have got them fitter before we gave them out; but the Commander-in-Chief felt that, however desirable it was to have rest-places when the horses came up, it was impossible at the time. In fact, we had not sufficient horses for the men.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Why were the horses not ordered sooner?

*LORD STANLEY: The horses were ordered in plenty of time. The question was the getting them up and feeding them. The consequence was a breakdown to a certain extent in the Remount Department, but I do not think that in that respect it could be put down to the authorities at home; it was due to the difficulties of transport and the hardships of the campaign.

One word, in conclusion, in regard to the future in South Africa. It is very hard, it is impossible, to prophesy as to the future of South Africa. But my own idea, from my own experience, is that there is not that exceeding bitterness of feeling between the two races in the country which, according to some people at home, will keep them for ever apart. I believe that, given peace, it will not be long before the country settles down, not under the old conditions but under a much happier state of things. Sir Redvers Buller told me a story, which he repeated in a speech in this country, that, meeting Joubert or Kruger—I forget which, but I fancy it was Kruger—just after the peace of Laing's Nek, they both agreed that they did not like the peace. Kruger said it would not last, for he had noticed that when two fighting dogs were separated they were not satisfied until they fought again and one got the mastery. At the time of the peace the two dogs had been separated, but now they had fought it out, and we had won. [Nationalist cries of "No."] The Boers themselves admit we have got the mastery. But whatever we may think, let us hope that when a Government is established which shall not legislate entirely in favour of the Uitlanders, and when the Uitlanders recognise the claims of the Boers and the Boers recognise the claims of the Uitlanders, we may see a Government formed between them that will conduce to the happiness and prosperity of South Africa.

*MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster): I hope I will not offend the sense of the House by breaking the continuity of the debate and returning to the subject discussed before dinner in two very interesting speeches. I am sorry that the noble Lord who has just spoken has not given me a cue with regard to the medical arrangements in South Africa by defending their deficiencies in the same manner as he defended them when he gave his evidence before the Hospitals Commission. I hope the House will allow that in returning to this subject I stand in a somewhat different position in relation to it from that which I occupied in the debates last summer. I only mention that in order to relieve myself of the necessity of bringing forward matters which would in any way resuscitate the spirit of those debates.

What I desire to do in the few minutes I will address the House is to look rather at the question of reform. But before I do so, I am bound to make one or two observations on matters which have arisen since I last addressed this

House. I hope I may be permitted to explain the last step that I have thought it my duty to take in criticising in a public manner the Report of the Royal Commission. I would ask the House to consider for a moment what has been my motive throughout the action I have taken. And in stating it I should like to answer a charge which, although it has not been formulated here, has been put forward in other quarters, and which may possibly be in the minds of some hon. Members whom I am now addressing. It has been said that the action which I took in disclosing the state of things in South Africa was calculated to injure the popularity of the military service, and so conflict with interests of the Army. My answer to that is, that the real danger lay in the fact that the state of things which I disclosed was allowed to exist at all, and in the fact that there seemed to be little effort to change it. I disclosed nothing to the Army or to the classes from which the Army is drawn. I gave them no information. I listened last night with pleasure to the speech of the hon. Member for the Totnes Division. The House will remember that he travelled over the whole field of the operations of the forces in South Africa, and that he paid a tribute to everyone, from the highest general down to the drummer boy—to Yeomanry, Volunteers, and Regulars—but I did not hear him pay any tribute to the medical arrangements. Now, the real fact of the matter is, that everyone who has been in South Africa knows that my account of these things was not exaggerated, and in bringing them forward I gave no information to the rank and file of the Army, but I only related what every man in every regiment in South Africa had seen with his own eyes. The real danger to the rank and file of the Army, and to the classes from which they are drawn, was the fact that once the question was raised there seemed to be a desire in this House rather to conceal and palliate the defects of the Medical Department than to face these defects and endeavour to reform them. I remember that during the whole of the debates last summer there was no promise of reform from beginning to end upon the part of the responsible Minister to the Crown: there was no promise even of conditional reform, and it seemed to me that that was the real danger. The lesson that the rank and file of the Army drew from those debates was that it was more important to defend a Department than to remove the causes of the defects that emanated from the Department. Then came this Royal Commission, and although I think many Members of this House, and many of the people to whom we talked, did not expect very much from it, yet undoubtedly many of the rank and file of the Army did imagine that a great and impartial tribunal was being set up which would not fail to find out the nature and extent of the evils from which they had suffered, and to point out some way by which these things could be remedied. Well, Sir, in my opinion they have found that these evils have been—I do not like to use so trifling a word as whitewashed, but buried in the lame and impotent conclusions of the Report, and therefore I consider it necessary to point out to the public that that Report does not deal in a satisfactory manner with this question, and that the inquiry has not been conducted in a way that was calculated to elicit the whole truth.

Now I should like to call the attention of the House to one or two points which I think will justify what I have said as to the impression which the Report will produce in the minds of the people unless that impression is contradicted. I will take one question, which no one who has been in South Africa can deny has been one of the most crying evils of medical mismanagement. The trains which went down from the front, crowded with wounded and sick, but principally with sick, who generally travelled in open trucks, were supplied with food which was entirely inappropriate to the condition of the patients who travelled. These trains throughout were crowded with men suffering from enteric and dysenteric fever. Now, I ask the House whether they can believe that the great majority of those trains which were sent down from the front to the base, a five days' journey, were supplied with nothing but bully beef and hard biscuits. I am not complaining of a grievance, and I maintain that I have never brought forward a grievance, which could be excused by the common phrase "war is war." The grievances which I have mainly exposed are those which have arisen through culpable mismanagement, and which could have been easily remedied on the spot. It would have been a perfectly easy thing for an orderly in any of those trains to have had a portable stove and to have made beef tea or warmed condensed milk and given it to the patients. It was solely want of management and want of thought—an incapacity for recognising the commonest necessities of the case—and it was entirely due to want of management and medical care that it was not done. When this was pointed out to the Commission the only reply they had to make on perhaps the most widespread and most culpable defect in these respects in the war was that "this did not apparently recommend itself to the medical authorities." Well, when many of the thousands in this country whose comrades and friends have suffered from this cause either out there or on the journey home read that this is the only thing the Report has to say in regard to an error of management which is patent to everybody, I do not think they can be expected to have much confidence in the Commission.

There is another point—the question of robberies by orderlies, almost the only question with which the Commission deals with any strength, and the Commission points out that robberies by orderlies of the hospital stores, of the patients' food, and of the patients' kits has been a widespread practice. The Commission then goes on to say that this is owing to the large number of untrained orderlies, who are private soldiers, like the men who are patients in the hospitals. Now what have we got? We have the rank and file being told that it was their own comrades who callously robbed them of their food and their kits, when they know perfectly well—and it has been brought home in more than one instance—that the robberies were done and permitted by the orderlies of the Royal Army Medical Corps. And as every private soldier knows, this has been the tradition in Army hospitals, and it is a defect which has nothing to do with the under-manning of the Corps, but is owing to the want of discipline and want of management within the Corps itself. The patients who have suffered from robbery, and who had their kits emptied of the little treasures which they had gathered during the campaign, will not have much confidence in the treatment of such a question in the Report, and will not believe that it can tend to improve the medical arrangements in the future. Then there is a spirit which permeates the Report which I might almost call one of contempt towards the private soldiers who have suffered so much for their country. In regard to this I must call attention to one or two cases, although I could refer to several. Witnesses have stated that on occasion patients in field hospitals at Bloemfontein had lain almost in the mud; and this is the way in which the Report treats that subject—

> "We come to the conclusion that though after rain there was some damp in some of the tents, the tents inside could not fairly be called wet, and the men inside could not properly be described as lying in the mud. . . . We do not think that the dampness to which we have referred caused any suffering or annoyance to patients."

That is the opinion formed by the Commissioners, and I say before the Commissioners had a right to come to that conclusion on behalf of the soldiers they ought to suffer from enteric in a wet tent and remain lying on the damp ground, after which they might be justified in saying that being ill under such conditions would not cause any suffering or annoyance to patients. Then, in dealing with the question of milk, they said—

> "It is true that some of the patients did not like tinned milk, but some of the patients who complained of the condensed milk only did so after they were told that there was no fresh milk, never having noticed the difference before."

Now what will our soldiers think when they read that in the opinion of the Commission they do not know the difference between tinned and fresh milk? That passage of the Report will be received with derision by the rank and file of our Army. I will take one more point. Speaking of the Woodstock Hospital at Cape Town, at the base, which was one of the best hospitals there, the Report says—

> "With regard to another disagreeable feature, being an old building it was undoubtedly infested with bugs, but they had never been in such numbers as to materially affect the comfort of the patients."

One is really tempted to ask what is the tale of bugs; do they measure them by the yard or the quart? or how many must browse upon a patient's body before he can be officially described as uncomfortable?

I only give these as instances, but I can assure the House, if hon. Members will read the Report through, and bear these instances in mind, they will find that spirit colouring the whole of the Report, and that that spirit will be apparent to the rank and file of the Army, and will cause them to characterise this Inquiry as a humbug and a sham. What effect does the House suppose the refusal of patients' evidence by the Commission will have upon our soldiers? It has been my duty to bring forward some cases of refusal of evidence. I gathered valuable evidence from soldiers who had been in the hospitals during the five months I was in South Africa. The Commission refused to take the evidence in England before they left for Cape Town, because they said they were going to take it when they got back here; and when I offered it here they refused it. What is the value of this class of evidence? It derives its chief value by the process of corroboration. It is only by the repetition of these cases that you can raise them from the position of isolated incidents into a condition of practice, but the practice which would have been made apparent by such evidence being taken by the Commission has not been brought forward in the Report. I want to point out the effect of the verdict of the Commission, that there was no scandal and no breakdown. As hon. Members know well enough, under the words scandal and breakdown—they were not my words—the rank and file of the Army and the classes from whom in this country they are drawn believe are comprised all complaints and all defects. Those who have witnessed and suffered from all those defects which are represented to them by the words scandal and breakdown, when they have the authoritative verdict of this tribunal that there has been no scandal and no breakdown, will come to the conclusion that in the opinion of the Commission there was no justification for their complaints, that none of the evils from which they have suffered really existed, and that there will be no reform.

With regard to reform, I should like to show very briefly how leniency to and partiality for a Government Department has coloured the Commission's recommendations of reform to such an extent that they are extremely imperfect and, in fact, begin at the wrong end. The fault is not only medical but economic. The Army Medical Department has always at command an unlimited supply of civilian doctors and nurses to draw upon in case of emergency. This arrangement obviates the necessity of keeping up an inflated regular staff. Yet the first recommendation of the Commission is that the Department should be enlarged. The Commission has proved that the Department is imperfect and deficient in professional talent; and surely, therefore, the worst thing to do is to enlarge it. Not a man ought to be added to it until the whole system is changed and reformed. Then the Commission makes no suggestion about placing the civilian element in a position of solidarity and self-government with regard to medical work. It recommends that in military hospitals there should always be an admixture of Royal Army Medical Corps officers with civilian doctors. Even according to the Commission's own Report that view is altogether wrong. The Report protests against the militarism in military hospitals, and calls attention to the friction which existed between the civilian doctors and the officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps when they were mixed with one another. This recommendation is one of the evidences that the Commission were entirely in the hands of the Department into the defects of which they were inquiring. We have had plenty of examples in this war of what ought to be, and can be, done with civilian aid. Take all the private hospitals; take the splendid Yeomanry Hospital with an entire civilian staff, and only one Royal Army Medical Corps officer in it.

That is a model which might be imitated by the Government. The advantage would be that, instead of maintaining an inflated Regular Army Medical Corps as a permanent tax upon the country, you could employ the civilian element for the period you want it, and get rid of it when no longer required. This seems to me one of the most fatal flaws in the recommendations of the Commission. I am afraid that the subject of reform is far too difficult and complicated for me to go into now. I have only given two instances, which I think are leading instances, to illustrate the point I have made, that the same influences which have impaired the inquiry have vitiated the suggestions for improvement.

In conclusion, I wish to say one word for myself. In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, it was not within the range of human possibility for a man who saw the things which I saw—and I am far from exaggerating them—to remain silent under the circumstances. Moreover, I saw the causes which led to these disastrous results, and how easily they might have been remedied on the spot. My one regret—and I say this by way of apology, perhaps, for what some who walk delicately may have thought errors of method and manner—is that my voice was not more powerful and my hand more practised and capable. Having seen these things, and knowing that they might have been remedied, I should have been, in my opinion, a coward if I had not brought them forward. I had no other means of making them known except those which I adopted in the interests of reform; and I have much evidence from many quarters to show that my action has not been in vain. The disclosure of these evils, and the fact that the Army knew that the force of public opinion had been brought to bear in favour of reform, created a new hope and restored confidence in the minds of our soldiers. I trust that reform, although the road may be somewhat difficult, is really in sight; and I appeal to His Majesty's Government to look at this question, not by the light of the inquiry —the partial inquiry—which has been held, but in a broader and more comprehensive way, by means of a more practical and less interested Committee, and one which will not be affected by the influences which are so apparent in this Report.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley): Mr. Speaker, knowing as I do that there are several Members who still desire to speak on the main question, I do not propose to move the Amendment standing in my name; but I propose to take this opportunity of asking for information from His Majesty's Government on several points in regard to the Chinese situation. I desire, Sir, to pay my tribute to the valour and efficiency shown by the native soldiers of our Indian Empire, by our naval forces, and by the Chinese recruits who have been drilled by British officers at Wei-hai-wei in the operations in China. His Majesty's Government are to be congratulated on having so far preserved the Concert of the Powers as to settle certain bases of negotiations for the conclusion of peace with the Chinese Government. But there seems to be a need for a distinct statement of the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to the main conditions which they intend to seek in connection with that settlement. We have had the statement made in this House many times that the policy of His Majesty's Government is the policy of the open door in China; but I desire to ask how far this announced policy of His Majesty's Government has been successfully carried out. Under the Anglo-Russian Agreement we conceded to Russia preferential rights north of the Great Wall of China. We conceded to Germany similar preferential rights in the great province of Shangtung; and at that time it was stated that Great Britain possessed a sphere of interest in the Yang-tsze Valley. But though an English and a German syndicate came to an arrangement that certain districts in China should be regarded as their respective spheres of operations, this arrangement being approved of by both the British and the German Governments, yet when we come to consider the Anglo-German Agreement it would appear to nullify the previous agreements and understandings. The Anglo-German Agreement was concluded for the purpose, we are told, of maintaining on the part of the two Governments their interests in China and their rights under existing treaties; but when we come to interpret that Agreement by the language used by Count von Bülow, we find that it does not confer equal rights and privileges, because Count von Bülow states that—

> "It is our desire, and it is our intention to stick to the basis of the treaty of March 6, 1898, and not to go beyond this treaty."

This is a secret treaty between Germany and the Chinese Government, securing for Germany preferential rights in the great province of Shantung. Then, with regard to the Anglo-Russian Agreement, whilst that gave preferential rights north of the Great Wall of China to Russia, it also secured for us similar preferential rights in the Yang-tsze basin. The German understanding secured us equal preferential rights in the Yang-tsze basin to those we accorded to the German syndicate in the province of Shantung. The Anglo-German Agreement confirms the preferential rights in favour of Russia which we accorded to her in the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and also the preferential rights which we accorded to Germany under the Anglo-German understanding. On the other hand, under that agreement we give up any preferential right in the Yang-tsze basin, and admit Russia and Germany and all other Powers who gave their assent to that Agreement to equal rights and privileges with ourselves. Therefore this Anglo-German Agreement appears to give everything away to the nations competing with this country for the trade of China and to gain no *quid pro quo* in return. It appears to me that, to that extent, His Majesty's Government have not succeeded in maintaining an equal opportunity for British subjects to trade throughout the whole of China and to enter upon economic industrial enterprises. What is the policy of His Majesty's Government at the present moment? In the Anglo-German Agreement we are told that—

> "It is a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade, and to every legitimate form of economic activity for all countries without distinction; and the two Goverments agree, on their part, to uphold the same for all Chinese territory as far as they can exercise influence.'"

The Agreement goes on to say—

> "The Imperial German Government and Her Britannic Majesty's Government will not, on their part, make use of the present complication to obtain for themselves any territorial advantages in Chinese dominions, and will direct their policy towards maintaining undiminished the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire."

That declaration is eminently satisfactory. The United States, Japan, Austria, and Italy have unreservedly given their adhesion to the principles contained in this Agreement—namely, the maintenance of the territorial integrity of China and the open door for trade throughout the Chinese Empire. It is also understood that France concurs. Russia gave her assent with certain reservations, but re-asserted at the same time that she was the first to lay down the maintenance of the integrity of the Chinese Empire as a fundamental principle of her policy in China. The bases of negotiations for a settlement of the Chinese crisis have been agreed upon, but that is a small step towards the final settlement of the situation. I had a letter two or three days ago from one of the best informed men in Peking, in which he says—

> "We are in a pretty mess out here. Imagine ten representatives of ten different Powers attempting to negotiate a settlement with China, the Government of each of the ten representatives having a telegraph wire, and seeking, by means of that telegraph wire, to control the whole of the negotiations from their respective capitals."

He points out what a prolongation of the settlement is bound to ensue from a condition of things like this.

I am bound to say that I regret that His Majesty's Government, though pressed by important chambers of commerce and by associations, like the China Association, interested in upholding our trade in the Far East, have not seen their way to send a special mission to China, headed by a diplomatist of the first rank as a plenipotentiary, so as to expedite, so far as we are concerned, the conclusion of a peace with China. My sympathies in this matter are entirely with the Chinese. My policy would be to preserve China for the Chinese, and to claim an equal opportunity to trade there for all nations. I consider that the rising of the Chinese was a patriotic rising. Their territory had been seized in the most aggressive manner by foreign Powers, and it was only natural—whether you term them Boxers or whatever you term them—that patriotic Chinamen should make an effort to expel the intruder. In connection with that effort they certainly were guilty of offences against the known laws and rules of civilisation in attacking the foreign representatives in the Legations at Pekin; but when they are face to face with the question of settling this Chinese crisis, I say that it is hypocrisy on the part of the so-called representatives of Western civilisation and Christianity to make demands for the decapitation of Chinese princes, generals, and high officials. Information which I possess convinces me that the Russians in Manchuria have been guilty of wholesale massacres of Chinese—men, women, and children—and that some of the Allied troops on their way to Peking looted and massacred, and devasted the country. I say that in view of these facts it ill becomes the representatives of those Western Powers to be demanding human heads at the present moment in Peking, and delaying a settlement of this important question. At the present moment the way is blocked by the question as to which of the Chinese princes, generals, and high officials are to be decapitated and who are to escape. A report appears in the newspapers to-day in which we are told that when the Chinese Government reminded the representatives of the foreign Powers that all they promised to do was to punish those guilty of attacks upon foreigners according to their guilt, the representatives of the foreign Powers replied that the smallest punishment must be decapitation, but that if they wished to inflict a severer punishment on some of the guilty, they would suggest that they should quarter them. I hope there is no foundation for that statement, and I hope also that the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs will be able to tell us to-night that, so far as the representatives of the British Government are concerned, they will be no parties to putting a condition of such a disgraceful and inhuman character to the Chinese people.

Another matter in connection with the settlement is the question of an indemnity. Now, I would venture to suggest to His Majesty's Government, having regard to the enormous commercial interests we have in China—the Government told us not long ago that out of a total foreign trade with China of 70 millions the British Empire had no less than 43 millions sterling, or more than all the rest of the world put together—that rather than seek a huge indemnity in money from the Chinese Government and people it would be more to the interests of the British Empire, especially commercially considered, if we sought to have reparation in increased facilities for trade. China is not an uncivilised empire. It had a civilisation of its own while European peoples were still in a barbarous condition. Even when there was an uprising to expel foreigners from the North of China, and when the Imperial Government of China was practically defunct, it is a fact that the government of the country throughout the greater part of the Chinese Empire went on just the same, under excellent provincial governments, which have a large measure of Home Rule, and which are guided by patriotic and enlightened statesmen, such as the Viceroys of the Yang-tsze Valley, who rule over a population of 118 millions. Then, as regards the south of China, I had a letter from one of the best informed men in Canton, who informed me that during the last six months matters have been quieter in the midst of this crisis than when I was there eighteen months ago. That being so, I hope His Majesty's Government will use their influence to try and set up a better government in China, which should include the Viceroys of the Yang-tsze region, Prince Ching, and other enlightened Chinamen. If the Reform party in China were so afforded protection that they could show themselves, it would be found that they are not an inconsiderable body. If we are to have China open to trade—and the increased possibilities in that direction are almost unlimited—it must be by first setting up a more enlightened and better government in that country.

Now, it is perfectly certain that in connection with the settlement of the Chinese crisis there will have to be a revision of the commercial treaties of foreign nations with China. The import duty to-day is nominally 5 per cent.; on some goods it amounts to more than 5 per cent., on others to less; but it averages distinctly under 5 per cent. I would suggest that it would be to the advantage of this country and to other European nations to give China fresh commercial treaties with an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent., which should, however, cover the likin duty of 2½ per cent. now charged. Under the new agreements which will be made in connection with the settlement of the Chinese crisis, I believe it would be perfectly practicable to rearrange the commercial treaties so that there should be only one import duty of 10 per cent., that the likin duty should be abolished, and that the new import duty should cover goods to whatever part of the Empire they might be sent. Part of the increased revenue should be allocated to provincial treasuries, because they need money for the more adequate payment of their officials, in order to give them less excuse for appropriating money passing through their hands, and also for expenditure on naval and military forces. Then, again, in connection with the settlement, we should insist on the complete opening up of the inland waterways to foreign trade. We had it announced in this House with a great flourish of trumpets that an agreement had been come to under which British ships could take British goods to every riverside town in China. In connection with the new settlement we should seek not only to have that object made complete and effective, but also that money should be expended by international conservancy boards for the removal of obstructions to navigation in the great commercial waterways of China, such as the Yang-tsze River, the West River, and other rivers. In that way we should confer great benefit on the people of China and also on the foreign nations trading with China.

With regard to railways, I venture to suggest that the foreign Powers ought, in connection with the settlement they are seeking to effect, to give a distinct understanding to the Chinese Government that though railways built with foreign capital ought to remain under the control of those finding the money until the principal and interest are paid, yet that on certain stipulated conditions the Chinese Government should be able to take over any or all of these railways when they find themselves in a position to do so. What is the position with regard to railways in China? The only nation, so far as I can gather, which is standing still in regard to railway enterprise in China is the British nation—the nation which first opened up China to trade, and fought more than one great war to keep it open, and which up to now has had more trade with the Chinese Empire than all other nations put together. We are told that British subjects have obtained railway concessions amounting to 2,800 miles. What are the facts? At the present moment the Russians, Germans, Belgians, and French are all busily engaged in constructing railways in China. They are taking possession of the country in a military sense by railways, whereas British subjects, who have an enormous amount of concessions, are not at the present moment engaged in the construction of one single line in the whole of the Chinese Empire. Moreover, the foreign concessionnaires are drawing their railway material from their respective countries, to the detriment of the British producer. I ask, have our British commercial men so lost their spirit of enterprise that has built up our great Empire, and has maintained its prosperity hitherto, that they are content to allow foreign nations to supply China with a system of railways, while they themselves are left out in the cold altogether? I hope railway concessionnaires will receive every support of a right and proper kind from His Majesty's Government, and that every encouragement will be given to commercial enterprises. What is the reason why British investors are holding back? Take the case of the Chinese Northern Railways. They were arranged to be built with British capital on certain terms and conditions, but His Majesty's Government allowed Russia to interfere, and the terms of the contract were altered. Without as much as saying

"By your leave" Russia has taken possession of the railway from Yang-tsun to Shan-hai-kwan and Niu-chwang, which was being controlled by British engineers and British officials. Now we learn that they have handed over that railway to the Germans, who will perhaps shortly hand it back to British control. We are also told that there is a stipulation that the Russians are to have two fifths of the whole rolling stock on the railway from Yang-tsun to Shan-hai-kwan, and also a lien on the railway from Shan-hai-kwan to Niu-chwang, for money expended on its repair, and for working the traffic on it. We are not told what is to be done with the railway to Niu-chwang, the net earnings of which are a part security for British bondholders. I hope the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs will be able to give us an assurance on this subject, because the loan, £2,300,000, was advanced by the British investing public on the distinct understanding that the Foreign Office had taken a note of the transaction, and that they would uphold the rights of British bondholders in connection with this railway. Therefore, a special responsibility rests on His Majesty's Government in respect to it. I do not say that His Majesty's Government have not fully carried out their responsibility. I should only be too glad to hear that that is so, and that it has been done successfully. If British investors are reassured that their just rights and interests are effectively upheld by His Majesty's Government in China, then I believe that money will be forthcoming, and that British merchants and manufacturers of railway material will take a share in supplying China with a system of railway.

There is another question. We were told that there was no sacrifice that His Majesty's Government would not make to uphold British interests and treaty rights in China. What has happened in Niu-chwang, the only treaty port in Manchuria? Russia, which had only 1 per cent. of the trade in Niu-chwang, actually appropriated the civil and military administration of that port. They took possession of the Custom House, although there was a staff there under Sir Robert Hart who were perfectly capable of dealing with the matter, and the Russians are actually receiving the Customs duties to-day. What I desire to know from the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs is how it came about that England, who presumes to have control of the sea, was unable to send even one single gunboat to Niu-chwang to uphold the treaty rights of British subjects there? The trade of British subjects with Niu-chwang is no less than three millions sterling a year, and yet it is under the civil and military administration of Russia alone, an administration assumed without asking the consent of the Treaty Consuls in Niu-chwang. It may be said that this was done under the military exigencies of the moment. In that case I should like to know what undertaking His Majesty's Government have received that Russia will speedily evacuate Niu-chwang, that the collection of the Customs will be returned into the hands of the representatives of Sir Robert Hart, and that the administration of the port will be resumed by the Chinese Government.

The question before us is whether His Majesty's Government will take full advantage of the opportunity now presented to them in connection with the settlement of the crisis in China to obtain those increased facilities for trade to which I have referred, and other facilities, in order that we as a nation may enjoy in the future our fair share of the trade with that great Empire. Now the doubtful element in the situation appears to me to be what is the policy of Russia. Russia appears to be the only Power that is going to gain any advantage whatever from the recent Chinese crisis. England, so far as I can see, has lost something and gained nothing. Russia, on the other hand, is in military occupation of the great and rich province of Manchuria, Germany is paramount in Shantung, while we have conceded equal rights to those nations in the Yang-tsze basin, which was formerly supposed to be our special sphere of influence, in which the British enjoyed special preferential rights. That is no longer so. The action of Russia seems to me to be the great difficulty in the way of a speedy and satisfactory settlement with China. I am not antagonistic to Russia at all. I am pro-British, of course, but I do not object to co-operation with Russia on fair and reasonable lines. But His Majesty's Government have lost opportunity after opportunity of co-operating with Russia. They lost an opportunity of securing a friendly understanding with Russia when they withdrew our ships in a humiliating fashion from Port Arthur. That golden opportunity has gone never to return. At the present moment we find that though Russia has massacred thousands of men, women, and children in Manchuria, yet the Russian Government is now posing as the friend of the Chinese Government, and I am afraid, encouraging them to oppose the demands that Europe is at present making on them. We have heard that the Chinese Ambassador recently paid a visit to Livadia, and was there received with special honour, that he had important interviews with Count Lamsdorff, no doubt with reference to the present situation in China. Now, I submit that for Russia to take this action in regard to the representative of China, at a time when China has given no reparation for the unparalleled and scandalous attack on the representatives of the Foreign Powers in Peking, means that Russia is seeking to curry favour with the Chinese Government behind the back of Europe, and at the expense of the other civilised Powers. There is no question that in connection with this Chinese settlement His Majesty's Government have a most difficult task in front of them, and I deeply regret that having 200,000 men locked up in South Africa has to a certain extent tied our hands; but I believe that a greater increase in trade can be obtained from one of the provinces of China than can be got from the whole of South Africa for generations, and therefore I submit the Chinese question is of enormous importance. I have supported His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war in South Africa, but I hold that we no longer possess those qualities of courage and enterprise that our forefathers had if we allow our difficulties in South Africa to hinder us from resolutely maintaining and upholding our just commercial treaty rights and interests in China.

*Mr. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): In the crisis at present existing in China it is difficult to formulate any clear or satisfactory policy. A communication, however, was recently published giving the views of two of the great Viceroys to whom the hon. Member has just referred. They both regard the Boxers as riff-raff, who were set on to attack Christians and Europeans. There is some slight consolation in that view. There are some who hold the opinion that we ought to leave China severely alone. That is not the view of Her Majesty's Government. They have decided that China shall not be left alone, but that a certain line of policy should be adopted with regard to that country.

The point, however, to which I wish to direct attention is the question of Niu-chwang. Niu-chwang is one of the few treaty ports in the north. On the 27th July last that treaty port was entered in an exceedingly high-handed way by Russia, and, as the hon. Member has said, the custom house was appropriated and the customs dues are now being collected by Russian officials. What I would ask the noble Lord to explain is—if it is not contrary to any point of public policy—how that fits in with the first Clause of the Anglo-German Agreement, ratified on the 16th October? The First Clause says—

> "It is a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade and to every other legitimate form of economic activity for the nationals of all countries without distinction; and the two Governments agree on their part to uphold the same for all Chinese territory as far as they can exercise influence."

An influential journal published on the Rhine, which is supposed to enjoy official advantages, has suggested that the phrase "as far as they can exercise influence" was intended to exclude Niu-chwang. Perhaps the noble Lord will be able to inform the House if there is any arrangement with Russia regarding the matter. I think possibly we may take comfort from the fact that so early a date has been fixed for handing back the Shan-hai-kwan railway to British management. That is perhaps an augury that His Majesty's Government may have made a no less satisfactory arrangement with regard to Niu-chwang.

*The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): I am afraid I shall have some little difficulty, in the very short time that remains before the adjournment, in dealing with the very varied topics laid before us most temperately by the hon. Gentleman opposite and my hon. friend. I think in many of his observations the hon. Gentleman opposite did not really fully realise what the avowed policy of our Government in China has always been. It has not been an aggressive policy, and, perhaps for that very reason, it has not been a very attractive policy. It would have been exceedingly easy at one time for the Government to have taken up a very different attitude which would, no doubt, have earned them—the Government of that day—cheers in many quarters of the House. But they purposely and deliberately adopted a different policy; and they did so because they were conscious that an atmosphere of unrest in China was the most detrimental thing to British interests that could possibly be imagined. The spirit which actuated them has been continued down to the present day. I do not say that our policy was weak, but I say it was not aggressive. That policy found its most recent expression in the Anglo-German Agreement to which the hon. Gentleman opposite and my hon. friend have referred. I do not propose to trouble the House at any length with that Agreement, because it was my fortune to make observations on it last session; but I was astonished to find that the hon. Gentleman opposite did not appear to approve of the Anglo-German Agreement. I certainly had, perhaps erroneously, gathered the idea last December that that Agreement was greeted with approval in nearly every part of the House. As I stated at the time, it was not a very great step forward, but it was a very distinct step forward in the direction of the open door and in the direction of preserving the territorial integrity of China.

*Mr. JOSEPH WALTON: What I said was that, while it gave to other Powers the open door in the Yang-tsze region, it did not secure us the open door either in Manchuria or Shantung, and therefore to that extent the Government had failed to maintain the open door in China.

*Viscount CRANBORNE: I will read the article—

> "It is a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade and to every other legitimate form of economic activity for the nationals of all countries without distinction, and the two Governments agree on their part to uphold the same for all Chinese territory as far as they can exercise influence."

It is clearly, as I stated last December, limited in scope; it is not complete, but it is perfectly plain; and I do not think it is necessary for us to refer to the speech of any foreign statesman, as the hon. Gentleman did, in order to explain what the plain meaning of the language in the article sufficiently shows.

Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Is Manchuria open?

*Viscount CRANBORNE: So far as we know, it is open. But it is quite clear that in one sense Manchuria is not open any more than many other parts of China, for during a time of trouble and temporary occupation of the territory it is perfectly clear the ordinary processes of commercial enterprise cannot be carried on. After all, we are agreed—and it is a great thing to mark what the House is agreed about—that the main and principal interest of England and China is a commercial interest; and it is that interest which the Government have perpetually borne in mind. When the crisis began in China an immediate duty took precedence of every other. It was necessary to vindicate in China the position of our country and to make it perfectly clear to the world and the Chinese that outrages committed against British subjects, and most of all against the sacred person of our envoy, should not remain unpunished. I observe on the part of the hon. Gentleman opposite a disposition to minimise the crimes of the Chinese. He apologised for them in several ways. He spoke of the attitude of the Powers towards China as outrageous. I am not dealing with the question as to whether outrages have been committed by particular troops — certainly not by our troops — but he seemed to think that the general attitude of the Powers as manifested by the action of their diplomatic representatives towards the Chinese in the matter of punishment was outrageous. I think that is a most astonishing attitude to take. My opinion is that the Powers have not been too severe, but that there has been an inclination in many quarters to be far too lenient. I cannot conceive any action of a constituted Government which is more reprehensible than the outrages, not unmixed with treachery, which were levelled not merely at the heads of private individuals under the protection of Great Britain, but against their diplomatic representatives, who by every code, civilised and uncivilised, are sacred, and by none more than the code the Chinese themselves possess. I have nothing to say except as regards the action of the British Government and the British troops. The British Government have a great cause of quarrel of the most serious kind against the Chinese; and I think we should have been lamentably wanting in our duty if we had not made it clear that the punishment to be meted out to the criminals in China should, so far as our opinion goes, be of an exemplary character. I admit it was not without a certain feeling of misgiving as to the success of our efforts to obtain exemplary punishment of these high-placed delinquents that we entered upon the negotiations, but I am certain the punishments we demanded were not excessive and that they ought to have been—and so far as our influence was concerned they were—consistently pressed upon the Chinese Government. But in pressing these punishments upon the Chinese Government we had to be clear that we should not commit ourselves in such a way as to lose control of our own conduct. It was suggested, for instance, that in order to enforce the wishes of Great Britain and the other members of the allied Powers upon the Chinese Government expeditions should be undertaken into the interior of China of a warlike character. That, I think, would have a most disastrous policy, and anything which bound us so irretrievably to insisting upon particular measures for securing punishment of that kind appeared to us to be objectionable. Still, we did require some kind of sanction, and we were fortunate enough to propose to the Powers—by whom it was accepted—a form of language by which it was made clear to the Chinese that unless they conformed to the wishes of the Powers the latter would individually and collectively hold themselves free to remain in occupation of their territory, and in that way have some sanction for the demands made upon them. But, as I have said, the great interest of Great Britain in China is commercial. The hon. Gentleman opposite complained of the delay which had characterised the proceedings of the Powers in China. That delay is undoubtedly of a very serious kind.

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock till Monday next.

By virtue of an Order made this day, I do appoint John Bruce Nichols and John Cradock Morgan Nichols to print the Votes and Proceedings of this House.

William Court Gully.
Speaker.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 18*th February*, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THAMES AND SEVERN PROVISIONAL ORDER.

Bill to confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade, under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, for the transfer of the Thames and Severn Canal to the County Council of Gloucestershire; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

THAMES AND SEVERN PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

"To confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade, under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, for the transfer of the Thames and Severn Canal to the County Council of Gloucestershire; and for other purposes," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 1.]

PETITIONS.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ADULTS IN EVENING CLASSES).

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Bradford; Brighton and Preston; Llanelly; and Calverley; to lie on the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Little Hulton; Blean; and Hyde; to lie upon the Table.

PURE BEER.

Petitions for legislation, from Kington; Loughborough; Kimbolton; and Doncaster; to lie upon the Table.

SINGH, MAGAN.

Petition of Magan Singh, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petition from Hammersmith, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

Petition from Wickham Market, for cessation of farm-burning; to lie upon the Table.

Petition from Leominster, for termination; to lie upon the Table.

VIVISECTION.

Petition from Notting Hill, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NATIONAL DEBT (SAVINGS BANK AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES).

Annual Account presented, for the period ended 20th November, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 18.]

NATIONAL DEBT (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).

Account presented, of the Gross Amount of all Moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of the Fund for Military Savings Banks, from 19th September, 1845, to the 5th January, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 19.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS).

Appropriation Accounts presented, for the year ending 31st March, 1900, together with the Reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, and certain Reports upon Store Accounts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 20.]

SARDINIAN LOAN.

Account presented, of the Total Sums issued out of the Consolidated Fund and advanced to His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and of the Sums received to 31st December, 1900, for Interest and Sinking Fund thereof [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 21.]

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.

Copy presented, of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of Regulations, under Section 4 of The Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for Milk and Cream, with Appendices and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

Copy presented, of Amended Rules made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, pursuant to the provisions of The Capital Punishment Amendment Act, 1868, for regulating the execution of Capital Sentences [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Mary Fox, a Convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings of the Commiſsion during the month of October, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Copy presented, of Report of the State of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year to 31st August 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 22.]

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh for the year 1899-1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 23.]

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. County Court Act, 1888, and Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879.—Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 29th January, 1901, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Devonshire, held at Plymouth and East Stonehouse, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court.

2. Building Societies.—Copy of Sixth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the Proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts, etc. [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 24.]

NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND MERCANTILE MARINE (GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.)

Return ordered, "showing aggregate Naval Expenditure on Seagoing Force; Aggregate Revenue; Aggregate Tonnage of Mercantile Marine; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Foreign Trade; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Coasting Trade; Annual Value of Imports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie; and Annual Value of Exports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie, of various Countries, exclusive of China and South American Republics, but including British Self-governing Colonies, for the year 1900 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 380, of Session 2, 1900)."—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

Return ordered, "of Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom for each month during the year 1901.—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Return, in part, presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 25.]

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

Return ordered, "of the number of Aliens that arrived from the Continent at Ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1901."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Return, in part, presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 26.]

COAL EXPORTS, ETC.

Return ordered, "giving for the year 1900 the Export of Coal from each Port in the United Kingdom to each Country Abroad, together with a Summary Statement showing the Export of Coal from the principal districts of the United Kingdom to the principal groups of Foreign Countries; and also showing the quantity of Coal shipped at each Port in the United Kingdom for ships' use on Foreign Voyages during the same period (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No.

125, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. D. A. Thomas.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR — LORD ROBERTS AND "UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER."

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to the telegram of 3rd June, 1900, published in Vol. II. South Africa Despatches from Lord Roberts in reply to General Buller, and stating that Lord Roberts's terms with the Transvaal Government are unconditional surrender, whether His Majesty's Government were informed prior to the sending of the telegram by the Commander-in-Chief of General Buller's views, as expressed by him after his interview with General Botha, that about half the Transvaal forces then in the field were before him, and that he thought they were inclined to give in, and also of the terms mentioned by General Buller to the Boers, which terms were in his opinion suitable for the military situation to secure the surrender of the Boers, or if Lord Roberts acted on his own responsibility in this matter; and if no intimation of General Buller's views was at that time sent to His Majesty's Government, when was such intimation received, and was it taken into consideration.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): No communication was made to Her Majesty's Government, Lord Roberts acting under the general powers given to him. As regards the last paragraph of the question, I think General Buller's despatch is dated 9th July, and probably, therefore, reached us in August.

POSITION OF SIR A. MILNER AND SIR W. HELY HUTCHINSON.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the present position of Sir Alfred Milner and Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson respectively as regards the Governorship of Cape Colony and the High Commissionership of the two late Dutch Republics.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): Sir Alfred Milner became Administrator of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony on the departure of Lord Roberts from South Africa, and remains Governor of the Cape Colony until Sir W. Hely Hutchinson assumes the Governorship of the Cape Colony. Sir Alfred Milner will continue to be High Commissioner for South Africa, but his relations as such with the late Dutch Republics necessarily lapsed with their annexation.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when it is likely that Sir W. Hely Hutchinson will assume the Governorship of the Cape Colony?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir, I should be sorry to fix a date at this moment.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): When will Sir Alfred Milner proceed to Pretoria?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot give the information at present.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the South African Constabulary were embarked per steamship "Aurania" on Friday for the front, without arms and uniform, and totally undrilled.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: These 900 men of the South African Constabulary, like other detachments of the force sent from this country, will be attested on their arrival, and will then be provided with arms and uniform, and will be trained under the personal superintendence of Major-General Baden-Powell. A certain number of them have already served in the Army and Militia. These, and all other arrangements in connection with this force, have been made in strict accordance with General Baden-Powell's wishes and requirements.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): What will be the total strength of the Constabulary force when this contingent arrives?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot now state with certainty what the total number will be when this contingent arrives in South Africa, but of course the hon. Member is aware what the strength of the force is to be eventually. I believe that over 2,000 have been attested in this country.

TYPHOID FEVER AMONG THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the number of cases of typhoid fever among the forces in South Africa, and the number of deaths for each of the months of October, November, and December, and also the total number of cases of typhoid fever from the beginning of the war to 31st December last, giving the number of deaths, and the number sent home as invalids.

*The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford): The figures are approximately as follow—October, 568 cases, 98 deaths; November, 1,213 cases, 207 deaths; December, 1,665 cases, 286 deaths. The total number of cases from the beginning of the war to December, 1900, is 19,101 and of deaths 4,233. The number of officers and men invalided for enteric fever who have arrived in England from the beginning of the war to December, 1900, is 10,975.

COLONIAL TROOPS IN SOUTH AFRICA—TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the terms of the original engagements of Brabant's Horse and the other colonial troops that have taken part in the South African War differed in any, and what, respect, and especially as to the duration of the engagements, from the terms of which the Imperial Yeomanry and the British Volunteers were engaged.

*Mr. BRODRICK: The terms of service of the colonial contingents varied considerably, and were different to those of the Imperial Yeomanry and British Volunteers. It is not possible to give the full details in reply to a question. All have been treated according to their engagements.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS: But will the right hon. Gentleman lay on the Table of the House a statement of the different terms?

*Mr. BRODRICK: I have made the only statement I can, but if the hon. Member wishes to know the particulars of each engagement I will see what can be done.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS: Is there any difference in the duration of the engagements?

*Mr. BRODRICK: I have said that the terms vary.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): Do these people get better pay than the common or garden Tommy Atkins?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether untrained men who have not hitherto formed part of the Yeomanry are accepted as Volunteers to the Imperial Yeomanry now proposed to be sent out to the war.

*Mr. BRODRICK: All men accepted for the Imperial Yeomanry have to pass the riding and shooting tests previously imposed. They need not necessarily belong to the Yeomanry.

MILITIA RE-EMBODIMENT.

Mr. WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if it is proposed to re-embody some or all the Militia now not embodied.

*Mr. BRODRICK: I am not in a position at present to reply to this question.

ROYAL RESERVE REGIMENTS.

Mr. WARNER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if there is any scheme for continuing the existence of the Royal Reserve Regiments; and if he is aware that the delay in letting the men know whether they will be able to re-engage and the terms of re-engagement, is not only causing inconvenience to the men, but losing the services of many men who would otherwise have re-engaged.

*Mr. BRODRICK: A communication will be addressed to the men forthwith on this subject. An opportunity will be given to the men to re-engage on special terms for garrison duty. Any officer or non-commissioned officer who may not desire to return at once to civil life will be found temporary employment.

PURCHASES OF HORSES FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. PHILIPPS (Pembrokeshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can inform the House of the number of horses bought for the South African army since the war began, specifying the number bought in Great Britain and the number bought in other countries; what was the average purchase price in each country; and what are the official reports as to the comparative merits of the animals bought in each country.

*The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The total number of horses and cobs purchased for South Africa between October, 1899, and 31st January, 1901, was as follows:—Great Britain and Ireland, 35,775 horses; 3,827 cobs. Other countries, 36,314 horses; 35,506 cobs. Of the former about 80 per cent. were sent to South Africa. The English and Irish were considered the best, and the next best were the American and Canadian. It is not considered expedient to state the prices.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Will you give me the figures for Ireland and Great Britain separately instead of lumping them together?

*Lord STANLEY: I cannot give them offhand, but will see if I can get them.

Captain DONELAN (Cork, E.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if he can state the number of troop horses purchased for the purpose of the South African war in Hungary, America, and Ireland respectively between 1st January and 31st December, 1900; and whether any agent was employed by the War Office during that period for the purchase of troop horses in the south of Ireland.

*Lord STANLEY: The figures are as follows:— Hungary, 7,000; America, United States, 21,000; Canada, 3,750; Ireland, 6,178. Of those bought in Ireland about 20 per cent, were for units at home. Colonel Hanford was the agent employed in Ireland during the period referred to, and he bought horses in all parts of the country.

Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): Can the noble Lord state if in the American figures the horses from the Argentine are included?

*Lord STANLEY: No, these are not included, but I cannot say what numbers came from the Argentine.

Captain DONELAN: May I ask why preference was given to Hungary and America in view of the fact that Irish horses are the best in the world?

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Can the noble Lord state what part of the war tax is paid in Hungary and America?

Another Nationalist Member: And is it true that when the Irish Members opposed the War Vote an order was given that no more horses should be bought in Ireland?

[No answer was returned.]

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS—LORD ROBERTS AND GENERAL BOTHA.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he can communicate to the House full details of all communications which passed between Lord Roberts and any of the Boer generals in reference to negotiations for the conclusion of peace, and a full statement of the causes which prevented the proposed meeting between Lord Roberts and General Botha in June last.

*Lord STANLEY: Yes, Sir, I will lay the correspondence to-day. I owe the hon. Gentleman and the House an apology, which I take the first opportunity of tendering. In answer to the honourable Member's question interjected during my speech on Friday, I inadvertently stated that I believed the negotiations were stopped owing to the demand for independence. I find on referring to papers, which I had not at hand, that although Lord Roberts endeavoured to meet General Botha's wishes as to an armistice, the arrangement fell through because the armistice proposed by the Boers was one which on military grounds it was impossible to accept.

ARMY CONTRACTS IN IRELAND.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the increasing complaints that the supplies for the troops in Ireland now largely consist of foreign materials, and that the number of local contractors is steadily diminishing; and whether he could furnish the House with any document showing who are the contractors to the Army in Ireland for all purposes and the nature and price of the materials supplied.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: At the same time may I ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if he can state the proportion of foreign beef and mutton at present supplied to the troops stationed in Ireland; and whether, in view of the fact that cattle and sheep are produced in abundance in Ireland, and that Irish taxpayers contribute towards the maintenance of the Army, tenders will in future be inclusively for home fed meat.

*LORD STANLEY: I am not aware of any complaints as to supplies of foreign materials to the troops in Ireland, except as regards meat, nor am I aware that local contractors are diminishing in number. When local manufacture exists in Ireland every effort is made to encourage it as far as possible. It would cause much labour to furnish from all stations in Ireland a list of the contractors and their supplies. As regards the meat supply the whole question of supply throughout the United Kingdom is being considered.

MR. FLAVIN: May I ask how many Irish manufactured bicycles have been sent to South Africa?

CAPT. DONELAN: How much do the countries which supply these foreign goods contribute towards the maintenance of the Army?

MR. T. M. HEALY: The noble Lord has referred to the trouble it would involve to give us this information. That is the very reason I want the Return. I want to cause trouble. I wish to ask the noble Lord if he will direct his subordinates to go to the trouble of furnishing the information?

[No answer was returned to any of the questions.]

ARMY BEER CONTRACTS AT THE CURRAGH.

MR. PATRICK WHITE (Meath, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War why the contract for the supply of beer, porter, and stout to the regiments stationed at the Curragh, county Kildare, was not given to an Irish firm; and whether the Government has agreed to pay an English firm a price higher than that quoted by Irish breweries.

*LORD STANLEY: Discretion as to making contracts for the supply of malt liquor to the troops is vested in the General Officers Commanding Districts, who may either make a district contract or allow commanding officers of units to make their own. There is no regulation under which canteen contracts are bound to be placed locally, and it is a fact that a considerable amount of Irish stout is sold in canteens in England. It is not proposed to question the manner in which the General Officer Commanding has used his discretion.

MR. PATRICK WHITE: Will the noble Lord answer the latter portion of the question?

*LORD STANLEY: I think I have. We do not propose to question the discretion of the commanding officer.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Does the Irish beer supplied to soldiers contain no poison, and is that the reason you send for English beer?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MARRIED SOLDIERS' SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

MR. PIRIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will take into consideration the case of married soldiers serving in South Africa whose first period of enlistment had come to an end and whose discharge and admission into the Reserve would have taken place but for the war, with a view to granting separation allowance for their wives on the scale of that provided for the Reservists; and whether he is aware that there are many cases in which discharge had actually been sanctioned and yet stopped at the last moment, the hardship being great owing to many such men having married without leave in view of their then ancicipated approaching discharge into the Reserve.

*LORD STANLEY: In cases where a soldier married without leave would have become a Reservist but for the war, it will be considered whether separation allowance can be issued by the Government. Every case must be dealt with on its merits.

SUNDAY PUBLICATION OF TELEGRAMS FROM THE SEAT OF WAR.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, for what reason the Government have ceased to publish telegrams on Sundays at post offices giving information from South Africa, and to ask if they intend resuming the practice of publishing such telegrams during the continuance of the war.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The Postmaster General was informed by the Secretary of State for War in October last that in view of the alteration in the position of affairs in South Africa, he considered that the practice of telegraphing information for exhibition in post offices on Sundays might reasonably be discontinued, and the Postmaster General has no knowledge of any intention to resume the practice.

MR. POWER: Did the military authorities cease the publication of the telegrams at the time the war was declared to be over?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: They ceased to publish them in October last.

ARMY VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is now in a position to state the decision arrived at with reference to the abolition of the prefix to the titles of the officers of the Army Veterinary Department.

*MR. BRODRICK: As the hon. Member has been informed on a previous occasion, it has been decided to await the conclusion of the war before making any changes that may be deemed necessary for this Department.

EASTER TRAININGS FOR VOLUNTEERS.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if, having regard to the order issued last week that no camp allowances will be granted as heretofore for the Easter training of Volunteers, he will cause to be notified without delay the regulations it is proposed to substitute, in order that regiments and individuals may make arrangements without delay for conforming thereto as far as practicable.

*MR. BRODRICK: The military authorities do not consider that the advantage gained by the short Easter training of Volunteers is sufficient to justify the issue of camp allowances. The general scheme of camp arrangements for the year is being carefully considered, and every effort will be made to issue regulations as early as possible.

DUBLIN ROYAL BARRACKS CONTRACT—REDDY'S CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION.

*MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been directed to the report of an action taken against a War Department contractor named Broderick, before the Recorder of Dublin, by a labourer named Reddy for damages under the Workmen's Compensation Act for injuries received while employed in the execution of contract work at the Royal Barracks; whether he is aware that Reddy swore at the trial that he was a labourer employed by Broderick to do plastering work at 18s. per week, while Broderick swore that his contract was for painting only; whether the employment of labourers at 18s. per week either on plastering or painting contracts for the War Department is in accordance with the terms of the Fair Wages Resolution of February, 1891; and whether he is aware that repeated complaints against this contractor have been made to the War Office within the past six months by the Amalgamated Painters' Society at Dublin with unsatisfactory results; and whether, in view of the fact that Broderick has secured the painting contracts for other military barracks in Ireland, the Department will undertake that these contracts shall be cancelled in the event of Broderick continuing to evade the terms of the Fair Wages Resolution.

*LORD STANLEY: The answer to the first and second paragraphs of the hon. Member's question is in the affirmative. The General Officer Commanding has been directed to make inquiries into the matter. War Department contracts require payment by the contractor of the wages current in the district. The position taken by this contractor in answer to the complaints referred to by the hon. Member has been that he has paid the full union rate of 8d. an hour to his painters, and a less rate to improvers, boys and lime-whiters. As regards the work which he is carrying out at other stations in Ireland, it has been ascertained by the General Officer Commanding that he is paying the men employed the usual rates current in the district.

*Mr. NANNETTI asked a further question as to the number of improvers employed by this contractor.

*Lord STANLEY: I must ask for notice.

BELLEVILLE BOILERS.

Mr. CHARLES WILSON (Hull, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty have recently given orders that four of His Majesty's vessels—viz., the "Encounter," the "Cornwall," the "Queen," and the "Prince of Wales," should be fitted with the Belleville water-tube boilers; and, if so, why this has been done pending the Report of the Committee of experts now inquiring into the matter, and when it is expected that such Report will be made.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Arnold - Forster, Belfast, W.): The Admiralty policy in the matter of boilers was described in the Memorandum on Water - tube Boilers which was presented to Parliament, and in accordance with that policy the four ships named in the question were ordered to be fitted with the Belleville boiler; but in the event of the Report of the Committee indicating the necessity of a change in the type of boiler this decision will be reviewed in all cases where it may be found practicable. The "Challenger," the sister ship to the "Encounter," is being fitted with Babcock and Wilcox boilers for comparison with the Belleville boilers in the latter ship. Babcock and Wilcox boilers are also being fitted in the "Espiègle" and "Odin," and Niclausse boilers in the "Suffolk," sister ship to the "Cornwall," and in the "Merlin," for comparison with other ships of the same classes fitted with the Belleville boiler. The Committee have been requested to make an interim Report on any of the points referred to them, as soon as they have collected sufficient evidence or experimental proof to enable them to form a reliable opinion.

Sir FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, Shipley): May I ask whether the Admiralty will request the Committee to make a trial of one of His Majesty's ships fitted with water-tube boilers for a whole ocean voyage—say, across the Atlantic—before they make their Report.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I cannot say what instructions have been given to the Committee on that point. I have no doubt whatever that a trial of ships under these conditions will be made, but I cannot give particulars as to the extent or duration of the voyage.

Sir FORTESCUE FLANNERY: But cannot the Admiralty request that an ocean voyage be made at full speed?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the question.

Sir FORTESCUE FLANNERY: I will put a question on the subject on Thursday.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Can the hon. Gentleman say when the order was given to fit these ships with Belleville boilers—by the late or present Board of Admiralty?

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The orders were given in the ordinary routine when the orders for the ships were given.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Were some of them given by the late and some by the present Board?

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, Sir.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Were any of the orders placed in Belfast, and if not, why not?

[No answer was returned.]

INDIAN FAMINE RELIEF.

Mr. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can give the total number of persons in receipt of famine relief in India.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing): The number of persons in receipt of famine relief in India last week was 214,000, of whom 179,000 were in British districts and 35,000 in Native States.

EFFECTIVE STRENGTH OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN INDIA.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state what was the effective strength of non-commissioned officers and men of the British forces in India on 1st January, 1896; 1st January, 1897; 1st January, 1898; 1st January, 1899; 1st January, 1900; and 1st January, 1901.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The effective strength of non-commisioned officers and men of the British forces in India on the 1st January in each year from 1896 to 1901 was as follows:—1st January, 1896, 70,615; 1897, 70,400; 1898, 67,808; 1899, 68,578; 1900, 64,213; 1901, 58,702.

CAPTAIN NORTON: How many of the men now serving in India are serving beyond their terms of engagement?

LORD G. HAMILTON was understood to reply: A very considerable number—probably about 12,000.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state what was the strength in non-commissioned officers and men of the forces on the Indian establishment in India, British and native respectively, on 1st January, 1901.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The strength in non-commissioned officers and men of the forces on the Indian establishment in India on 1st January, 1901, was: British, 58,702; native, 127,666.

TROOPS EMPLOYED BEYOND THE FRONTIERS.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state what number of British and native troops of the Indian Army are now being employed beyond the frontiers of India; and if he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return giving full particulars of such employment.

LORD G. HAMILTON: There are of the Indian establishment about 5,200 British troops in South Africa; about 300 British and about 16,300 native troops in China (including Hong Kong); about 1,500 native troops in the Mauritius; about 800 native troops in Singapore; about 2,100 British troops and about 800 natives in Ceylon; and about 600 native troops in Jubaland; making a total of 7,600 British troops and 20,000 native troops. I have no objection to a Return, but I do not think that it would add anything material to the information which I have given.

IMPERIAL GRANT IN AID OF INDIA OFFICE CHARGES.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he has yet considered the unanimous recommendation of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, as contained in Clause 364 of the Report, that a grant of £50,000 should be made by the Imperial Government in aid of the charge for the India Office; and, if so, how he proposes to deal with it.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The correspondence on the subject of the measures to be taken for the relief of Indian revenues, in consequence of the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, has been laid before Parliament. It shows that the matter has been fully considered, and that His Majesty's Government have accepted in their entirety the recommendations of the Commission so far as the amount of relief to be received by India is concerned. As regards the heads under which that relief is given, they have in the main accepted the recommendations of the Commissioners, but on some points they have made other arrangements which appeared to be more convenient for administrative purposes. They do not propose to increase the total amount of relief which has been already agreed to, and which, as I have said, is the amount recommended by the Commission.

MR. CAINE: Did not the Commission recommend a grant in all of £293,000, and have you not allotted less?

LORD G. HAMILTON: I am afraid they made an arithmetical mistake by substituting tens of rupees for pounds sterling. We have given actually about £4,000 more than they recommended.

MR. CAINE: But this particular £50,000 has not been dealt with.

LORD G. HAMILTON: No, Sir.

MR. CAINE: And is the reason for not dealing with it the desire that it shall not appear on the yearly Estimates?

LORD G. HAMILTON: That is rather a matter of argument. The Commission suggested as an alternative that it should be put on the Consolidated Fund, in which case a discussion on it would be impossible.

PATAGONIA.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the report of the Rev. D. Richards, chaplain of H.M.S. "Flora," on the condition of Welshmen in Patagonia has been received; whether it confirms the complaint of Mr. John Morley that his flocks and herds are being decimated by a gang of cattle thieves, who are in league with the police authorities and are favoured by Pedro P. Martinez, the chief of police; and whether Mr. Richards' report will be made public.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): The report of the chaplain of His Majesty's ship "Flora" has not been received in the Department. A report from the commander of that vessel on his visit to Chubut in June last was communicated by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and has already been laid before Parliament (by the Secretary of State for the Colonies), but no mention is made therein of Mr. Morley's case. A complaint from Mr. Morley himself has however been received from His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres, who has already made representations to the Argentine Government on the subject. These representations have, it appears, been well received. The exact result is not yet known, but Mr. Morley has acknowledged the steps taken on his behalf as valuable and efficacious.

BRITISH CONSULAR REPRESENTATION IN RUSSIA.

MR. NORMAN (Wolverhampton, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government has taken any steps, in view of the appointment of a Russian consul general to Bombay, to secure British consular representation at any point in the Russian Empire east of Batoum.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The Russian Government agreed in 1892 to the extension of the authority of the British Consul at Batoum to the Governments of Baku, Elizabetpol, Erivan, Tiflis, Kutais, and Tchernomoria, and it is understood that no objection would be raised by them to the appointment of a consular officer to reside at Tiflis should His Majesty's Government at any time find it desirable to make such an appointment. A British vice-consul has been appointed at Baku.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): Is it intended to appoint a consular officer for Tiflis?

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE asked for notice.

LEAD POISONING IN THE POTTERIES.

SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the fact that the official figures of cases of lead poisoning in the Potteries for 1900 show but slight diminution from those of 1899, and that in the months of April, July, August, October, and December the figures exceed those for the corresponding months of the previous year; and whether, in view of the failure of the Special Rules of 1898 to put a stop to lead poisoning, he is prepared to issue as special rules the whole of the recommendations which were contained in a Home Office circular to manufacturers dated 14th December 1899, and again submitted to them as proposed special rules in August 1900.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I am aware that in the months of July, August, October, and December, 1900 (but not in April or in any other month), the reported cases of plumbism in the industry of china and earthenware making were more numerous than in the corresponding months of 1899, the totals being 71 and 50 respectively. But the net result for the year as a whole was a reduction from 249 in 1899 to 200 in 1900, and this has followed upon a previous large reduction between 1898 and 1899. In answer to the second paragraph of the question I think the right hon. Baronet and the House may like to hear in some detail what is the present position of the matter. I have a few days ago formally proposed a set of new rules to the manufacturers following in the main the draft issued in August last but containing certain amendments which appeared to me necessary and reasonable. I might have proposed the rules in this form some time ago, but I have been in negotiation with the representatives of the manufacturers in hope of arriving at a settlement and avoiding arbitration, and I have found them ready to accept with a few slight modifications most of my proposals. On the proposed "standard of insolubility," however, a serious difference of opinion arose between the Government chemist and the manufacturers' expert advisers, and I have come to the conclusion that this difference shonld be settled by arbitration. There are also points on which I am anxious that the workpeople should have an opportunity of stating their views before they are finally settled, and these will be dealt with on the arbitration, at which the workpeople are entitled to be represented.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: Arising out of the answer I should like to ask two questions—namely, whether the figures just given tally with those printed from month to month in the *Labour Gazette*; also whether the arbitration is to be on the rules as they were formerly or on the rules modified.

Mr. RITCHIE: The rules have been referred to the arbitrator as they originally were, because this would give the workmen an opportunity of expressing their views before the arbitrator goes into the modification which the Home Office might think fit to suggest. I am not aware what the figures in the *Labour Gazette* are, but I will inquire and let the right hon. baronet know if there is any difference, and, if so, why.

Mr. COGHILL (Stoke-on-Trent): Has there not been a diminution in the number of cases of lead poisoning reported, and have not those reported been less serious than formerly?

Mr. RITCHIE: I believe that, generally, there has been a yearly reduction, but I cannot say to what extent without notice.

In answer to a query by another hon. Member, Mr. Ritchie said that if only the modified rules had been referred to the arbitration it would have been impossible to hear the workmen on other points, and he therefore thought it better to let the whole thing go before the arbitrator and give the men an opportunity of expressing their views on any amendments which might be suggested by the manufacturers.

CARMARTHEN PRISON.

Mr. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether any changes are contemplated in the arrangement of His Majesty's Prison, Carmarthen; and, if so, whether he will state the nature of the proposed changes and the reasons for them.

Mr. RITCHIE: The answer is in the negative.

STATE INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES.

Mr. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he has received various representations from county authorities urging the establishment of a State inebriate reformatory; and whether he is now prepared to make any statement on the subject.

Mr. RITCHIE: Yes, Sir; I have received numerous representations such as my hon. friend suggests, and I am myself anxious that a State inebriate reformatory should be established. I am now in communication with the Treasury on the subject.

RAILWAYS (PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS) ACT, 1900—RULES.

*Mr. BELL (Derby): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade what action, if any, he has taken to give effect to the Railways (Prevention of Accidents) Act, 1900, by making rules or orders to enforce compliance with the twelve clauses contained in the Schedule of the Act.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central): Steps are being taken to prepare and make rules under Section 1, Sub-section 1 of the Act referred to, and, in the meantime, I understand that the leading railway companies are themselves taking steps to minimise the effect of the dangerous operations described in the Schedule.

AUTOMATIC COUPLINGS ON RAILWAYS.

*MR. BELL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he proposes to take any steps for the substitution of automatic or other couplings in the place of the present method of coupling goods and mineral vehicles on railways under the power conferred upon the Board of Trade in the Railways (Prevention of Accidents) Act, 1900.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I am not in a position to make any statement on this question at present. It has not been lost sight of.

CHELSEA ELECTRIC SUPPLY COMPANY.

MR. STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the Chelsea Electricity Supply Company are trying to force users of electricity at 100 volts to take 200 volts current by giving a preferential rate to users of 200 volts; and whether the giving of preferential rates by the company is within their power without the authority of the Board.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I am informed that the Chelsea Electricity Supply Company, Limited, desire to change their standard pressure from 100 volts to 200 volts, and that, in order to induce consumers to take the higher pressure, they have given notice that after the 1st of July next consumers taking a supply at the lower pressure will be charged a rate higher than that to be charged for supply at the higher pressure. The higher rate is within the maximum price fixed by the Provisional Order, but whether the company are entitled to charge different rates to consumers supplied at different pressures is a legal question on which I am not prepared to express an opinion. I have no power to give or refuse sanction to the proposed charge.

SINKING OF A DREDGER IN CORK HARBOUR.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that a dredger bound to Japan from an English port capsized at the entrance to Cork Harbour in December last with the loss of all hands; and whether this craft was inspected and pronounced seaworthy; and, if so, by whom was this duty performed.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir; I am aware that the dredger referred to in the question was lost in heavy weather in December last, and I regret to say that twelve out of a crew of seventeen were lost. Before the vessel left port she was inspected by two Board of Trade surveyors, who saw no reason to object in any way to her construction or equipment. I am informed that she was also surveyed by one of the chief surveyors to Bureau Veritas, who reported her to be in a "completely seaworthy condition."

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Has a craft of this description ever before attempted to undertake such a long voyage?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I am unable to say.

PREFERENTIAL RAILWAY RATES FOR FOREIGN FRUIT.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the railway rate for foreign fruit from Dover to London is 1s. 8d. per ton, whilst English fruit from Dover to London cost 12s. 3d. per ton, and that the Railway and Shipping Conference average through rates to Ireland upon the same system; whether the Board of Trade consider such an arrangement to constitute a preferential rate in favour of the foreign importer; and whether an inquiry will be made respecting the schedule of through rates, and a comparison instituted as to the mileage rate charged for the carriage of native produce throughout the United Kingdom.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir; I have no information which would justify me in accepting as correct the figures set out in the question of the hon. Member. The Board of Trade are always prepared to investigate any specific complaint under

Section 31 of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888.

MR. FIELD: But will not the right hon. Gentleman seek information as to the specific complaint contained in my question?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I have asked the hon. Member to name specific cases. My present information is that his figures are not correct.

MR. FIELD: Will you answer the last paragraph of my question?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: There is no intention of making such an inquiry.

TRANSPORT OF LIVE STOCK FROM IRELAND TO GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the consignors of live stock from Ireland to Great Britain are compelled by the carrying companies to sign through consignment notes, which relieve the companies from the conditions of the Carriers Act; and whether he will cause inquiry to be made into this matter, with a view to safeguard the humane transit and speedy delivery of live stock from Ireland to Great Britain.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir, I am not aware that carrying companies in Ireland compel, or have any power to compel, consignors of live or any other stock to sign through consignment notes relieving the companies of liability; and I do not think any inquiry into the question of consignment notes necessary.

MR. FIELD: If evidence is produced to prove the facts stated in the question, will the right hon. Gentleman take steps in regard to the matter?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Any evidence produced to show the necessity for further steps will be duly considered.

ARSENICAL BEER POISONING.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether two more deaths from arsenical beer poisoning occurred in Crumpsall workhouse hospital quite recently.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): Two deaths from arsenical poisoning occurred in the Crumpsall workhouse infirmary last week, and inquests were held on them on Friday. The cases were admitted to the infirmary on the 4th of December and the 18th of January respectively, but the medical officer of the infirmary reports that in each case the illness had been of several months duration.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Have any cases of poisoning been traced to the consumption of Irish beer?

[No answer was returned.]

QUEEN VICTORIA'S FUNERAL--FACILITIES FOR THE FOREIGN PRESS.

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will explain why the facilities which were granted by the Admiralty to the fully accredited representatives of the foreign press to view the funeral obsequies of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria were refused by the military authorities on the passage of the cortège through London and at the service in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

*LORD STANLEY: All representatives of the press who applied were informed by the General Officer Commanding the Home District that as the issue of passes was in the hands of the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, the applications should be addressed to them. No written application was received from any foreign press representatives. In regard to the service in St. George's Chapel the issue of permits was solely in the hands of the Court officials, to whom all applicants would be referred.

CROFTERS IN THE ISLAND OF BARRA.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the Secretary for Scotland has yet been able to come to a satisfactory arrangement with Lady Gordon Cathcart to provide land for the crofters and cottars in the island of Barra; and whether the report by Mr. M'Intyre, of the Crofters' Commission on the subject will be published.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): No arrangement has been concluded, but negotiations for the purchase of a portion of the island of Barra are in progress. If they are successful an announcement will be made so far as circumstances admit. It is not proposed to publish the report referred to.

SCOTTISH PRIVATE BILL PROCEDURE.

Mr. RENSHAW (Renfrewshire, W.): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether, in the case of Provisional Orders applied for under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, which, in consequence of the decision of the Chairmen, will now be proceeded with as private Bills, it will be competent for county councils to petition in the usual way under the General Standing Orders applicable to private Bills before Parliament, as these county councils will not now have the opportunity of making a report, under Section 11 (3), which was the alternative method of procedure provided under the Act of 1899.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I understand it will be competent to petition against those Bills in the usual way in terms of Standing Order 210.

MOVILLE PETTY SESSIONS BENCH.

Mr. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the population of the Moville Petty Sessions, county Donegal, is three-fourths Roman Catholic, and if he will state the number of Roman Catholic magistrates in the petty sessions district and the number of non-Roman Catholic magistrates in said district, and if the Government will take steps to have the number of Roman Catholic magistrates increased in proportion to the number of Roman Catholics in said district.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Wyndham, Dover): I have no means of verifying the statement in the first part of the question, but I have no reason to doubt its accuracy. Of the fourteen magistrates who attended the petty sessions one or more times during the past year, ten appear to be Protestants and four Roman Catholics. Applications and recommendations for the Commission of the Peace are made to the Lieutenant of county, who transmits them, if he thinks them suitable, for the consideration of the Lord Chancellor.

RATING OF RAILWAYS AND LANDS IN IRELAND.

Mr. CAREW (Meath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the fact that complaints have been made by various local authorities in Ireland regarding the law by which rates leviable off railways and other lands are on only one-fourth of their net annual value; and whether he will consider the expediency of amending the law so as to make the liability of such property to rates similar to that of all real property in Ireland.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Both in England and Ireland rates in urban districts on railways and certain lands are assessed on a proportion of their net annual value, save where exceptions are made by local Acts. In England this proportion is one-third, and in Ireland one-fourth. Complaints have been made in the matter by local authorities in Ireland, but the question is obviously of far-reaching importance, and there is much to be said on both sides. Any proposal to amend the law would meet with strong opposition, and I cannot undertake to introduce legislation as suggested.

SUPPRESSED LEAGUE MEETING AT FOXFORD.

Mr. DILLON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state how many police were brought into Foxford on the 1st January, 1901, and what was the total cost of police operations in connection with the suppression of the meeting announced to be held in Foxford on that day.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The police force brought into Foxford on the occasion mentioned consisted of seven officers and 204 men. The expenses of this concentration amounted to £159, of which a sum of £5 will be charged to the local rates.

CASE OF LEWIS LOWRISON.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether a petition has been received in favour of the reduction of the sentence of six months' imprisonment, passed by the petty sessions on

Lewis Lowrison; whether he is aware that county court Judge Curran described this sentence as a savage sentence, and expressed his willingness to reduce it if, on appeal, a reduction were asked for; and whether, considering the offence, if technically an offence at all, was a trivial one, accused will now be liberated.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am unable to say whether this county court judge used the language attributed to him, but in any case, he confirmed the sentence on appeal. A memorial on behalf of the prisoner was received on Thursday last and is now under the consideration of the Lord Lieutenant, whose decision will be communicated in due course.

NEWMARKET (CORK) PETTY SESSIONS COURT.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to proceedings before the petty session court at Newmarket (county Cork) on 12th October last; will he state on what grounds was a large number of police drafted into the town for the occasion; and from what source will the costs of this extra force be defrayed; and whether, in view of the peaceable condition of the locality, the constabulary authorities authorised the introduction of a large force of armed police.

MR. WYNDHAM: The authorities responsible for the peace of the district assembled a force of police for the preservation of order on the occasion. The police present were supplied from within the county, and consequently there will be no charge to local rates for their services.

CORK POLICE AT THE CITY ELECTION.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Deputy Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary applied for and received from the Cork Borough Council a sum of £137 for extra constabulary employed during the recent city election; will he explain why, although this election was carried out in the most peaceable and orderly manner, the extra police were drafted into the city; also, why the Cork Corporation were not consulted with regard to bringing them in.

MR. WYNDHAM: The amount claimed from and paid by the Cork Borough Council in respect of the extra constabulary employed on the occasion referred to was £68 18s. 6d. The election involved considerable local excitement, and it became necessary to augment the ordinary force of the city, which is not adequate to discharge abnormal duties on occasions of this kind. It has not been the practice to consult the Corporation in such matters. I may remind the hon. Member that the ordinary police work of Cork is performed entirely free to local rates.

MR. FLYNN: Who fixes the rates? Have the local authorities no right of appeal?

MR. WYNDHAM was understood to reply that the Constabulary authorities usually increased the force in times of excitement without consulting the local authorities, as they were responsible for the maintenance of order.

*MR. O'DOHERTY inquired how it happened to be the fact that Londonderry and Belfast alone, of all the other Irish cities, had to contribute towards maintenance of the ordinary police force, but the Speaker ruled it out of order.

THE RECENT "DAY OF GENERAL MOURNING"—POLICE AND SHOPKEEPERS IN COUNTY WICKLOW.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the traders of Carnew, county Wicklow, were compelled by an order of the police to keep their shops closed on Saturday, 2nd February; and, if so, upon whose authority did the police issue the order; and whether he is aware that the shopkeepers of adjoining towns, such as Shillelagh and Newtownbarry, were permitted to carry on their business on the day named without any interference on the part of the local police.

MR. WYNDHAM: The police at Carnew, as well as in the other towns mentioned, merely directed public attention to the Proclamation, and in no way interfered with the closing or opening of shops. At Carnew the traders closed, whereas in the other two places the shops remained open.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in Ireland directions by the police have to be looked upon as commands? Will he direct them to mind their own business in the future?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE PORT OF DUBLIN.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government will consider the advisability of recommending the appointment of a Viceregal Commission to consider the conditions and circumstances connected with the port of Dublin and to report thereon, with a view to legislation next session.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Port and Docks Board is, I believe, controlled by an Act passed so recently as in 1898. The expediency of appointing a Viceregal Commission at this stage in the Board's existence seems questionable. I will, however, look further into the matter.

LONGFORD UNION NIGHT NURSE.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the grounds upon which the Local Government Board have declined to sanction the appointment of a night nurse in Longford Union, although she had been pronounced fully qualified by training in the Union Infirmary under the personal supervision of the late Dr. Cochrane, F.R.C.S.I.; whether the Board did on a previous occasion agree to her appointment to same office, but Dr. Cochrane would not then agree; and whether the matter will now be dealt with and closed by her appointment.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Local Government Board declined to sanction the appointment of Miss Brown as night nurse in the workhouse infirmary on the ground that she did not possess the requisite qualifications for the office. The late Dr. Cochrane reported favourably on her in the capacity of wardsmaid, but she has not undergone a proper course of training in a fully equipped hospital. There is no foundation for the statement in the second paragraph. The Board feel that for night-work the services of a fully qualified nurse are indispensable.

LABOURERS' COTTAGES IN THE BOYLE UNION.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state when the Local Government Board propose to issue to the credit of the Boyle Board of Guardians the sum of £252 13s. 3d., standing to their credit under the grant of £40,000 voted by Parliament in 1890, seeing that the Union are now building 37 cottages under the Labourers Acts.

MR. WYNDHAM: Steps are now being taken with a view to the distribution of the unexpended balance of the grant in question, and the Boyle Guardians will receive the share to which they may be entitled under the regulations. I do not anticipate any great delay.

GRANTS-IN-AID IN IRELAND.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board and other responsible authorities will take steps to inform district councils and boards of guardians as to the various grants which they forward to county councils, and are placed to the credit of these district councils and unions; and whether, in future, notification will be sent to the district councils and unions when grants are forwarded to county councils.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board will be happy to supply this information each year to any district council or board of guardians who may apply to them for it, but as these bodies have direct financial relations with the county councils they can obtain the information from the secretaries of these councils, and many of them, no doubt, would prefer to do so.

COMMISSION ON IRISH LOCAL TAXATION.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Report of the Commission on Irish Local Taxation has been printed; and whether he can state when it will be published.

MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. Member presumably refers to the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation generally. My right hon. friend the

Secretary of State for the Home Department stated last Friday that it was impossible to fix a date for the publication of the Report, which is now under consideration.

ST. MEL CATHEDRAL

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will furnish a copy of the correspondence between the Board of Works and the Church representative body on the subject of the preservation of the ruins of the ancient Cathedral Church of St. Mel, at Ardagh, county Longford.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I think the hon. Member is under a misapprehension. There is no correspondence on this matter.

SUNDAY POSTAL DELIVERY AT COOLARTY.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether any complaints have reached his Department as to the failure to supply a Sunday delivery of letters from Edgeworthstown to Coolarty viâ Lisryan; and whether such service will now be given; and also whether a collection box will be erected at Springpark for the purpose of facilitating the families resident in the vicinity to avail themselves of the services of the rural carrier.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No complaint appears to have been received respecting the failure of the Post Office to provide a delivery of letters on Sundays at Coolarty, but inquiry shall be made whether it is practicable to afford the desired delivery, and also a wall letter box at Springpark, and the result shall be communicated to the hon. Member.

MOHILL AND FARNAUGHT POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether the attention of the Post Office authorities has been directed to the inconvenience caused to the residents in the district between Mohill and Farnaught, in South Leitrim, owing to the postman who makes the house to house delivery not remaining in Farnaught sufficiently long each evening to enable residents to despatch replies on the same day to letters which they receive; and will he state what steps will be taken to remedy this inconvenience.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Postmaster General has received no representation that inconvenience is caused to residents at Mohill and Farnaught under the present postal arrangements; but inquiry shall be made with the view to ascertain if an improvement is warranted.

THE ROYAL DECLARATION AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) had on the Paper the following question: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether His Majesty's Government intend to take any steps to eliminate from His Majesty's Coronation Oath that portion which describes the religion of His Majesty's Catholic subjects as idolatrous and superstitious. In putting the question the hon. Member said the Oath referred to was not the Coronation Oath, but the Oath taken by His Majesty in opening Parliament.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir, the hon. Gentleman is quite right. It is not an oath, but a statement, and the statement was made on the opening of Parliament, and will, of course, not have to be repeated at the coronation.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the statement to which he refers was not, as a matter of fact, in the nature of an oath?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I thought it was more properly described as a statement—a statutory declaration.*

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* By the Statute 1 William & Mary, Session 2, cap. 2 ("For declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and settling the Succession of the Crown") it was in section 10 enacted that the Monarch should "on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament next after his or her coming to the Throne. . . . make subscribe and audibly repeat the Declaration mentioned in the Statute made in the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles II., intituled 'An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and Government, by disabling papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.'" The last mentioned Act clearly distinguishes "Oath" and "Declaration." By Section 2, Peers and Members of the House of Commons are to "take the several Oaths of Allegiance and

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not true that in making this statement His Majesty kissed the Bible and actually took an oath; and, further, I would ask him whether any steps are to be taken to secure that in future this Oath shall not be taken by His Majesty?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am no particular admirer of the form of words used in the Declaration. But the hon. Gentleman will see that the practical question is passed, and it will not arise again, we hope, for many long years to come.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: The question is not whether it is a practical question. Is it not true that millions of His Majesty's subjects in every part of the Empire regard this Oath as wantonly insulting?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope that is not the case.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: Arising out of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, I beg respectfully to point out that as long as this Oath is in existence and His Majesty swears that Catholics are idolatrous, I for one will oppose His Majesty's salary.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Is it proposed to continue to pay out of public funds the ministers of the Catholic Church to act as chaplains——

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That has nothing to do with the question.

Mr. FLAVIN: Does the Declaration mean that the Catholics of the United Kingdom——

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is absolutely irregular. He is asking what a Declaration means. That is a question of law or opinion.

Mr. FLAVIN: I was asking a question arising out of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I have endeavoured to explain to the hon. Gentleman that it is out of order.

Mr. FLAVIN: As a matter of fact, I did not ask any question at all.

CHINA AND THE ALLIED POWERS—SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.

Mr. DILLON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Ministers of the Allied Powers in Peking are pressing that four high officials of the Chinese Government should be ordered to commit suicide.

*Viscount CRANBORNE: No. The action of the Powers is confined to urging upon the Chinese Government the imposition of the death penalty in the case of certain officials chiefly responsible for the recent outrages.

Mr. DILLON: Have the Ministers intimated to the Chinese Government that they will accept suicide as a substitute for the death penalty?

[No answer was given.]

Mr. DILLON: Will the noble Lord not deign to give me an answer?

*Viscount CRANBORNE: As the hon. Gentleman is aware, my right hon. friend the Leader of the House has already stated that there is an understanding that the Under Secretary shall not answer supplementary questions.

Mr. DILLON: I should like to ask you, Mr. Speaker, a question of privilege. I wish to ask whether it is not a breach of the privileges of this House for the Leader of the House to forbid a Minister

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Supremacy," "and make subscribe and audibly repeat this Declaration following: 'I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess testify and declare that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint and the sacrifice of the mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous, and I do solemnly in the presence of God profess testify and declare that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void from the beginning.'"—Ed.]

to reply to the question of an hon. Member?

*MR. SPEAKER: It is a matter for the Minister who is asked the question to answer it or decline to answer it on public grounds, as he thinks fit. What those public grounds are, whether they are sufficient or not, must be a question for him and the other members of the Ministry.

MR. DILLON: That, Sir, is not the question I desire to put to you, but whether it is not a matter for the discretion of the Minister himself—whether it is in accordance with the practices and privileges of this House for any one Minister to forbid another Minister to answer the question of an hon. Member of the House instead of leaving it to the discretion of the Minister himself.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is not a matter for me to decide. I cannot say that it is a breach of the privileges of the House. If the House chooses to pass a resolution condemning such a practice, that is a matter for the House. If the head of a Department or the Leader of the House says that it is not in the public interest that such a course should be taken it is not a matter that the Speaker can deal with. It is a matter for the House.

MR. DILLON: May I ask whether I shall be at liberty to raise a question of privilege now or immediately after questions?

*MR. SPEAKER: It is not a question of privilege.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-on-Trent): May I ask whether it has not been the custom in this House for a Minister to answer a question fully when it has been properly brought before him?

*MR. SPEAKER: Certainly not, if the Minister says he declines on grounds which are always assumed to be, unless the contrary is stated, the grounds of public convenience.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): May I ask whether we are to understand from your ruling just given that in each case of a question put to a Minister, the Minister, if he declines to answer, is bound to state that he declines to answer that specific question on grounds of public policy?

*MR. SPEAKER: I certainly should not feel myself bound to call on him to state that in answer to each particular question, if a general statement had been already made.

MR. DILLON: Arising out of your last answer, Mr. Speaker, what I complained of was that the Minister on this occasion did not refuse to answer me on any public grounds. He refused to answer me on the specific ground that the First Lord of the Treasury had laid it down as a principle that the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs was not to reply to supplementary questions. I desire, with your permission, to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether that dictum would apply to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, if we were blessed with such an institution as that in this House?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! This matter cannot be carried on by debate in form of question and answer across the floor of the House. If the hon. Member has reason to complain of the action of the Government he must take the usual course.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: May I ask if this trouble has not arisen because the Government is too largely dominated by one family?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): I would ask you whether until very recently—until, I think, in the case of the right hon. Gentleman who is now Secretary for War — when an intimation was made that a change should be made in the practice of this House, it has not always been understood that when a great Department of the State like the Department for Foreign Affairs is not represented in this House by the principal and head of that Department, but by a subordinate member of that Department, that subordinate member, who is the only representative in this House of that Department, is bound to act in the same mannner and answer questions in the same manner as if he were the principal and head of that Department, and that that is the only security for this House having that information to which it would be entitled if the head of that Department were here.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must respectfully decline to be drawn into an argument upon a matter between the House and the Government. I think I should be doing wrong if I were to express opinions about the conduct of the Government except in matters which strictly arise out of questions of order and privilege.

QUESTIONS TO MINISTERS—(SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.)

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

MR. DILLON, Member for East Mayo, rose in his place and asked leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, "the refusal of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to answer a question put by an honourable Member of this House, and his statement that he based that refusal on the general prohibition of the Leader of the House"; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, MR. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen—

MR. DILLON: It will take very few words for me to explain the grounds on which I venture to submit this motion to the House. For the last two or three years there has been evidence of a growing desire on the part of Ministers to treat this House with scant courtesy, especially in regard to information on foreign affairs. The first ground on which I submit this motion is one which, I think, will commend itself to all Members, irrespective of party affiliations—namely, that the Members of the House of Commons, who have to vote the supplies without which the foreign affairs of the country could not be carried on for an hour, are entitled at least to the same amount of information and the same courtesy as are accorded to Members of the House of Lords. I affirm without fear of contradiction that for three years, by a departure from the unbroken tradition and constitutional practice of this country, Members of this House who desired information as to the foreign policy of the Government have been obliged to wait until the next day, when they were able to read the statement of that policy given in the House of Lords. And yet we are the House, after all, on whom the existence of the Government and the conduct of their foreign policy depend. A new departure was taken at the beginning of the year before last—a departure without precedent in the history of any legislative assembly in the world—when one night, to the astonishment of everyone, and I venture to affirm, though I have not inquired in regard to it, without intimation to the Leader of the Opposition, the Leader of the House—who, if he acted in accordance with the best traditions of the House, ought to be guardian of the liberties and privileges of every Member—announced, in his insinuating and agreeable voice, as if he was saying something that would be welcomed by everybody, that, in consequence of embarrassing questions, he had given directions that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should not be at liberty for the future to answer any supplementary questions.* I supposed the meaning of that was that such supplementary questions should be referred to his superior in the House of Lords. There is a great constitutional question involved in this matter. If the House of Commons assents to this new gag it will inevitably take a back seat in influencing the foreign policy of the country. No Ministry which requires to be relieved from the unpleasant criticism of the House of Commons will ever put a Foreign Minister in this House when it can muzzle hon. Members here by putting him in the House of Lords. It is the right of the House of Commons to obtain from the representative of the Foreign Office in this House the same amount of information as if he were at the head of that Office. What is the position taken up by the Leader of the House and the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs? It has been the recognised custom from time immemorial that a Minister is always at liberty to exercise his discretion with regard to supplementary questions, and, while maintaining a civil and decent demeanour, even with regard to questions on the Paper. But he must exercise that discretion on the merits of the individual question. Any Minister is at liberty to say "The state of public affairs is such that I do not consider it advisable to answer the question at the present moment," and there is hardly a night during the session that that position is not taken up with regard to some Parliamentary matter. When, however, the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to the merits of the question, assumes a right—to which he has no more claim than a private Member of the House—to tell one of his Ministers, who is not his subordinate, but who is responsible directly to the House and not through the right hon. Gentleman, that he shall not answer any supplementary questions, I say we are face to face with a most revolutionary departure from all previous precedents, and one which may cause the utter destruction of the privilege of questioning in this House. Another ground upon which I attach the utmost importance to this new practice is that you must scrutinise every departure from old practice not on the merits of the departure itself, but on the question of how far the principle may be drawn. What may be the result if we yield to this new claim? This year the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is forbidden to answer supplementary questions. Next year he may be forbidden to answer any questions whatever. What is the difference in essence? If the Leader of the House has this right with regard to supplementary questions, how can we deny his right to say to the Under Secretary of State, "I think it desirable that you shall not answer any questions at all. Members of the House of Commons can wait until next day and read Lord Salisbury's speech and get the information there." And if the rule apply to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, why not to the Irish Secretary? What is the difference? Some people think we Irish belong to the domain of foreign affairs. We are accustomed to be called "rebels" and "traitors." I see no logical argument by which we could resist the claim of the Leader of the House, if this departure were acquiesced in without protest, to forbid the Irish Secretary to answer any questions whatever. All he would have to say would be that the interests of public order and good government in Ireland would be best served by stopping the heckling and annoyance to which the Irish Secretary was subjected. In this claim is involved the right to take away one of the most valuable privileges which distinguish the House of Commons from any other assembly. Questions are one of the main means by which we can call the Executive Government of the country to account. If the First Lord of the Treasury is entitled by his simple *ipse dixit* to muzzle the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he is entitled on the same ground to muzzle every Minister on the Treasury Bench and to sweep away the privilege of asking questions altogether. Great constitutional questions are involved, and the House of Commons will be very badly advised if they consent without a strong protest to this great invasion of their rights. I have ventured to move this motion because I think a precedent like this ought not to be allowed to pass *sub silentio*, and that such a serious step in the degradation of the House of Commons ought at the earliest opportunity to be brought to notice. I beg to move.

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* Refer to *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxvi., page 114.

*MR. BLAKE (Longford, S.): I rise to second the motion. The general custom of questions is one of the highest importance and value, and one of the principal privileges in the custom is that of putting supplementary questions. A single question put on the Paper may receive an inadequate, ambiguous, or evasive answer, or one provocative of further inquiry, and if you have not the power of questioning a Minister with reference to that which he has answered there is at once created for him the opportunity and the temptation to be more evasive or reticent, and to evade and avoid the subject of inquiry even more than is at present the case. Suppose this rule applied to all subjects, and that to every supplementary question we were told, "No, no further questions to-day; put it on the Paper." You put it on the Paper; again there is evasion or the suggestion of something lacking, and again you are told to put any additional questions on the Paper. The power of questions would be no longer anything substantial, but a mockery. Yet that which would be intolerable as a general proposition is said to be not merely tolerable but proper with reference to a most important branch of the questioning power—that relating to foreign affairs. I readily admit that with reference to foreign affairs there will arise more frequently than with regard to almost any other domain of questions the necessity for the power of saying "public interest demands that I should abstain from replying." Nobody proposes to interfere with that discretion; but why in the world should not the Minister in this domain, just as much as in any other, with reference to supplementary questions be allowed to answer if he thinks fit? If the subject be delicate and important, and he is not seised in advance of the material for a proper reply, why should he not say, as many a Minister has to say, "I am not in a position to answer now, therefore put it down"? But to lay down a general rule that, whatever answer the Minister may give, no matter how evasive, unsatisfactory, or provocative of further inquiry, this House should be muzzled, and should not be entitled to say one word upon it, is to render a sham and a delusion the power of questioning with reference to the very subject in which the highest interests are involved, and in regard to which it is of the greatest consequence that the House of Commons should retain or resume its just power.

Motion made, and Question proposed,—"That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: There was a good deal that surprised me in the course of the speeches to which we have just listened, as well as in the course of that somewhat irregular fire of questions which preceded them. In the first place, let me point out that the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo is now raising as a question of urgent public importance a matter which has been the practice for now more than two years. This is a new Parliament, and I presume there are a good many Gentlemen present who have not been long in the House, and I am sure that, listening to what has occurred to-day, they would suppose that I had given an absolute direction to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; but that is a most inaccurate view of the history of this question. I believe this rule was laid down for the first time some two years or two years and a half ago, not on the irresponsible will of any one Minister, but after careful consideration and discussion by the Government as a whole. Therefore, so far from this being a new practice the House has been accustomed to it for at least two years or two years and a half.

Mr. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): But we never accepted it, and we always resented it.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not looking into the heart of my hon. friend. He may always have resented it, but I do not recollect any speech of his on the subject. But it has been the practice for two years, and therefore for a Member of the House to say that it is an innovation—a recent innovation—is, I think, altogether to violate the true accuracy of historical statement. But that is an unimportant point. The really important point is not whether the precedent is new or immemorial in its character, but whether in itself it tends to the dignity of the House and the safety of the country; and after careful reflection we have come to the conclusion that the practice of cross-examining the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and expecting him to answer questions on the spur of the moment in this House is an inexpedient practice, because we see that it is impossible, if such a practice is to prevail, to carry on the difficult and delicate negotiations in which an Empire of this magnitude is constantly involved. The hon. Gentleman has made two statements which I venture to say are wholly unsupported by the facts. He talks as if this practice of cross-examining Ministers was the old practice of the House. It is nothing of the kind. It is a new practice. In the course of my own Parliamentary recollections—— [An Hon. Member: The Fourth Party initiated it.] Even in the course of my Parliamentary recollections it has steadily grown. I do not know whether it is or is not an advantage to the House. That is not the point I am discussing. What I am venturing to point out to the House is that the practice is a comparatively new one in Parliamentary history.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I think the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken. Does he not himself recollect that any Member on asking a question and not getting a satisfactory answer could make a speech, and if complaint was made he always said, "I will conclude with a motion"?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: How does that traverse the statement I made that this practice of putting a series of supplementary questions to three-fourths of the questions put upon the Paper is a new practice? I had no notice that this question was to be raised, and therefore I have not been able to make an elaborate investigation; but I asked an hon. friend to bring me in a *Hansard* for 1865, a year chosen at random, and from that year I take a week, also chosen at random. This is the result. On Monday, June 26th, 1865, there were two questions put and no supplementaries. On Tuesday, the 27th, no questions were put, and of course, there were no supplementaries On Wednesday, the 28th, again there were no questions put. On Thursday, the 29th, three questions were put, and no supplementaries; and on Friday, the 30th, five questions were put, and no supplementaries.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): Was Supply closured in those days?

*MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members must not interrupt in this irregular way.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman thinks it was also the practice in those days for Members to interrupt a speaker with a series of argumentative questions of this kind. I do know, however, that the practice of which I speak is a comparatively new practice, and nobody who knows the constitution of the House will deny it. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman opposite will agree to the historical accuracy of the statement I have made that the practice is a new one.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is perfectly true; but it is the result of hon. Members having been shut out of other opportunities of asking questions and bringing forward motions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman's point is this—that formerly on Tuesdays and Fridays liberty was given to private Members to bring forward special questions; but those questions were brought forward with ample notice to the Minister who had to deal with them. He had ample notice. He could consult his colleagues and his chief. There was ample time for consideration, and no danger could occur. It may be that the modern habit is due to this curtailment, this inevitable and, as I think, unfortunate curtailment of Members' opportunities; but will the House please mark the point I am now going to make? I do not complain of this practice, if kept within reasonable limits, with regard to any member of the Government, except the member responsible for foreign affairs. The hon. Member for East Mayo, who moved the adjournment, drew an appalling picture of a future in which the Irish Chief Secretary would be relieved from the wholesome process of cross-examination. When I was Chief Secretary I had a good many questions put to me, and I should have been very sorry that the power of putting and answering any questions should not have existed.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Then why deny the same privilege to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Surely my own friends might allow me to finish my statement without interruption. I should have been the last person when I was at the Irish Office to complain of the practice—and I am sure my hon. friend who is now Chief Secretary feels in the same way—because it does give an opportunity for stating a grievance, for replying to a grievance, and for showing that a grievance has not real foundation at all. Indeed, I do not believe you could carry on the work of government smoothly without the power of asking and answering questions. If a certain modification be adopted in this process of cross-examination without notice, I think that, on the whole, it is a practice which has a great deal to be said for it in regard to the general domestic business of the country, But you come to an entirely different position of affairs when you are dealing with the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Recollect how you are playing with fire in this matter. I remember being told, I believe on very good authority, that one of the ablest and most dexterous predecessors of my noble friend as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs had on three ocasions in one fortnight to request the gentlemen in the Press Gallery to modify the wording of some answers he had given to supplementary questions lest they should produce some unfortunate impression in the Chancelleries of other Powers. Every despatch which is sent to a foreign Government, and every telegram which contains instructions to foreign Ministers, is carefully drafted; every word of it is weighed, considered, and reconsidered, and it is perhaps submitted to the Cabinet before it is sent. And yet you ask the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, or the Secretary if he be in this House, to say on the spur of the moment, without notice, without previous consideration, that which in its effects may be as dangerous as any formal communication by telegram or despatch. Is not that an impossible responsibility to throw upon the Under Secretary? The hon. Gentleman who seconded the motion is of opinion that it is sufficient protection for the Under Secretary to be able to say that he must ask for notice of the question, as he cannot answer it at the moment. Does not everybody know that the cases are common in which silence alone amounts to an answer, and that a refusal to reply gives rise to rumours and conjectures of the most dangerous and damaging description? How is it possible to obviate that great danger except by some general rule? If the Under Secretary can say as a general rule that notice must be given of supplementary questions, then no evil interpretation, no erroneous or dangerous construction, can be given to his silence. But if you take that rule away you leave the House, the diplomatic gallery, the newspapers here, the newspapers of foreign countries, to put their own interpretation on that silence. And do you not think that consequences, not damaging to the Government, not damaging to the Under Secretary himself, but damaging to the nation as a whole, and, it may be, even to the peace of Europe, may result from the reckless use of this power of Ministerial cross-examination? The hon. Gentleman who moved this motion said that the House was by this rule deprived of privileges enjoyed by every other representative Assembly in the world. I venture to say there is not another representative Assembly in the world which allows such licence and latitude in questions on foreign affairs as are allowed in this House of Commons. Other Assemblies know well how difficult and delicate is the path of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, what pitfalls there are to the right and left of him; they know the jealousies that must be guarded against, the susceptibilities that must always be considered; and therefore they are far too wise not to fence round with every kind of precaution intervention in debate on foreign affairs on the part of individual members of those Assemblies, who, in pursuit of their own particular panaceas, may lead on a Minister to make a statement the effects of which would be not only far-reaching in point of extent, stretching, it might be, to the uttermost ends of the earth, and producing consequences that might take years or generations to remedy——

Mr. DILLON: The right hon. Gentleman has misunderstood what I said. I did not say that the right hon. Gentleman sought to deprive this House of privileges which were exercised by other Assemblies. On the contrary, I said we were being deprived of privileges which distinguished this House from every other House.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I had misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman, and I am sorry for it. At all events, his interruption is sufficient evidence that in carrying out this rule, which has been in operation for two years, we are following at a distance a practice which every other House has found necessary in the national and patriotic interest. I would not lift a finger to relieve either myself or any of my colleagues of a responsibility which affected merely the Government, or merely the party, or merely the domestic controversies in which we are from time to time engaged. We are here to deal with these controversies and to make the best case we can for ourselves and our party. But when we leave these domestic squabbles, when we come into the debatable area of foreign policy, then I do most earnestly beg the House not to press the Government to answer hastily and at random questions put by Gentlemen who, from the nature of the case may not know what they are doing, or what spark they are applying to what magazine, or may not be aware what international explosion they may be provoking. I am well convinced that if the House will endorse, as I hope they will, the action we have taken in this matter, they will endorse it not with the view of saving the Ministry, or the party, or any individuals on this bench, but in the full consciousness that the man who speaks at this Table for the Foreign Office is a man who has upon his shoulders already sufficient responsibility to make it most unwise to throw upon him the additional burden of expressing on the spur of the moment with absolute accuracy the facts of some difficult point of foreign policy. That can only be done by laying down that general rule which we have adopted, and I earnestly trust that the House will support us in maintaining it.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman has addressed to the House an ingenious, an earnest, and in some parts even an impassioned argument, which is, unfortunately, vitiated by the fact that it is irrelevant to the question at issue. The right hon. Gentleman has said that the habit, not of asking supplementary questions, but the habit of asking questions at all has greatly increased. But he had to admit, in answer to the interruption of my right hon. friend near me, that that is largely due to the shutting to Members of the House of other means of obtaining information. Then we come to the point of supplementary questions. The right hon. Gentleman ignored one great protection we have against the wanton use of supplementary questions, which is the presence in the chair of the Speaker, whose duty it is,—and I am bound to say, Sir, that you even in a more signal degree than your predecessor have discharged this duty—to prevent the practice of asking supplementary questions from developing into anything like abuse. I venture to say, Sir, that since we have had the advantage of your presiding over our deliberations a great improvement has taken place in this respect. Then I would point out that supplementary questions which are ad-addressed to any Minister can always be dealt with by that Minister, if he is not in a position to answer them, by the simple process of asking for notice. It so happens that we are speaking with considerable authority on the point, because I have sitting near me no fewer than three Gentlemen—my noble friend the Member for the Cricklade Division of Wiltshire, my right hon. friend the Member for South Aberdeen, and the hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick—who have all filled the office of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Some of them—I would specify in particular my noble friend the Member for Cricklade—filled that position at a time when I do not think there was any lack of desire on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite to extract information. Indeed, I do not think I am doing any wrong to those who took part in the proceedings in saying that it would not have aggravated them very seriously if their questions had had the effect of embarrassing the Government. I refer to the Parliament of 1880. I think, if the right hon. Gentleman exercises his mind, that even he at the back of his memory may find some trace of the proceedings to which I refer. The right hon. Gentleman said that this is now an established custom of the House; that the House has agreed to this means of curbing the desire of Members for information, and of sheltering the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I can only say that at the very opening of this Parliament, on 6th December, I openly protested against the continuance of this practice, and said that it reduced the privilege of asking questions to a farce. If the House will allow me, I will quote a sentence or two which I used on that occasion. I said—

> "Let me give expression of a hope that there will not be continued the curious rule, originated by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and novel to the House, of restricting the number of questions that can be put to the representative of that Department. I cannot understand why any such rule should exist, and if it has been assented to in the House of Commons it is simply because the House has been too astonished at it to bring the Government to book. The right hon. Gentleman and I the other day expressed our perfect confidence that Mr. Speaker would be able to conduct all our proceedings with perfect order, and in nothing has Mr. Speaker been more energetic and successful than in the preventing of unnecessary questions. Let us trust to him to prevent anything exceeding the points of ordinary propriety, but do not let us have this spectacle again, which reduces questions really to a farce, of allowing the representative of a Government Department to sit dumb in the presence of a number of questioners."*

What is it we complain of? We make no complaint on the ground that supplementary questions ought to be allowed without limit. We admit that Mr. Speaker is acting in the interests of the House if he stops the incessant use of supplementary questions. I am not sure that this, being so serious a matter, ought not to be left, if not entirely, almost entirely, in the hands of the Leader of the House, the chief member of the Government. Let him, or in other cases the Minister principally concerned, say to the House, "It is to the public interest that this particular question should not be answered." Has there ever been a case where the House of Commons has refused such an appeal? Then we come to the point of the Minister being able to plead that he is not instructed, or that he would like—the matter being delicate—time to consider the actual terms of the answer he would give. Has that ever been refused by the House of Commons, or grumbled against by the House of Commons? No, Sir. We are not in the habit of so treating Ministers and public affairs. But that is not the case we have to deal with. The case we have to deal with is a general edict which has been passed by the Leader of the House that on no occasion and under no circumstances is this particular Under Secretary to answer any supplementary question. And the consequence is this. An hon. Member addresses a question to a Minister and receives a cut-and-dried answer, or an answer that may be no answer at all—which sometimes happens—or he receives an ambiguous answer, which is very often the case. And yet when the hon. Member gets up and asks the Minister, "Did you mean Yes or did you mean No when you gave me that reply?" the Under Secretary is to sit and smile and shake his head, but dare not get up. Why, Sir, the thing is ludicrous. Let the right hon. Gentleman take off this absurd embargo, and I will answer for it—not on my own authority but from my knowledge of the House of Commons—that there will be no inconvenience to him, nor to the Government, nor to the Under Secretary, nor to the public interest. The House of Commons knows perfectly well the delicate nature of negotiations, and it will make allowances to this extent, that it will concede the time to give a deliberate and well-considered answer. The right hon. Gentleman says it is too much to expect that an Under Secretary on the spur of the moment should be prepared to answer the most delicate questions. But Under Secretaries, even the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, have to make speeches without special preparation or notice. He has to take part to-night in the debate on China; he will be asked a good many questions, I daresay, and he will have to answer them. He has no notice given to him what the nature of those questions will be. There must be some answer to them. Yet this is the poor helpless official who has to be hedged round with this artificial protection, which is, I say, against all precedent in the House of Commons and against the general interests of public life in this country. And there is another point. If we are not to get information as fully as we should like from the Under Secretary it must be got, I suppose, from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. But we are not allowed in this House to refer to what passes in the other House of Parliament, and therefore this channel is provided for us, and an excellent channel no doubt it might be, an ample one for us and also one which can be used without any prejudice to the Government or the country.

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxviii., page 120; Mr. Balfour's reply, page 122.

Sir H. Campbell Bannerman.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I am sorry not to be able to agree with the Leader of the House and the Leader of my Party. I think this is a very important constitutional question, and that the House will, perhaps—at least hon. Members on this side will—be liable to be misled by what I admit to be the very weighty and effective appeal made by the First Lord of the Treasury. The value of questions, especially under the present rules of the House, is very great. The rights of independent Members have been steadily encroached upon for a long period of time, and, although I speak as a private and independent Member, yet I have had some experience of the House of Commons. Having had the honour of a seat in it for twenty-one years, I venture to say that most of the valuable measures that have passed the House have been, in the first case, introduced by private Members. In the old times, as the right hon. the Member for West Monmouth has pointed out, it was always open to members to rise, ask a question, make a speech, and conclude with a motion. These rights have been taken away from us, and, instead, we retain only the power of asking questions. Now, what is the advantage of that? Not only do we obtain on occasions most important information, but the time of the House is greatly saved; for if it were not for this power Members would be driven to move the adjournment every night of the week in order to obtain the necessary information. What is the argument of the Government in opposing the views of hon. Members opposite? The argument is that this is a public danger. But why has it not been a public danger for the past twenty-five years? Is it to be pretended by the Leader of the House that my noble friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, now Minister for War, are, or were, less able to answer questions with wisdom and safety than the right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean or the noble Lord the Member for the Cricklade Division? I well remember when these right hon. Gentlemen held the office of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs they were bombarded with questions night after night. [HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!] Yes, Sir, and rightly and wisely bombarded with questions, because I maintain that the interests of the country were upheld by these questions and many foreign dangers were averted by the use of questions. But is it to be contended that these right hon. Gentlemen were more able to deal with such questions than the noble Lord now on the Treasury Bench? It is, of course, a *reductio ad absurdum* when that point is put fairly. If this order is enforced, then there can only be one answer to it; we must have the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in this House. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition was perfectly justified in stating that the power of questioning the Minister for Foreign Affairs was never used by private Members in the face of an appeal from the Minister not to pursue a particular question because it was against public interest or that notice should be given of the question. I hope, therefore, the First Lord of the Treasury will withdraw this order, which is more like the ukase or irade of despotic governments than the practice of a free Parliament. He may safely leave it to the good sense of the Members and the intelligence of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs to deal with questions as they arise.

SIR CHARLES DILKE did not know what the Leader of the House meant when he spoke of the practice of asking supplementary questions as a recent growth. If he referred to the practice since 1865 he might as well quote the Parliamentary Register of the last century. There had been an entirely changed state of things since 1865. Hardly any questions at all were asked previous to that time, and it was in 1882 that the practice of asking supplementary questions in foreign affairs first began. Members whose experience went back to that period, when the hon. Member who had just sat down, Lord R. Churchill, Sir H. Drummond-Wolff, and the present Leader of the House (though in a much less degree) took an active part in the proceedings and in putting questions, would remember that the practice of asking supplementary questions in foreign affairs was never so rife as it was in 1882, when he held the office of Under Secretary, down till 1885. In this matter everything depended on the tact which was exercised. No doubt a Minister in answering a question might do a great deal of harm, but no one would suggest that the hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick or the present Viceroy of India were persons who from want of time had answered questions which were believed to be unwise. The patriotism of the House was never more conspicuously shown than in the manner in which it helped Ministers responsible for foreign affairs, and in refraining from putting questions which were believed to be dangerous. Many hon. Members would remember how during the discussions on the Venezuelan question the House of Commons abstained from putting dangerous questions, and he was convinced that this was a course of action which it would always follow. The House would also assent to the suggestion that in the case of a difficult question opportunity should be given to consult the Secretary of State upon the wording of a certain answer. But at present the Under Secretary was placed in a humiliating and almost ridiculous position. He was placed in a position which weakened his office in the House of Commons, and he was deprived of that authority which he would naturally wish to exert with the House and his colleagues.

*Mr. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet) said that what appeared to him an unconstitutional doctrine had been propounded under which a distinction was sought to be drawn between the head of a Department and the Minister representing it in the House of Commons, and it had been contended that it was desirable that an Under Secretary should have an opportunity of communicating with his chief before giving an answer to a particular question. This contention, in his judgment, struck at the root of Ministerial responsibility. He well remembered being told by Mr. Disraeli when he was Under Secretary, "You are responsible in this House for your Department; if you are in a difficulty come to me"; and no doubt the present Under Secretary could be trusted in the same way as Mr. Disraeli trusted his Under Secretaries. It seemed to him that the Government had shut the door after the horse had gone. It might be true that the Viceroy of India did from time to time give answers which occasionally startled his colleagues, but the practice followed by that Minister seemed to have led to an embargo being placed on his successors. He hoped, however, that the ukase of his right hon. friend would not be pressed further, as he had no doubt that his noble friend could be fully trusted to observe all necessary discretion. In fact, the only complaint he had to make with regard to the present representation of the Foreign Office in that House was that the present Under Secretary, being one of the best of their independent Members, had been stolen from them. He thought that Ministerial responsibility would receive a shock if the Under Secretary could not be trusted according to his own discretion, which he must always be allowed to exercise, to decide what were the questions he was justified in answering at once, and what were the questions of which notice must be given.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I am extremely glad that the hon. Member for East Mayo has brought this question before the House, and I think the House of Commons is under an obligation to him for so doing. It would be impossible for us to exaggerate the importance which attaches to this matter. The effect of this new rule that has been made is another step in the campaign which has been going on for a considerable time to deprive private Members of all opportunity of discussion and of obtaining information. Indeed, the object of the movement seems to be to gag the House and to degrade it. It is true that the practice with reference to questions has changed, but that change is the result of the deprivation of all opportunity on the part of private Members to discuss subjects on other occasions and to obtain information in other ways. The inevitable result of decreasing the opportunities of discussion by private Members has been to force them to increase the number of questions. I think the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House has entirely misrepresented, if I may say so without offence, the real point taken by the hon. Member for East Mayo. No one denies that it must remain always in the discretion of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to decline in the public interest to answer certain questions. No one denies that there may be many questions addressed to the Under Secretary which he cannot answer without consulting his chief. No one denies that these occasions may constantly occur, and certainly I have never heard any complaint made by any Member of the House when such an answer was given. The Leader of the House, forsooth, says that if the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs replies either that the question ought not to be answered in the public interest, or that he must refer it for information to his chief, he may thereby create a wrong impression in foreign countries. If the supplementary question is one which he cannot answer in the public interest, that will be proved when it is put down on the Paper as a question. If it is a question which he cannot answer because he must refer it to his chief for information, he will be forced to answer it when he has got the information, and the complaint we make is that the Under Foreign Secretary in this House should be a mere dummy, that he should come here with his mouth closed and not be allowed to answer any question. As the Leader of the Opposition pointed out, questions of the most innocent and necessary character may have to be asked as the result of a misunderstanding of an answer which has been given. But it is proposed that there is to be a hard and fast rule that under no conceivable circumstances is the Under Secretary of State to be allowed to answer any supplementary question at all. That is an absurd position to put a Minister in. After all, Ministerial responsibility is Ministerial responsibility to the House of Commons. The House of Commons is, after all, the ruling body in this country, and it is not only humiliating that the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs should be put in the position that he dare not and cannot, even if his judgment tells him otherwise, answer a supplementary question, but it is degrading the House of Commons, and is certainly another step in what I believe is a deliberate campaign which has been going on for a number of years, the object of which is to deprive this House of proper opportunities of discussion and obtaining information, and a desire to gag the House of Commons. It is a question affecting the rights of the House of Commons. It is surely a strange thing in matters of this sort, upon which we are told the safety of the Empire depends, to find a sharp division between the two Front Benches. Why, if this practice, which has existed so many years, was really injurious to the safety of the Empire, was it never found out until two years ago? This practice has been going on during the twenty years I have been in the House. How is it that those who were responsible for the late government, and who in the ordinary course of events will some day or other be responsible for the government again, took a different view and believed that the practice which prevailed up to two years ago was not injurious to the safety of the Empire? I think my hon. friend deserves the thanks of the House and of the poeple of the country for having brought this question forward, and I confess it is a source of satisfaction to me that it is one of the Irish party who has come forward to heap coals of fire upon the heads of the English House of Commons by taking this stand in defence of its liberties, its independence, and its rights.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said, the question really to be considered was: What is in the public interest? Supposing the proposal of the hon. Member for East Mayo were adopted, no really substantial change would be effected. The answers to the questions would still be refused. The only thing that would happen would be a change in the form in which the refusal was given. The responsibility for the refusal would be laid not on the inconvenience of the questions, but on the rigidity of a rule. He did not think that that would be a change for the better. The present system at any rate got rid of the possibility of the misconstruction of silence; and it was in consequence of that misconstruction that men of the most highly trained minds, finding themselves in the face of an increasing volume of business, arguments, and complexity in foreign affairs, had arrived at the conclusion that the answering of these supplementary questions was one which could not be endured any longer, as being fraught with danger to the State. This practice had been arrived at for the protection of private character, and why should it not be adopted where the national interest was concerned? It had been laid down from the Chair that no supplementary questions could be asked imputing anything to an absent man or a private individual, because of the injustice of asking questions under circumstances which prevented their being answered. Was the protection given to private character not to be given to the national interest? The protection of the Chair, upon which the House was asked to rely, was one which was regarded with constantly increasing dislike and diffidence. How was discretion with respect to the right to put supplementary questions to be exercised by the Chair, and the Chair alone, without dragging the Chair into questions of public policy as distinguished from questions of order and procedure, and thereby degrading the Chair itself?

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: My right hon. friend who has just sat down has entirely confused the matter before the House. He has been dealing with the advisability or inadvisability of putting supplementary questions. The House is dealing with the advisability or inadvisability of having these questions answered. That is quite another question. He forgets that at this moment the right of putting the question exists. What is denied—all that is denied—is the right of getting an answer. Questions are constantly being put to which no answers are given. What my right hon. friend the First Lord says is that when you put supplementary questions to the Under Secretary and no answer is given, the silence itself will be the answer. But that is so now. I have myself repeatedly put questions to which silence was the answer. My right hon. friend who was until recently Under Secretary

for Foreign Affairs will remember that on one occasion I asked if the Foreign Office was absolutely ignorant of everything, and his answer was silence—from which the House drew the natural inference. I wish to join in the appeal of my right hon. friend below the gangway that the First Lord of the Treasury should reconsider his *non possumus* attitude on this subject. The question is really very important. We have been deprived—I am not complaining of it at the present moment—we have in the public interest been deprived in this House of numerous opportunities for bringing matters before the House which previously existed. As a matter of fact, we have practically only left to us now questions, the Estimates, and Amendments to the Address, which is, of course, an opportunity to be taken in extremities—such an extremity to which I myself have been reduced. There are the Estimates, and when these are under discussion the Under Secretary is bound to answer question after question. He has no protection there. If the First Lord is going to throw a shield over him with regard to questions put at the commencement of public business, what about the questions that are showered at him on the Estimates? There is no gag there. No relief is given to the poor noble Lord in that respect. Why, surely the thing has gone too far or not far enough. If you are going to forbid the answering of supplementary questions before five o'clock you must forbid him answering them from five to twelve o'clock, and I think he will be pleased at that. Questions are constantly being answered—inadvertently, no doubt—so that the answer is either unintelligible or ambiguous. The answers are often so ambiguous that it is impossible to comprehend their full scope and purpose, unless they are to some extent explained in replies to supplementary questions. The former Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs felt himself compelled to reply to supplementary questions.

MR. BRODRICK: The only occasions on which I answered supplementary questions were occasions when it was alleged that I had not fully answered the question on the Paper.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I thank the right hon. Gentleman for his testimony, which has proved what I have stated. I said that an answer might be ambiguous or insufficient, and might necessarily require an answer to a supplementary question. My right hon. friend is honest enough to admit that he has given them. My point is that an answer may be so manifestly incomplete or ambiguous, or, for some reason, so incomprehensible as to absolutely require that a supplementary question should be asked. The First Lord of the Treasury gives as a reason for maintaining this entirely new order with respect to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs that it is two years old. I say that two years is a very small time in the history of a House like this. For hundreds of years elucidatory questions have been answered, and we have had only two years' experience of this order, which is therefore very modern indeed. But why cannot the First Lord leave it to the discretion of the Under Secretary himself? Why cannot he leave him to say, as in the case of every other Minister on that bench, "I want notice of the question," or "I must in the public interest decline to reply," or, as we have seen tonight, to make neither of these answers but sit still in his seat? This new order did not exist during the tenure of office of Lord Curzon, or that of any but one previous Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I do not know why it has been imposed on the noble Lord. It seems to me to be a most unmerited reflection—most especially on the noble Lord who has been brought into the Government to strengthen it. Why should he be told that he is not to answer supplementary questions when Lord Curzon was allowed to do so? Is it to be suggested that you can trust a Curzon and not a—— not the noble Lord? The Under Secretary of State in this House is the only medium by which we can get any knowledge whatever of foreign affairs, and to say to him thas he is not to answer supplementary questions, and that he cannot be trusted, is to my mind to say that he is not fit for his post. I must say that I believe he is fit for his post. I believe that he is perfectly capable of taking care of himself—quite as capable as Lord Curzon. Let me remind the Leader of the House that it was precisely in answering supplementary questions that Lord Curzon made his great reputation. It was not in answers that he brought down from the Foreign Secretary in another place; it was in those which by his quickness, readiness, and brilliancy he invented himself in the face of this House. I am perfectly convinced that my noble friend is capable of the same thing. Why should he be prohibited from making here the great reputation which led another noble Lord to the Viceroyalty of India? I think it perfectly cruel of the First Lord to maintain in conference and in concert, as he tells us, with the rest of the cruel Ministry this shocking prohibition that is placed on the noble Lord. But this is really a very serious matter. I regret that it has been brought forward in such a shape as this, for this motion for adjournment raises a false issue. But this is another illustration of the necessity of questions. The matter has been brought forward on a motion for the adjournment of the House, because it could not be brought forward in any other way. Would my right hon. friend have given us a day for this question? Not he. [Laughter.] He laughs. It is a matter for merriment! I think on the contrary that it is precisely one of those matters on which not only the liberties and the rights but the very efficacy of this House depends. It seems to me that unless this House is to have the opportunity of raising matters by the questioning of Ministers for information its use will be very nearly disappearing. Therefore I join in the appeal to my right hon. friend to reconsider the situation, and to see if he cannot give us some hope that now at least the noble Lord will have his muzzle taken off, and be enabled to answer supplementary questions with that ease and fluency which distinguished his predecessor.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick): This question has already been considered from more than one point of view, but I think there is one element which might be eliminated from the discussion. That is the point of view of the interest of the Chair. I do not see how the interest of the Chair, which was used as an argument by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield, is really germane to the matter. As I understand, both you, Sir, and your predecessors have controlled supplementary questions solely on the ground of whether they arose out of the answer given by the Minister or whether they came within the rules of the House. The control of the questions addressed to the Foreign Office, in so far as it is exercised on these grounds, places no strain upon the Chair which does not rest upon it in dealing with questions addressed to other Departments. In fact, I understood you, Sir, when the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean was speaking, to deprecate any idea that the authority of the Chair was exercised on the ground of public policy. The question of public policy surely must rest with Ministers. Let us consider this matter from the points of view of the public interest and of the convenience of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Those, I think, are the only two things which are really germane. The public interest is by far the more important, and I only notice the other because no one could have been in the position of Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs without being conscious of certain inconveniences. There are, no doubt, certain inconveniences in regard to questions, especially in regard to questions addressed to the Foreign Office; but, if alterations are to be made, this is not the one I should have chosen from the point of view either of convenience of the Under Secretary to the Foreign Office or of the public interest. The real inconvenience which I found when I was at the Foreign Office was not supplementary questions; it was the question at short notice. It was the question which appeared on the Paper in the morning and which was to be asked in the House in the afternoon that undoubtedly caused inconvenience in the Office. One was unwilling, as the question was on the Paper, not to attempt to answer it. But I think there are certain inconveniences and sometimes, perhaps, danger likely to result from the attempt to get the information up in the Office at a few hours notice, and the giving of an answer, a written answer in most cases, which could not be modified afterwards and which, if important facts had been overlooked or considerations had not been thoroughly discussed in the Office, might lead to danger afterwards. The answering of questions at five minutes or a day's notice, I think, is the real inconvenience, but that does not require any rule, because if it is explained to Members they will always give longer notice. The real inconvenience and the real danger lies in that fact, because if due notice had been given the Under Secretary would come down having got up the subject thoroughly. We have been debating this matter rather as if any question addressed to the Foreign Office might be asked without notice. That cannot be done now. It must be a supplementary question germane to the subject, and if the Under Secretary has had ample notice of the question which appears on the Paper then, I think, his familiarity with the subject will be such as should enable him to answer the supplementary question, if it is a simple one, on the spot, or to decide whether danger lurked in the question. I think that, when a question appears on the Paper and the Under Secretary is considering what answer he is going to give, the knowledge that it is desirable to avoid supplementary questions, or to anticipate them, is undoubtedly an element in making the original answer as clear and as full as possible. I believe that, in the public interest, what the House ought to do is to insist upon, or at all events in every way to encourage, the giving of long notice of the original question to the Under Secretary, in order that he may be fully prepared on the whole subject. If that is done I do not believe that any danger lurks in the asking of supplementary questions. Some things connected with the Foreign Office, no doubt, are exceedingly difficult to deal with and require much consideration. Take, for instance, what is happening in China, where many Powers are concerned in concert. I can quite understand that there any answer to supplementary questions might be a very risky matter. But take the administration of Uganda. Any question addressed to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs upon that subject is as purely a departmental question as any question that is addressed to the War Office or any other Government office. There are quite a large number of questions addressed to the Foreign Office which deal with matters as purely departmental as those addressed to Ministers representing other offices, and yet this alteration is to apply to the whole of the questions. I think it is an unnecessarily rigid rule. The Under Secretary has to run in this House a very severe gauntlet from time to time, but the most severe is not in answering supplementary questions; it is in the debate on a Vote on Account. He cannot always have warning of everything that is to be raised. Things occur to hon. Members in the debate, and questions come up covering the whole range of foreign affairs. The Under Secretary then not only has to give answers, but he has to deal with these questions exhaustively in debate, and sometimes with the most important of them without any opportunity of preparation. With the most important, of course, he ought to be familiar, but he cannot have time to prepare any speech on those particular subjects on these particular occasions; and I think that the Under Secretary who is capable of getting up on a Vote on Account and of dealing seriously with the whole subject of foreign affairs in unprepared speeches is capable of deciding on the spur of the moment whether it is advisable to answer or not a question on a matter which he has already prepared in the office. There can be only one justification for this rule, and that is if the House had pressed questions without notice upon the Under Secretary. But the House never does so. When it asks questions, especially in connection with the Foreign Office, the House has always had the good sense and the patriotism to recognise that, if the Under Secretary asks for further notice, that must be accepted as final. It has always so accepted it, and over and over again, before this rule came into force, Under Secretaries have continually asked for further notice of supplementary questions, even when they arose out of the answer given to the main question. If that is so, and as all in the House are reluctant to increase and multiply restrictions more than is absolutely necessary, I do think, considering the temper which the House has always shown in previous years, it would have been better in this matter to rely upon the discretion of the Under Secretary to ask for further notice when the question was inconvenient or where the answer was to his mind doubtful. I am sure that the Government might have relied now, as they have always done in previous years, upon the good sense and the patriotism of the House, especially in connection with foreign affairs, not to press those questions.

Mr. BRODRICK: I do not desire to trouble the House at any length, but as two of those who have held the position of Under Secretary to the Foreign Office have given their experience, and as my experience in this respect has been a peculiar one, perhaps I might be allowed to say a few words. I should honestly have been glad to have been able to agree with what has fallen from the hon. Baronet opposite. The hon. Baronet has treated this question as if the House had a record so admirable with regard to its treatment of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs that no possible cause could exist for the change which my right hon. friend the Leader of the House has made. That is not only not the fact, but I venture to say it is the exact reverse of the fact. Take the experience of my noble friend Lord Curzon. The House, the hon. Baronet said, had never pressed questions on the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs without notice. I say, without fear of contradiction, in the presence of those who recollect the circumstances, and after frequent conferences on this very subject with Lord Curzon, who was the last man in this House to complain of any attack upon him, and who had, as everybody knows, an adroitness and ability to meet attack which caused him rather to court it than to shirk it, that that is not so. I was rather amused to hear my hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn pay Lord Curzon the high tribute that he did a few minutes ago, and I felt inclined, when I remember the way in which he used to allude to Lord Curzon's answers to supplementary questions, to ask, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" For now, what he used to term insolence is brilliancy, and all the morasses into which I remember my hon. friend used to take such credit to himself for having immersed Lord Curzon are now referred to by him as avenues to the highest distinction. I cannot help recalling this fact, that when the question of Crete was under discussion Lord Curzon, who had never complained, and who was not one of those who thought that supplementary questions should be altogether abolished, because he was himself rather fond of the game, told me that on one occasion he had fifteen questions addressed to him, and that to each of them there were one or two supplementary questions. Although he felt, over and over again, that he should not be pressed in the public interest, he was pressed by speaker after speaker, until at last you, Sir, intervened and preserved him from further questions.

MR. DILLON: How could he be pressed by speaker after speaker?

MR. BRODRICK: By question after question; and this inquisition went on sometimes for ten minutes on a single question, and that at a moment when a single slip might have had a serious effect on the conduct of negotiations on diplomatic questions. I wish to call the attention of the House, above all, to the experience of the last two years. If this restriction had acted either unfairly or had been resented by the House at large, surely it must have had one of two effects during the last two years—either it must have led to a large increase of the number of questions put on a subsequent day, or it must have led to the exercise of the undoubted right of Members who were not satisfied of moving the adjournment of the House. I was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs during at least as exciting a period in regard to China as we have had on any question during recent years, and I did not answer supplemental questions, though I did endeavour to give to important questions the fullest and clearest answer, to which I think the House is entitled. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. I had less questions during that vexed period on China than any other Under Secretary ever had in much less troublous times; and as regards adjournments, I will undertake to say that a study of *Hansard* will show that since 1880 motions for the adjournment of the House were never fewer than during the time that I was unable to answer supplementary questions as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. These are not uninteresting facts which bear on the present situation. May I say one word more? This matter has been treated as if it were a question simply appertaining to this House. I do not think my right hon. friend's argument on public grounds has altogether received the force which ought to be attached to it. I have had an opportunity of knowing, not only what was the feeling of our Ambassadors abroad with regard to this change, but also what was the feeling of foreign Ministers who are friendly to this country; and it is a curious fact that, although I have never introduced the subject, nearly all of our Ambassadors, and in several instances Ministers of Powers friendly to this country, have congratulated me on the change, and have informed me how greatly it had simplified their duties.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: They would wish that there should be no questions at all.

MR. BRODRICK: Of course there must be questions. That is inevitable. If a question appears on the Paper in the morning, there is time for deliberation, but it is an absurdity to suppose, in these days, that you can safely put a chance question to an Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I can give instances in which an expression which was taken back the next moment has been telegraphed all over Europe. I do not think that you can compare any other office to this.

MR. DILLON: I compare the Colonial Office to it.

MR. BRODRICK: I will take an instance of the Colonial Office. My noble friend happened to misquote a despatch in the hurry of a reply to the hon. Gentleman. What harm did he do by misquoting this despatch? The correction was made to-day. It was not a diplomatic question immediately pressing, and it is not at all likely that harm would be done. That remark could not be made in regard to the negotiations going on in China. In every Chancellery in Europe a misquotation of that kind would be taken up. We should hear of it in the negotiations in Peking, and we should probably hear of it in every capital in Europe. Obviously, when you are dealing with foreign affairs you are dealing with much more delicate questions, and in regard to which a slip is much more difficult to recall. An hon. Member has said that we wait until the House of Lords has spoken. I do not think you will find a single occasion in the last two years in which a statement was made in the House of Lords which was not simultaneously made in this House. It is not a matter of supplementary questions. It is only a question whether any hon. Member chooses, at the time a question is put in the House of Lords, to put down a question here. I know by experience how varied are the questions which are brought before us in Committee of Supply, but I would say that it happened to me, over and over again, to have an opportunity of consulting my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury, or of deciding in the hour or two which intervenes between the speech and the reply whether it is desirable or not to touch on a particular topic. Everybody knows that in the brief interval which takes place between a question and the time of reply deliberation is impossible. It is because I think that we ought to have in this House, in the public interest, something like the protection which is afforded in the House of Lords, and in every other Assembly throughout the world, that I trust the House will continue this most salutary reform, which has long been desired by all connected with foreign affairs, and which, I think, in its justice and in its expediency, as well as in its working, it is desirable to continue.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I think it is singularly appropriate that this debate should have arisen upon a motion which arose out of the question of the suicide of certain Ministers of State. Certainly, if the position taken up by the Government is not receded from, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in this House will be degraded to the position of an automaton in which a phonograph is concealed. Ministers themselves have frequently been asked to introduce the innovation of printing their answers to questions on the Paper, but they have always refused—for their own protection, as they have said; but now the Government have declared that all the Minister for Foreign Affairs will do is to give his answer, and nothing more is to be extracted from him. The right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken said that this innovation was greatly approved of by the Ambassador to the Sultan of Turkey. I have no doubt that by the Sublime Porte this innovation is very hopefully regarded, because it will greatly lesson the number of supplementary questions as to the exact numbers of Armenians who are massacred at any time. There is no doubt that the Sublime Porte fully recognises the importance of the change; but is it by arguments of that description that a rule of this kind is to be recommended to the free House of Commons and the free people whom we are supposed to represent? Let me put another point. It is admitted by the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield that an important, serious, and momentous change has been made in the rules of the House of Commons. Whenever before were the rules of the House of Commons changed except by Standing or Sessional Order? If hitherto there has been a right in a Member to put a supplementary question and you take away that right, can the right of any Member of this House be taken away except by formal and recorded rule? Now, for the first time, we are told that the Prime Minister or the First Lord of the Treasury can of his own motion, by a mere Ministerial order, make a permanent and momentous change in the practice of the House of Commons. We acknowledge, Sir, that the Chair can do that. The Chair is the representative of the House of Commons at large, and it is your duty and privilege to protect the rights of the minority of this House. But who is it that seeks to make this change in the rules of the House? It is the dominant party, and the dominant party are doing this, it is said, in the interests of the country, but admittedly against the interest and the wish of the minority. Never in the experience of the oldest Member of the House has an occasion arisen when a Minister in the British Cabinet—whether by decision in Cabinet or how we know not—has come and said, "On my own motion I will make in the immemorial practice of the House a change, and give you no opportunity of discussing it." The closure was nothing to this. I remember well that when the closure was proposed in 1882, Mr. Gladstone devoted the entire of a winter session to the matter, and the first rule took, I believe, eighteen nights debate, of which, I think, the present First Lord of the Treasury occupied the most part. But now, on this important question affecting the relations of this country, the right hon. Gentleman thinks he can make a muzzling order simply upon his own *ipse dixit*. It is said that foreign affairs are peculiarly sacrosanct, that there is some special reason for dealing with them in a particular manner. If so, all the more necessity for this rule being considered by the House of Commons at large. What has hitherto been the position of the Opposition? I have always understood that when foreign affairs were in question they were regarded by the Front Opposition Bench as being, so to speak, extra-territorialised; they were supposed to be something not exactly in the arena of party debate. Even when the Fourth Party existed we all remember very well that Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Cross, and those of that day never gave any encouragement to the incursions of the noble Lord and his efficient friends who distinguished themselves in the attacks on the foreign policy of Mr. Gladstone, the reason of that being that it had been the practice of the Front Opposition Bench to regard foreign politics as a matter upon which both sides were at one. I would ask, have the Front Opposition Bench consented to this arrangement? Have they been consulted about the matter? I remember very well when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth was Leader of this House, supported as he was by a large contingent of Irish Members, who were chafing very much under what we supposed to be the obstruction of that time to Irish measures; again and again we protested against the extraordinary latitude which we conceived he allowed to the then Opposition. What was always the reply we received? That he considered the position of Leader of the House of Commons to be far more important than that of a member of the Government, as he had the interests of the House of Commons as a whole to consider, and therefore he refused in any way to tamper with what he conceived to be the prerogatives of the Opposition. If, therefore, foreign affairs be, so to speak, a ruled-off paddock in which we should fear to tread, why has not a rule of this kind, if it is to be made, been submitted to the Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench who have had Ministerial experience, and who we must assume, at all events, are as anxious and as zealous for the rights and interest of the foreign policy of this country as are Members on the other side of the House? We find man after man who has held this office getting up and stating that there was no necessity for this rule. The fact of the matter is either that Foreign Secretaries in the past were too smart or else present Foreign Secretaries are too stupid. Anyone who knows the noble Lord and his distinguished career in this House would be very sorry to make that reflection upon him, because we all know his great ability. Equally we were told on the highest authority that Lord Curzon has gone off in a blaze of glory to India, although he did not do so without having been first created an Irish Peer. Why is it that the affairs of the Foreign Office have attached to them that special importance which entitles them to this singular treatment? What are the facts? When the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition was the Secretary to the Admiralty, and when the British Fleet was sent to Besika Bay, the whole question of foreign affairs was discussed practically as a Navy question. You could then get at the Foreign Office by asking questions about the Navy. Take the Army, for instance. Again and again if there is a question of the mobilisation of troops and despatching men abroad, can we not get the information we require about them by asking questions from the Army officials? If this goes on it will be necessary also to prevent these questions being asked from the Gentlemen connected with the Army and Navy. Therefore it seems to me that the rule of the right hon. Gentleman has wholly and entirely broken down. What do we see in recent years? The most important questions in recent years, apart from China, have been questions affecting not the Foreign Office but the Colonial Office. Has anyone ever seen the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies so reticent as to be unwilling to answer a supplementary question? Why, Sir, on the contrary, he revels in it, and it does appear to me that it is upon questions affecting the Colonial Office that, to a very great extent, the foreign policy of England has turned. Take the question of the number of troops in South Africa. Does that question not trench upon the Foreign Office? Does the state of war in South Africa not affect your interests in China? Are the whole interests of the Empire not so interlaced and interlocked that any question may become a foreign, colonial, Army or a Navy question? I think I have demonstrated by this fact the absurdity of limiting the muzzle to the replies of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Why, the whole pack will have to be muzzled, and not the leading dog. I therefore think that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government should reconsider the position that he has taken up in this matter. For myself, I do not think that, except in regard to the Armenians, I have ever put a question to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in my life. I do not think, with that exception, that I have ever made a speech on foreign affairs, and, practically speaking, I take no interest in any country except Ireland. Therefore, I do not think that I am at all likely to infringe any privilege accorded on this question; but it does seem to me that the Government have, in order to check a particular evil, adopted a cure which is far worse than the disease. My experience of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government is that there is no one who is more anxious to recognise the rights of hon. Members as a whole than he is. I believe that this debate has arisen because the noble Lord seemed to have put this matter too bluntly, or, if he will allow me to say so without offence, because he blurted out too suddenly a rule which he would have done well to have embellished with more dialectic ornamentation. That being my feeling, I think that the debate will do good, and in the end we shall see the rule fall into what an American orator once called "innocuous desuetude."

*MR. DAVID MACIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale) said he had had the advantage of perusing a speech made in Lancashire the other day by the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. John Redmond), the Leader of the Irish party, which clearly foreshadowed the proceedings of to-day. The hon. Member spoke of the union which now existed amongst Irish Members, whose new-found harmony had made itself so conspicuous that day, and which had shown itself so successful in impeding the business. The hon. Member for Waterford told his Lancashire friends that, although the good old days of obstruction had passed away, the Irish Members were now prepared to produce practically the same result by every one of them—as he described it—"taking an intelligent interest in public affairs. That was the new name for obstruction and he (Mr. MacIver) had to congratulate the hon. Member for Waterford upon the complete success with which he had, as it were, "drawn a red herring across the track" of Parliamentary progress. He must be a proud man to-day, to have made the Front Opposition Bench follow so humbly at his heels. Everybody knew that the debate was only intended to waste time. He (Mr. MacIver) suggested that it should now cease, as everything which could usefully be said upon the actual subject which was before them had already been said by the Leader of the House.

MR. BARTLEY: I should like to say one or two words on this matter, and I appeal to the Leader of the House to reconsider the very strong position he has taken up on this subject. I think the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War was somewhat unfortunate. He said that if we did not get a proper answer to a supplementary question we could have resort to moving the adjournment of the House. I think it is very unfortunate to suggest such an arrangement, because it is a very awkward one, which leads to a great waste of time, and it should not have been suggested as a remedy for this comparatively small evil. The right hon. Gentleman also suggested that this is the practice adopted in foreign parliaments; but if there is one thing that suggests to me that we are on the wrong tack it is that foreign countries seem to approve of this action. I do not think that in this matter we should take a leaf from other countries, for the very strength of this country has been built up by the free and independent discussion of all these great subjects. I resent the idea that foreign affairs should be considered so sacred and secret that they cannot be answered in the House of Commons. If the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is competent for his position, he is quite competent to decide whether any question should be asked or answered in the House of Commons. I think the whole principle is a very small one. If he is competent to hold that great position it is insulting him to suggest that he is not fit to decide whether a supplementary question is an important one or one which he should answer, or decide whether the answer should be postponed to another day. I do think that this practice of making the Government of the country rather too slavishly dependent upon one or two Ministers is a growing evil. I have always said that it is an evil not to have independence of opinion in the various Ministers of the Crown, and if even the small supplementary questions have to be deferred to consult the head of the Department, it is an act of slavish dependence which has never been the means of making Ministers great in this country. In regard to the noble Lord himself, I am sure that we all feel that he is perfectly competent to answer these questions, and I think the best plan would be for him to make a point of settling this question himself. I am quite sure he can do this if he will make it a point to go into the question himself, and, like Lord Curzon and all those who have preceded him, claim the right to decide these questions for himself. As a matter of principle I think that we, as private Members, who have so few privileges left, are bound to protest against this growing evil.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS said he believed that a rule of this kind, if adhered to, would work more against the Government than it would help hon. Members on the other side. It was too much for them to expect that the rule would only apply when the Conservatives were in office, for no doubt when his right hon. friends on the Front Opposition Bench came into office they would take advantage of the rule, which would tell very much more against the Conservative Members than it did against the Opposition, for the simple reason that greater interest in the Foreign Office and foreign affairs was taken by hon. Members on the Conservative side than by hon. Members on the Liberal side of the House. As a rule they expected to have more questions put from the Opposition side than from the Ministerialists, but if an examination were made of the number of questions put it would be found that at least 60 per cent of them in regard to general matters came from the Opposition side of the House. If the number of questions relating to the Foreign Office and foreign affairs was ascertained he ventured to say that even in this House, while the Conservatives were in office and in power, it would be found that the large majority of questions on foreign matters came from Members on the Conservative side of the House, which showed that greater interest was taken on the other side of the House in Foreign Office questions than on this side of the House. Therefore, if the muzzle was put upon private Members he ventured to point out that it would affect hon. Members opposite very much more than the Opposition. If the House acquiesced in this rule he was afraid that it might eventually spread to other departments. He quite agreed with what was said by the Leader of the Irish party that this was only another step in the increasing practice of diminishing the rights of Members of the House. That had been the policy in the past of the Government, and it would be in the future, and it would be found eventually that the arguments which had just been addressed to the House with respect to foreign questions would also be applied to domestic questions. If this muzzle was put on matters affecting the Post Office, he had no doubt that the Postmaster General would come down to that House and say that the permanent officials were unanimously of the opinion that the system had worked beautifully, and that it was to the advantage of the State that supplementary questions should not be put upon Post Office business. And so, eventually, the rule might be applied to every department of the State.

Lord HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) said he believed that as a rule the Under Secretaries of the Foreign Office were quite as competent as any other Ministers, but no Ministers were infallible. It was a peculiarity, however, attaching to the administration of the Foreign Office that an indiscretion there would be likely to do very much more harm than if it were committed anywhere else, and that was really the whole matter. They were told that the Opposition were so patriotic that they would never use any advantage of that kind or press a question which it would be against the public interest to answer. How silly and idle were such pretences, which nobody practised and which nobody believed in. Every Opposition, when they saw a party advantage in a question, were always inclined to press the Government hard whenever they had the opportunity. He did not blame the Opposition for doing that, because that was what they were there for, but the danger was that in the peculiar region of Foreign Affairs a little indiscretion on the part of a Minister in regard to a question or an answer might produce a national calamity. In the British Museum or the Bodleian Library they were not allowed to use matches. Still, they might argue that they were all perfectly competent to use matches and strike them all over the building without danger. The reason for such a regulation in the British Museum or the Bodleian Library was not because those buildings were more likely to be burned by the indiscreet use of matches than any other public institution, but because if they were burned it would amount to a national catastrophe. And that was the case with the subject under discussion. The object of the rule in this House was clear and straightforward, and undoubtedly it would guard the national interest of the country against aggressive indiscretion on the part of the Opposition, and the defensive indiscretion of a Minister. What consideration would an Opposition exercise in such a matter? The Cabinet made a rule two years ago, and they based it on grounds of public policy. No one believed that it was based upon any other ground. The Government put forward this rule, and now consideration for the national well-being was to be brushed aside by the Opposition, and entirely lost sight of, in order to secure a party advantage. They should not delude themselves by supposing that an Opposition would be so patriotic that they would not always take advantage of this. He earnestly hoped that the Government would, in the interests of the country, be supported in this matter. If ever there was an occasion on which the House of Commons ought to rise above partisan motives it was this occasion, and in the national interest he made this appeal.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 204; Noes, 249. (Division List No. 2.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Allen, Charles P. (Glouc. Stroud
Ambrose, Robert
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bartley, George C. T.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Boyle, James
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Right Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James

Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carew, James Laurence
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Chas. M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T.
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir Wm. Brampton
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm.
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, William Henry

Jacoby, James Alfred
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Sw'nsea
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kinloch, Sir John George S.
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lowther, Rt. Hon J. (Kent)
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Mather, William
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morton, Edw. J. C. (Devonport)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipper'y Mid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, George Wm (Reading)

Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Pickard, Benjamin
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Roche, John
Russell, T. W.
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn C. R (Northants
Strachey, Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas, F. Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas J A (Glamorgan, Gower
Thompson, E. C. (Monaghan, N.
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, Geo. (York, W.R.)
Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wodehouse, Hon. A. (Essex)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Dillon and Mr. John Ellis.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Baldwin, Alfred

Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christchch.
Banbury, Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold A.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-Bousfield, William Robert

Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derb'shire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)

Cecil, Lord Hugh(Greenwich
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.(Birm.)
Chamberlain,J.Austen(Worc'r
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H.A.E.
Coddington, Sir William
Colomb, Sir John Charles R.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar, T. R. (Tower Hamlets)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale,SirJoseph Cockfield
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Edward Henry
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. H.
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Ed.
Fergusson,Rt.HnSirJ(Manc'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose-
Fitzroy,Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Sir M (London Univ.)
Garfit, William
Gibbs,Hn.A.G.H(CityofLond.
Gordon,Hn.JE.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,MajEvans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen,Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W.(Bury St.Ed.
Greene,W.Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton, RtHnLordG(Mid'x
Hamilton,Marqof(L'nd'nderry
Hardy,Laurence(K'nt,Ashf'rd
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,FLeverton(Tynemouth
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hermon-Hodge, Robt. Trotter
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare,Ed.Brodie(Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, Henry(Somerset,E.

Hogg, Lindsay
Hope,J.F.(SheffieldBrightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J.(Mid'x,Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James Hy. Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway,Rt.Hon.SirJohnH.
Kenyon, James (Lancs.,Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney,Col.W(Salop)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
Lambton,Hon.FrederickWm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lawrence, William F.
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hn. Wm. Edw. H.
Lee,CaptA.H.(Hants,Fareh'm
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S.
Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Macartney,Rt.Hn.WGEllison
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim,E.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(Edinbro',W
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Massey-Mainwaring,Hn.W.F.
Maxwell,W.J.(Dumfriesshire)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropsh.
Morgan, D. J.(Walthamstow)
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton,ArthurH.A.(Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, RtHnAGraham(Bute
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alex.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Peel, Hon. WilliamRobertW.
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp

Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Rentoul, James Alexander
Ridley, Hn. MW.(Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. F. (Bethnal Green)
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Round, James
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Linc'n)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H.(Renfrew
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.)
Smith,HC.(North'mb.Tyns'de
Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D.(Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Edward J.(Somerset)
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mk. J.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Jn. M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUni.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson,Wm.Edw.Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirCEH(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Webb, Colonel William G.
Welby,Lt.-ColACE(Taunton)
Wharton,Rt. Hon. JohnLloyd
Whiteley,H(Ashton-und-Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson,A.Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson,J.W. (Worcestersh,N.
Wilson-Todd,Wm.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt Hn E.R.(Bath)
Wortley,Rt.Hon.C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NEW WRITS.

Ordered, That in all cases where the seat of any Member has been declared void on the ground of Corrupt Practices or Illegal Practices no Motion for the issue of a new Writ shall be made without two clear days' previous notice on the Notice Paper of the House, and that such Notice be considered before the Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[Third Day's Debate.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

*The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount Cranborne, Rochester) : I think perhaps the attitude of diffidence with which an Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs often addresses the House of Commons may probably be considerep to be not unnaturally increased upon the present occasion. There has been such a bright light thrown upon him during the last hour or two, and attention has been called in so prominent a degree to the extreme delicacy of his functions, that I feel that everything which I say on the present occasion will be watched by hon. Gentlemen with an extra amount of care, and that I ought to arrange my observations accordingly. Permit me to say in the first place that I very much regret, if I may say so with great respect, the discussion which has just come to an end ; because foreign affairs ought to be conducted, as far as possible, in a peaceful atmosphere, as far removed as may be from the polemical condition which has recently characterised the House ; and I hope nothing I shall say will prolong that polemical condition of the atmosphere. May I also say, if the hon. Member for East Mayo will give me his attention for a moment, that I particularly regret that any observation of mine should have seemed to him in the least discourteous at an earlier period of our proceedings.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) : The noble Lord is quite mistaken. I was very much obliged to him for his observations, for they enabled me to move my motion. I had no quarrel with the noble Lord ; on the contrary, he gave me an opportunity of raising the question.

*Viscount CRANBORNE : I am obliged to the hon. Gentleman. I am sorry that I was brought into conflict with him. But I think the debate which has just closed may have this effect—for my part, I shall take the very greatest care, in the drawing of the answers to questions in this House, that they may be as full as they possibly can be consistently with the public interest, and I shall never forget, what I never have forgotten since I have been a Member of this House, the absolute right of the House of Commons to have all the information which it is in the power of a Minister to give.

When the House adjourned on Friday night I was venturing to call the attention of hon. Members to the fact that the commercial interests were really the principal interests of this country in China, but I said that in the crisis which has taken place there it might be necessary for the consideration of the punishment of the offenders in China to take precedence over all other questions. I may say, perhaps, to the hon. Member for East Mayo, now, that as far as we are concerned we should not consider suicide to be a proper alternative to the death penalty which we demand against these high-placed officials.

Mr. DILLON : The noble Lord has given a good answer now to the question I put to him.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I will revert at once to the considerations of a commercial character, at any rate in the first place, in regard to the Chinese question. The hon. Member for Barnsley complained on Friday night of the great delay which had taken place. I fancy he extended it to all the operations in China, both to the drawing of the Note and the enforcement of the demands of the Powers. Undoubtedly, Sir, the delay has been very great. I do not think the most ardent admirer of the Concert would ever accuse it of lightning-like rapidity. Its operations are generally very deliberate, and the Chinese themselves have no reputation for any great rapidity of action. I notice that in a recent article so great an authority as Sir Robert Hart, speaking of the Chinese, tells us that we may look for their rehabilitation against Europe to a period removed from our own by one or two centuries. That is the kind of attitude of mind which the Chinese adopt in all their operations, and undoubtedly when the Concert have to deal with the Chinese they must expect very great delay. I do not think the sending of a special plenipotentiary to China would have hurried matters very much. We have very accomplished representatives there, as we have always had. I might appeal again to Sir Robert Hart's authority on the same matter. I do not believe that a mere change of *personnel* of the kind advocated by the hon. Gentleman opposite would have made any great difference. Certain progress has been made, though, as I have said, it is very slow. In the first place we have arrived at a complete understanding as to the joint Note. It is a long document involving thirteen or fourteen separate heads, all of which had to be a matter of diplomatic discussion and decision.

I need not trouble the House any more on the question of the punishment of the Chinese offenders of which I spoke on Friday night. We have other subjects touched on in the Note. In the first place there is the question of indemnities. On the question of indemnities our representative has been instructed to gather together the various claims which may be made against the Chinese Government and classify them. Now, these claims may be divided into two classes. There are the claims of individuals and the national claims—the claims of the different Powers, against China. I would rather not say anything at this moment about the individual claims; but, with regard to the claims which the Powers have and especially the claim which England has against China, I am inclined to think there is a measure of agreement between His Majesty's Government and the hon. Gentleman opposite and those who agree with him. After all, we are the injured parties; not the Chinese. We have suffered great wrong in the outrages which have been executed against our fellow-subjects or our representatives, and it would be a very indifferent compensation for our injuries if we added to those injuries the great further injury of so crippling Chinese finance as to damage our own trade. The Government occupy that point of view just as much as the hon. Gentleman does, and in the consideration of the amount of indemnity which we shall claim against China that matter will be carefully borne in mind. The indemnities, in our opinion, are relatively unimportant compared to our trade interests. What have we done for trade? In the first place, we have gone a long way, although our task is still very far from being complete, to restore a measure of tranquillity in China. I neither suggest that we have gone the whole way which we may hope to go nor that in any case we can hope that for many years it shall be complete, for in many parts of China the condition of unrest is chronic. Still, a great deal may be done, and considerable steps have been taken in the last few months towards a restoration of tranquillity. As hon. Gentlemen have said in this House and elsewhere, that is not sufficient. We do not look merely to restoring the old state of tranquillity, but if possible to improving on the present commercial system in China, so that it shall be advantageous to her and ourselves. I think the House will realise that the subject of such reforms will necessarily lead to prolonged negotiations. There may be some reason, I am afraid, to complain of the long delay that may take place. The Government of China is, as everyone knows, divided into great provinces, autonomous in character, with important officials called Viceroys at their head; and in any general scheme of commercial or fiscal reform there is no question that every one of these provincial administrations will have to be consulted, and that the time occupied must necessarily be, when we consider Chinese methods, very prolonged. I am afraid that the same reflection occurs when I turn from the general to the particular, and consider the kind of matters in which reform is specially called for.

Now, Sir, as everybody knows, as the hon. Gentleman himself told us on Friday night, the greatest region in which fiscal reform ought to take place is in respect of what is called the likin, or the interior customs of China. It is very widely extended. It employs an enormous number of officials in all parts of China—high officials, low officials of all sorts, all of whom have got vested interests of a very substantial kind in the institution of likin, which will therefore require great care and considerable time in its reform. It would be so even if it existed in this country; more so out there. That the evils connected with likin are very great I do not think anybody can doubt. I was struck the other day by some figures which showed that in the case of one particular province one levy, that is to say the passing of one barrier, taxed the goods to the extent of 18 per cent. *ad valorem.* There are often as much as two or more levies before the goods arrive at their destination. Of course, as the House will understand, I am putting an extreme case. It is a case I have on good authority, and I have no doubt it is a fact. The House will know, as a matter of treaty law, that this particular impost can be franchised by a payment of 2½ per cent. at the coast. I think I have given you some idea of how extremely divergent the actual practice is from that which English merchants have a treaty right to demand. The reasons, of course, are obvious—that the whole of the revenues by which the government of these provinces is carried on really depend on likin. The money which is paid in view of the duties at the coast does not reach the provincial treasuries at all. Unless they impose likin they have no means of paying their public service or transacting the ordinary business of government. Add to that corruption; there is any amount, I need not say, of that article in China. The explanation is obvious.

I have said this much because I wanted the House to understand that His Majesty's Government are fully seised of both the importance and the difficulties of commercial reform in China, that they have the subject very prominently before their minds, and that they very carefully consider what ought to be done and what can be done. If I may say so, I want to make the House understand how immensely complicated the matter is, and what great delay one must necessarily expect before anything like reform, even to a moderate extent, can be carried out. The hon. Gentleman asked me about certain other matters. He asked me about the waterways. That matter is being considered, but I can say nothing more about it for the present. Then he spoke of removing the obstructions to navigation. There, I think, he made a very good, practical suggestion, a suggestion which the Government are carefully considering. And then there was something he said about the necessity of giving the Chinese Government the right to re-enter upon their railways, if that should seem to be necessary in their own interests. I believe, although it is not a matter which I have gone into very carefully, that in most of the railway agreements such a power is reserved to the Chinese Government.

I will just say a word or two about the very great difficulties in respect of one railway. I speak, of course, of the railway from Tien-tsin to Shan-hai-kwan. There is no doubt that the state of things which has existed with respect to that railway and the occurrences which have taken place there have given His Majesty's Government ground for very great anxiety. The railway was occupied by the Russians, so far as we are aware, without any authority to do so, and in the course of their operations they undoubtedly did take into their charge a large amount of railway material at Niu-chwang belonging to a British company, which, I think, there is no question was not part of their own property. These things happened in respect of a railway which had been made by British capital, which had been worked by British skill, where, that is to say, our interests were of the most important and immediate character.

In considering what line we ought to take on this matter, three objects were before us—first of all, the restoration of the railway, which was important in every respect from a commercial point of view; secondly, the rights of our own countrymen; and, lastly, the great importance of maintaining the friendly alliance of the Great Powers of Europe with regard to the Chinese question. We thought it well to proceed not by way of polemical utterance, but by way of friendly representation to the Russian Government. I am glad to say that those representations have met with a large measure of success. In the first place, the Russian Government assured us, and assure us now, in the most categorical manner, that the occupation of the railway was purely a temporary occupation, dictated by the military considerations of the moment; and, in the second place, they promised to restore the railway material and have restored it. I am bound to say that in all our dealings in this matter with the Russian Government we have been received in a most friendly way, and we have no complaint whatever to make of the attitude of the Government of the Russian Emperor. Sometimes one cannot help regretting that the undoubtedly benevolent intentions of the Russian Government are not so rapidly carried out by their officers in distant provinces as we have some right to expect, but that their intentions in this matter are perfectly sound and thoroughly friendly to this country I, for one, do not doubt. Notwithstanding the great importance of the question involved, when once it is approached in that spirit by the two Governments, when it is explained in the most friendly terms that the occupation is only of a temporary character, even if in some respects we do not agree with the line the Russian Government have taken, nothing removes the controversy from the domain of purely friendly negotiation. Therefore, relying on these assurances, I think the House may have its anxiety with regard to the railway to some extent relieved.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley): I would like to ask a question of the noble Lord. In speaking of the railway from Tien-tsin to Shan-hai-kwan, did he intend the House to understand that his observations also applied to the railway from Shan-hai-kwan to Niu-chwang? We have heard nothing of the determination of the Russian Government to hand over that railway either to the British or the Germans.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I assure the hon. Gentleman I am too much impressed with the importance and delicacy of the question with which I am dealing to make any mistake as to the names of the particular branches of the railway involved. As to the railway north of the Great Wall, we understand, on the same high assurances, that the occupation is merely of a temporary character. While assenting for the moment on military grounds to the present occupation, we have reserved our full political and financial rights.

I turn for a moment to speak of Manchuria. Rumours have reached us of proceedings of the Russians with respect to Manchuria. We made proper inquiry from our representative, and he assured us that any agreement which exists between Russia and China in respect to Manchuria is in the nature of a *modus vivendi*, consisting merely in the simultaneous presence of the Russian and Chinese forces in Manchuria, in order to prevent disturbances on their frontier. He assured us that the occupation of the railway is of a purely temporary character, and that, although a guarantee is expected by the Russian Government that upon their withdrawal the disturbances shall not break out again, yet that guarantee will not take the form of an acquisition of territory or of a virtual or actual protectorate in Manchuria. The hon. Member for St. Pancras asked me on Friday night a question in respect to Niu-chwang. A great deal has been said about Niu-chwang, which, as the House knows, is a treaty port; but I hope the House will abstain from language of exaggeration in regard to that place. I told the House during a former sitting that Niu-chwang had been occupied by the Russians on the ground of military necessity; but I am able to say, upon very good authority, that since then, although Niu-chwang is nominally under Russian martial law, the Russians do not interfere, but people are allowed to settle their own differences if they like. As a matter of fact the private rights of the foreign community do not appear to have been interfered with to any extent. In respect to Niu-chwang we have received assurances at least equal to those which have been given us in respect to the province of South Manchuria. We understand the Russians are prepared to restore Niu-chwang at the end of their occupation precisely to its former condition. I do not think that after what I have been able to say to the House on the present occasion any Member will assert that the Government's diplomacy in this matter has not been active. On Friday night I said that it has not been aggressive. We have borne in mind the enormous importance of the British interests in China, and have not forgotten that it is our duty to make representations when we think those interests are in any degree threatened. I earnestly hope the House will recognise not only that the Government have been active, but that I have already taken to heart the lesson read to me an hour or two ago about the anxiety of the House of Commons for information, and that I have done my best to give information in some detail. In pursuit of our policy, which is neither aggressive nor ostentatious, we ask the support of the House of Commons, and beg them to rely on the fact that we shall neither lose sight of the importance of maintaining British interests nor of preserving the peace of the world.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): I am sure the House has heard with satisfaction the very frank and able statement made by the noble Lord. I had not intended to trouble the House to-day; I should have been very glad to have left the discussion of this subject in the able hands of my hon. friend the Member for Barnsley, and I was very pleased to hear from the noble Lord that on many points he agrees with the view of my hon. friend; but there is one point which has led me to desire to ask further explanation from the Government.

I desire to remind the House of the words used by the noble Lord on Friday last. There is a most critical question for this country, for the House of Commons, and for the Government, and that is to know what is our military position at this moment in China, and what is the military policy of the Government in that country. The noble Lord said, and I remarked his words with satisfaction, that—

> "in pressing these punishments on the Chinese Government we had to be clear that we should not commit ourselves in such a way as to lose control over our own conduct. It was suggested, for example, that in order to enforce the wishes of Great Britain, or other members of the allied Powers, on the Chinese Government an expedition should be taken into the interior of China of a warlike character. That, I think, would have been a most disastrous policy."

I think everyone will agree with the noble Lord that that would be a disastrous policy. Well, Sir, that was the position of the Government on Friday night; but this morning, within a few hours of that statement, another statement has come from China, which is enforced with all the authority of a leading article in *The Times*, founded on their correspondent's information. I am a little surprised that the noble Lord has made no allusion to that information, and has not told us whether it is well founded or not. This is the statement put forward, that—

> "on the next day [that is, on Saturday] Count von Waldersee issued a general order to the troops under his command directing them to make ready to take the field, the idea being to make a march into the interior in the spring."

Now it is of the deepest concern to this country to know whether that statement is true, and how far the British Government are committed to the policy indicated by such an order as that. First of all, I ask, is that statement true? I would ask a second question—I will put a supplementary question—and that is, if that statement is true, has such an order as that been given without consultation with the British Government; and have the Government taken any measures to ascertain the facts with reference to such an order, or will they do so? I wish also to ask whether they have intimated that they will be no parties and give no consent to a policy which the noble Lord has properly declared to be disastrous and objectionable.

There is another matter upon which I do not think we have ever had a proper statement in this House. What is our military position in China as regards the action of ourselves and other Powers? We know that Count von Waldersee has been accepted as General-in-Chief of the armies out there; but would a general order of the kind he has said to have issued apply to all the military forces in China or only to the troops of his own nationality? I want to know whether a general order of that kind would operate upon the British forces out there. And now I come to ask another question which lies at the root of the whole thing. Is it within the purview of the concert of Europe that one Power should make a military expedition into the interior of China without the co-operation and consent of the other Powers? That is a most critical question with reference to the whole future of China. I will not at present enter further into the discussion of this matter, because I am glad to know that His Majesty's Government are opposed to this policy; but I wish to have some assurance as to the situation in which we stand with reference to other Powers, and especially with reference to the action of a single Power without the co-operation of the others. These are most critical questions. We know how easily, without the desire, almost without the knowledge, of the Government we may be committed to some disastrous policy and to some more disastrous war. When you once begin a policy of this kind you may find yourselves embarked in another guerilla war, and in that guerilla war it will be well to remember that the population of China is more numerous even than that of the Boers. Therefore it is a matter of the most critical importance that the House of Commons and the country should have their eyes open to the dangers of the situation, and that before we go into our military Estimates, we should know what is our military position in China. Quite apart from questions of policy, there is for us, at least, a ruling consideration: that we have exhausted our military power in South Africa.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): Not nearly.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Of course the hon. Member is always ready to go himself. But what did we hear from the Secretary of State for India to-night? He told us the numbers by which our forces in India have been depleted. The hon. Member is always in terror of Russia attacking India. What does he think of the statement of the Secretary for State? We know perfectly well that you have got almost to the very last man in this country and the colonies, and you cannot afford another guerilla war. That is the situation in which we stand, and we should proceed with prudence at least.

I was very glad to hear the language of the noble Lord as to the relations of this country with Russia. He did not pander to the desire to inflame the animosity of nations. He said the Government has dealt with this Chinese question in a spirit of friendly negotiation with Russia, and you may depend upon it that this question cannot be solved without the greatest disaster unless this country is acting in friendly and reasonable co-operation with Russia, who has so many thousand miles of frontier conterminous with China, where your fleet cannot be and her armies can. Therefore, no Government with any sense of reason, caution, or prudence will ever deal with the Chinese question except in the spirit which I am glad to hear from the noble Lord governs the relations between this country and Russia. What I am thinking of at present is the danger which may occur from a want of a thorough understanding of our military position in China, and how far it may be compromised by the action of any of the other Powers. Therefore I have ventured to ask for some further information from the Government as to what are the commitments and liabilities we may incur in consequence of our military situation in China

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I shall, with the leave of the House, reply to the right hon. Gentleman. I have to say with regard to the question he has put that, so far as we are aware, there is no foreign Government wanting to make an expedition into the interior of China, and I need not say that if such were in contemplation, certainly our Commander would require the instructions of the Government before consenting to go. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will forgive me for saying that his speech illustrates the great difficulty of answering without notice a very large number of categorical questions.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The noble Lord will forgive me for saying that this is my only opportunity. After to-day he will not be able to answer my question.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: If the right hon. Gentleman will be so good as to revert to the much-abused method of putting questions on the Paper, I will endeavour to give a categorical reply to the several points that have been raised.

*MR. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire): Having already spoken on this subject in December, I shall confine my few remarks within as narrow limits as possible. Let me associate myself with the remarks that have fallen from my right hon. friend the Member for West Monmouthshire, with respect to the speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Nothing could better illustrate the unassailable position the Government occupies in connection with the question of China than this debate and previous debates in the House of Commons. During the elections sweeping statements were made by Liberal orators as to the weakness and futility of the Government's policy in China, and when the House met in December, the hon. Member for Barnsley brought forward a strong Amendment to the Address dealing with this question, but from a comparison of that Amendment with this which he has now brought before the House,† it is clear to me that his criticisms are being gradually reduced to the vanishing point. In addition to having withdrawn his Amendment, he has gone the length of congratulating the Government on having been able to preserve the concert of the Powers and to settle the basis of negotiations for concluding peace with the Chinese Government, and I am of opinion that the more the hon. Member realises the vast difficulties connected with the Chinese problem, and the more he becomes acquainted with what the Government has actually done to preserve the rights and privileges of British subjects in China the more will he be inclined to diminish criticism and to increase congratulations. I noted with pleasure that the hon. Member had entirely deleted that clause in his former Amendment which urged that no demand should be made on the Chinese Government for the punishment of Chinese officials which could not be equally imposed in the case of a European Power; but I regret very much that in the course of his speech he should have stated that his sympathies were entirely with the Chinese, that the rising of the Chinese was a patriotic rising, and that it was hypocrisy on the part of western civilisation to make a demand for the decapitation of Chinese princes and generals. The hon. Member should remember that those men whom he seeks in some measure to protect have been guilty, consciously guilty, not only of the most flagrant breaches of international rights, but of treacheries and atrocities which have been perpetrated on the Christian population, both European and native. Many Europeans, and some natives, put themselves under the special protection of some of these officials, never for one moment doubting that their respect for international rights and treaties would cause them to use their influence on the side of justice and humanity, instead of which they used their position for the purpose of inflicting severe tortures, and often a lingering death, upon those who had sought protection, and whom they were bound to protect. I think that this House will support the action which has been taken by the British Government and by the allied Powers in insisting that condign punishment should be inflicted upon those cruel, treacherous, and cowardly miscreants, not for revenge, but for the purpose of preventing a repetition of such atrocities, and for the purpose of securing the safety of the Christian population in China, whether European or native, for all time coming.

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† The hon. Member for Barnsley had on the Paper notice of the following Amendment to the Address :—"And we humbly represent to your Majesty that it is essential that adequate measures should be taken for the safeguarding of the vast commercial and political interests of the British Empire in China, and that in connection with the settlement following the recent hostilities reparation should be sought in increased facilities for trade rather than by a money indemnity."—This Amendment he did not move, for the reason stated at the commencement of his speech on 15th February. The Amendment proposed by the hon. Member on 7th December, 1900, was as follows :—"And we humbly represent to your Majesty that it is essential that more adequate measures should be taken for the safeguarding of the vast commercial and political interests of the British Empire in China; and we further humbly submit that no demand should be made on the Chinese Government for the punishment of Chinese officials which would not be equally imposed in the case of a European Power, and also that reparation should be sought in increased facilities to trade rather than by a money indemnity."—For the discussion on this Amendment, see *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxviii., page 303.

There is one other point, and only one, to which I wish to refer at the present time. When I spoke in December last, I sought to impress upon the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs that, in the settlement which is being made in China, it is of vital importance to arrange that all duties leviable on goods imported into China should be rigorously confined to the ports of entry, that they should there be levied under the superintendence of European officials, that they should be of sufficient amount to enable the Chinese Government properly to pay the officials, and to meet the purposes of administration, and that the likin, consisting of extortionate exactions which have been charged, and which have been the greatest hindrance to British commerce, should be absolutely and for ever abolished. I am very glad that the noble Lord the Under Secretary has shown us that the Government are fully aware of the importance of this question, and that they are taking every step to have such a measure included among the stipulations with the Chinese Government. In conclusion let me say that the mercantile community of this country especially feel much satisfaction at the vigour and resolution with which the Government persevere in such well advised measures for the purpose of preserving the concert of the Powers to secure peace in China, and of increasing all our commercial advantages in that country. I feel quite certain that the country will thoroughly acknowledge the good service which has been done to them in this important point.

MR. C. E. H. HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I think the House of Commons and the Under Secretary of State are to be congratulated upon the moderate tendency of the speech to which we listened before dinner. The speech marks a very great advance upon anything the country has been told up to the present by any Minister as to the policy of the Government in China.

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present. House counted, and forty Members being found present—

MR. C. E. H. HOBHOUSE (continuing): The Under Secretary on Friday last said that the Opposition did not realise what was the avowed policy of the Government. That was not unnatural, because at that moment the Government had avowed no policy at all; the only policy with which we were acquainted was a policy of reticence and very great reluctance to have anything said about events in China, either in this House or in the country. But to-day the Under Secretary tells us, what we already knew, that there is an absolute right in the House of Commons to know all that was going on, and I am bound to say he did give us some information, which was certainly of a satisfactory kind. In the first place, he told us that the questions of indemnities, duties, the Shan-hai-kwan Railway, and Manchuria had obtained the lively interest of the Government. Not unnaturally, he tried to make out for the Government of which he is a member a position as strong as could be claimed for it; but I venture to say he took an unduly favourable estimate of the position of England in China at the present moment. The Chinese Government and people are peculiarly susceptible to what may be called "prestige," and we have a means of getting to know the sort of estimation in which the Chinese Government and people hold this country and its Government just now. A proposal was made by the Chinese Government to send an envoy to offer their condolences to His Majesty upon the death of the late Queen. The envoy selected for this purpose was not a prince of the Imperial House; he was not even a person holding a distinguished position in the Chinese Government; he was what is called a Literary Chancellor—a position equal to that of a Viceroy. But the person deputed by the Chinese Government to offer to the German Emperor condolences for the murder of his envoy is not a Literary Chancellor—whatever that may be—but a prince of the highest rank. That is a very significant comment on the difference in the estimation in which the German Government and the British Government are held by the Chinese Government.

The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in support of the policy of the Government, and as a proof of the vigour and spirit of that policy, told us that they had been fortunate enough to propose language which was acceptable to all persons concerned with regard to the proposals made by the various Powers concerned to China. But that language has never been divulged to us; we are ignorant of the terms of the proposals. All we were told was that it was a proposal embodied under thirteen or fourteen heads, and, therefore, a very lengthy document. I think we have a right to be told something more than that. Nine months have elapsed since these disturbances began, and all we know is that the proposals of the Government are voluminous. The Under Secretary took credit to himself for what he told the House, but I think that what he did not tell us was even more marked. With regard to the Shan-hai-kwan Railway, he told us that it was occupied by the Russians without authority. What does he mean by that? If this railway was occupied by the Russian forces without the authority of the general officer commanding them or without the authority of the Government which commands that general officer, surely it would not have been very difficult to induce the Russian Government to withdraw their forces at once, and it need not have been necessary to obtain the sanction or the consent not merely of the Russian Government, but of the German Government, and, as was finally revealed to us a day or two ago, of the Japanese Government, to the restoration of our own property to our own Government. We are not told the exact terms upon which this railway is eventually to be handed back. We are told that one part has already been handed back, but with regard to the other part the Under Secretary did not like to commit himself. But he did tell us that the Russian Government had what he called "taken charge of the rolling stock of this railway." What does that mean? If it means that they have commandeered for their own permanent use the rolling stock of this British company and British undertaking, surely we have a right to ask that they shall replace that rolling stock, or, at all events, refund the money it will cost the railway to restore it. With regard to this railway, the Under Secretary told us that he had the definite assurance of the Russian Government. But it is not the first time that we have had equally definite——

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will excuse me. I am not sure that I made myself quite clear. Not only have we the definite assurance of the Russian Government that they would evacuate it, but they have already done so, and have handed it over to the German Government, who are about to hand it over to us.

MR. C. E. H. HOBHOUSE: That is a rather roundabout way of getting hold of property which belongs to yourself. I suppose that this process was gone through in order to save the face of the Russian Government. But what I want to know is whether the other part of the railway, and also the rolling stock, are going to be handed back to us as well. Has the Under Secretary got permission from the German Government and from the Japanese Government to get this property back also, or has this been made a sort of saving clause by which the Russian Government are to recoup themselves the cost of repairing the railway, which they did with the property of the railway company itself? The Under Secretary failed to explain how it is that other nations can at the present moment protect their commercial undertakings and their industrial concerns with much greater promptitude than the English Government. It is in the recollection of the country that we stopped a mail steamer and examined its cargo in Delagoa Bay during the disturbances in South Africa. We at once got from the German Government a Note couched in very grave terms. And that Note was not delivered in secret, as most of the communications of our Government are, but it was made public to the world that the German Government would stand no nonsense when industrial concerns were at stake. But we allow a whole railway, costing something like 2½ millions, to be taken from us by another nation and to be retained for a very long time, and eventually we go through a very prolonged process to get back our own property. It may be very satisfactory to get it back eventually, but the methods I venture to characterise as extremely unsatisfactory. With regard to Manchuria, the Under Secretary tells us that he has a guarantee. I did not gather whether that was a written or a verbal guarantee.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: I do not think I said guarantee.

MR. C. E. H. HOBHOUSE: Well, an assurance. Is it a written or a verbal assurance that the occupation of Manchuria is a *modus vivendi* under which order is to be restored? In the course of restoring order I gather that a great number of the Chinese officials have, as the noble Lord phrased it, "disappeared."

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: No doubt it is my fault, but the hon. Gentleman is mixing up the question of Manchuria with some phrase which I dropped about Niu-chwang. As to Manchuria, we applied to our own representative at St. Petersburg, and it is on his information that I have made that statement to the House. As to Niu-chwang, I explained in detail that the state of things is not so serious as some hon. Gentlemen seem to imagine.

MR. C. E. H. HOBHOUSE: I am sorry if I misrepresented the noble Lord, but I want to insist upon my point. Is that assurance that this *modus vivendi* is not an actual or a virtual protectorate a written or a verbal assurance? Has it been communicated to our Ambassador in St. Petersburg in writing or by word of mouth, because unless it has been communicated in writing there is great danger that at some future date there may be representations by the Russian Government that our Ambassador misunderstood the tenour of the communication, and that the protectorate which undoubtedly has been established in Manchuria is not be to merely temporary but permanent. It is significant to note in this respect that both the great French newspapers, who are not unfriendly judges of the conduct and attitude of the Russian Government, have spoken of the tenure of Manchuria as an actual and virtual occupation of the country, in direct contradistinction to the assurance which the noble Lord has been so happy to receive. In regard to Manchuria, the noble Lord said on Friday night that with reference to trade in that country there was no exclusion at the present moment. That is naturally the case, because foreign merchandise is brought into Manchuria from America or Europe oversea. That condition of things cannot long obtain, because at no distant date Manchuria will be joined to the Russian Empire by a continuous line of railway. As soon as the necessity no longer exists it will be no longer necessary to keep the door open which is now left ajar; the door may be slammed at any moment upon the not unnatural ground that it is no longer necessary. Therefore, when the noble Lord tells us that exclusion of foreign merchandise does not exist in Manchuria, that answer may be sufficient for to-day, but I venture to say that it is not adequate for to-morrow. It may be impossible for the noble Lord to answer the various points I have endeavoured to raise. I remember that the President of the Local Government Board when addressing his constituents some months ago told them that in reference to China they must not ask too much from the Government. I venture to say that

that is a very unsatisfactory answer, coming from a member of the Ministry, upon a question so important as this. We do not ask too much of the noble Lord and the Government, but we do ask that full consideration of the trade and interests, whether commercial or political, of this country shall be given by the Government, and we have some indication—and I venture to congratulate the noble Lord upon it—that these matters have not altogether slipped from his memory.

MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR (Essex, Romford): I wish to address myself to the Report of the Commission upon the Army Medical Corps in South Africa. I think everyone will admit that that Report has not succeeded in satisfying the expectation of those who desired its appointment. No one desired that an unmeasured amount of blame should be cast upon the heads of the Army Medical Department, but it was intended that more impartial and non-departmental evidence should be thoroughly examined into. I think it will be admitted that there has not been a sufficient amount of entirely unbiased and disinterested inquiry into the subject. Official views have invariably been given greater weight to than non-official. The Commission seems to have followed the example set by many others, and its Report condemns and yet seeks for excuses, it blames and yet exculpates, it complains and yet praises. Reading between the lines, it seems as though the Commissioners were fully conscious that there had been a great deal of blundering and mismanagement, and yet they were most unwilling to fix the responsibility, and where in any case they felt obliged to do so, they proceed to find extenuating circumstances. Whichever way one looks at the Report, I think anyone will admit that a most lamentable state of affairs is palpably disclosed, and the whole consideration of the case seems to fall naturally under three headings: (1) the staff of the Royal Army Medical Corps, (2) their methods of management, and (3) the question of their position in time of war with respect to the difficulties of transport and responsibility. The provision of transport has been made in such a manner as to make the efficiency of this department totally inadequate. I think it will be admitted that in the first place the *personnel* is woefully deficient, certainly in numbers, and it is to be feared, in many cases, in the special medical and surgical knowledge which is absolutely necessary for a staff of that kind which has to deal with large bodies of men employed in the field fighting against an enemy. Leaving aside the question of an increase of the employment of nurses—although it seems to be generally agreed that there was room for many more even at the base hospitals—there is no doubt that there were not enough surgeons employed. And what is the reason of this? I think the reason is to be found in the fact that the Royal Army Medical Corps is most unpopular amongst medical students as compared with the Navy, for in the Navy any number of surgeons can be obtained, whereas it is impossible to get enough to serve in the Army. Long before the war began it is a fact that the War Department went to all the schools of medical science in the country and begged for surgeons. There were then more vacancies than applicants, competition was reduced to an absolute farce, and the Army Medical Department were compelled to take on anybody who could be induced to go out to South Africa. This state of things does not exist in the Navy, which is a most popular service with medical men, and therefore there must be something radically wrong.

I think that the only remedy that we can hope for is the appointment of a strong Committee, consisting of representatives from both sides of the House, which should at least contain one or two men from the younger members of the teaching staffs of our medical schools, and this committee should have full power to examine all these questions on oath. It should have the widest scope of inquiry, and be allowed to suggest practical remedies. A remedy is urgent, and should be found with as little delay as possible. There is no need to wait till the war is over. This Department was in a state of chaos before the war, and I think that its working during the last eighteen months has exposed its inefficiency to the whole world. I think everyone will admit that without the help of the civil surgeons our position would have been perfectly hopeless. Here we have established at a moment's notice one of the very finest volunteer forces that the country could wish for. Why should it be done away with even at the end of the war? It is possible to establish a really efficient Army Medical Reserve.

I would suggest a plan on these lines: that young surgeons having no practice to go to immediately after passing their examinations might be induced, by paying them a certain amount per annum—say, for a year or eighteen months—to join a course of instruction which would fit them for the Army. Let them study military surgery and sanitation, and then join the Reserve. I would suggest that they be paid so much for the first five years, and that the country should have a call upon them for their services should occasion arise. They might be called upon to give a month every year for training for manœuvres for five years, and then be under an obligation to do service in some Volunteer medical corps, with liability to volunteer for home service for ten years. You would then have a body of men capable of fulfilling the duties which an ordinary medical training does not give to the surgeon who is called upon at the present time to serve in the field. If this were done, we should get an efficient corps of medical men, in case of emergency, to fill the places of those civil surgeons who are now in South Africa, and whose training is not what it ought to be. Such officers would always possess the merit of being up to date in medical and sanitary science. It always has been and is now a great complaint among the members of the Royal Army Medical Corps that they can seldom get leave to go and study any new systems and processes at the great hospitals in times of peace. They are afforded no opportunity by which they can make themselves proficient. I think an arrangement could be made by which our troops at home could be treated in our hospitals in times of peace, and some of the senior medical officers might join the hospital staff. This, at any rate, would keep them up to their work, preserve the connection with their profession, and save a large amount of money to the nation. One of the most necessary things we shall undoubtedly have to do in the future is to procure and attract a larger number of recruits for service in the Army. To accomplish this successfully you must provide proper treatment for these men in sickness and when wounded, and, unless more care is taken by a court of inquiry than has been taken by the one which has just reported, I am afraid it will militate against the enlistment of many soldiers who would have joined the Army if proper medical treatment was assured. Unless you provide for the alleviation of suffering at the same time, you cannot hope to enlist sympathy for the service which has so woefully broken down in its administration. The country does not blame the Government for its work in South Africa, but what it will demand in the future is that we should put the whole thing on a proper, sound basis; and unless we provide an efficient medical staff for our Army I am quite confident that the country will think that this Parliament has been lacking in its duty.

*MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I desire to draw the attention of the House to what I consider the omissions in which there is practically no reference to the country which Gentlemen on these benches represent in this House. I certainly think that His Majesty's advisers did not do their duty towards their Sovereign in recommending that he should be asked to take the formal Oath which was administered to him at the opening of this session of Parliament. That Oath, I think, can be regarded in no other light by hon. Gentlemen on these benches than as an insult of a very gross character to the religion they profess. In fact, I think that even amongst supporters of His Majesty's Government who profess that religion it was a very great straining of their allegiance to ask them to stand by and hear the tenets which they hold as more sacred than any other in this world described in terms of opprobrium and reproach. I learn that the coronation ceremony of His Majesty is to be deferred for nearly a year, and I trust that better counsels will prevail between this and that event, and that we shall have this most reproachful declaration concerning ou religion eliminated from the coronation ceremony of the King of this country.

On these benches we also feel a great disappointment as to the terms of His Majesty's Address to Parliament. I said at the beginning that my complaint was more in regard to what was omitted than for any promise given in that Speech. We have been promised a measure to facilitate the purchase of land in Ireland. I believe it is nearly fourteen years since this process of facilitating the purchase of land in Ireland was first instituted. I think the Ashbourne Act was passed about 1885, and other Acts have been since passed for the purpose of facilitating the transfer of land from the landlords to the tenants in Ireland. But in spite of all the machinery that you have set up for this purpose by Acts passed in this House, you have practically only touched the fringe of the settlement of the land question in Ireland. Out of 600,000 occupying tenants who hold land from landlords in Ireland—although these Land Acts have been fifteen years in operation—barely 50,000 have become owners of their own homesteads, and that has been done under conditions as favourable as any which can be contemplated in the future in any Act or Bill of a voluntary nature to be brought forward by this House. We are told now that the Government are to introduce a Bill of a voluntary nature which will leave things practically as they are, but which will, to some extent, facilitate the operations of the 40th section of the Act of 1896. Perhaps it is an act of supererogation to repeat from these benches that we wish His Majesty's Government to know once and for all that the only possible settlement of this question is to be attained not by tinkering at it with these voluntary measures or by introducing measures to smooth legal difficulties, but by passing a comprehensive and statesmanlike measure for compulsory land purchase for the benefit of the people of Ireland. In a few days this House will be called upon to consider the operation of these Acts by an Amendment to the Address before the House. It is very little short of a farce upon the carrying out of the law when we remember the way in which the head Land Commission and the Sub-Commission conduct the business of the country in Ireland. The head Land Commission consists of such refined gentlemen that they cannot condescend to visit towns like Longford where most of the business of the Commission lies, and they insist upon the unfortunate litigants, who have little money to spend, bringing up their witnesses and solicitors to Dublin for the purpose of having their cases tried. They shall hear more of this question in the immediate future.

My principal object in standing up this evening is to express the feeling of disappointment which I feel at the inaction of the Government in regard to what may be called the social ills of Ireland. It is true that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland has been touring extensively in the west of Ireland, and I do hope that some good will come from the enlightenment which this travelling will confer upon him. I do think that the Government can do everything that is needful for the condition of Ireland, but they are sadly lacking in seizing the golden opportunity of once and for all settling the great and complex question of the land in Ireland. Neither landlord nor tenant is satisfied with the present state of things, and to no person in that country has the present tribunal given satisfaction. We in this House are called upon from time to time to vote large sums of money for the expenses of this Commission. We are called upon to find indirectly expenses which are kept up for the purpose of carrying on the work of this Commission. I must say that I think to a very large extent the money which has been poured out for that purpose has been wasted, and it is money which, if it had been capitalised and utilised for the direct transference of land instead of being used through these legal channels, would have been much more efficiently applied. There are a great number of gentlemen upon the Commission whose only qualification is that they have served their time in the rent office of some great landlord. It is expecting too much of the tenant farmers of Ireland to expect that they can have confidence in a Commission so constituted, or to expect that the training which these gentlemen have received could otherwise than bias them in the interest of the landlords whom they formerly served.

I do not wish to occupy the time of the House at any great length, but before I sit down I desire to associate myself as fully as possible with the remarks of my colleagues sitting on these benches as regards the war in South Africa. I have heard speeches from the opposite side of the House commenting in anything but favourable terms upon the manner in which the war has been conducted. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has, in a mild way, deprecated the manner in which the medical staff, sent out to look after the wounded in this unfortunate war, have done their duty in attending to the sick and wounded. I confess that I have very little sympathy with Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, because what we find is that although they mildly deprecate these errors or mistakes, when it becomes a question of supporting the policy of the war they are invariably found in the Government lobby. This war question with us is one of pounds, shillings, and pence. We who represent the Irish people here have protested, so far as it lies in our power, against this war. From time to time, and on every possible occasion, we have raised our voices in solemn protest and warning against the war, but although our constitutional voice has been so expressed, the solid fact stares us in the face that every pound of extra taxation which you put on this kingdom will have to be borne in its proportion, and in its over proportion, by the already overtaxed people of Ireland. We have been complaining here session after session of your treatment of us in the matter of taxation. We have complained time after time fruitlessly that you are overtaxing us under ordinary conditions to the extent of between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 per annum. When this war started we were told that it was to be over in two or three months, and I recollect that your first Vote was for £10,000,000, which was supposed to be ample for the purpose of concluding the war. Since then what have we seen? Since then the Secretary of State for War and other Ministers have come down here and asked for millions in addition, and at the end of last session you had drawn no less than £63,000,000 to carry on a war which you told this House would not cost more than £10,000,000. What is the state of things with which this country now finds itself face to face? Is it not a fact that there are already preparations going on to bring before this House demands for the enormous sum of £70,000,000 to finish this war, and out of this enormous sum of £113,000,000 Ireland will be called upon to pay her proportion. Notwithstanding that Ireland has protested all along through her constitutional representatives against the war on grounds of humanity and justice, she will nevertheless be called upon and forced to pay to the extent of one-eleventh of that large sum. I say that as we find ourselves circumstanced at present, it is almost a farce to require the attendance of representatives from Ireland at the opening of Parliament, because you ignore our constitutional voice when it is raised, and you compel us to bear more than our just share of the burden which you have imposed upon us against our will. On grounds of humanity we have also opposed this war. I was reading in some of the Irish local papers letters from some of your own officers complaining of house-burning and of driving practically to utter starvation and destitution women and children in South Africa who were unable to resist your soldiery. You have, I think, some reason to find cause for pause in the present course to which you have set yourselves. This is a huge and a mighty Empire. It is your boast that the sun never sets upon it. I daresay that if such things as newspapers were printed in the days of Julius Cæsar and the Roman Emperors, they might have said that the great Roman Empire of their day was a great commercial Empire, and that it was utterly impossible that it could be overturned. But the more wealth accumulated, the more corrupt did its ruling classes become, and the more certain and terrible was the day of retribution which overtook it for the liberation of mankind. I say, as a humble Member of Parliament, that as this happened to the great Roman Empire, have a care that it does not also take place with the British Empire.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): I should like to support what has fallen from my hon. friend behind me in regard to one point. It is one satisfactory feature in connection with the debates in South Africa that no one seems to have got a good word for the Government. Whether they approve of or condemn the war, they are all agreed on this one point: that the Government have made every possible blunder they could make from any and every point of view. In every sort of case with a legitimate grievance to redress, with every demand for the extension of freedom in the Transvaal, the Government have so conducted the controversy as to have ranged against them every friend of freedom throughout the world, outside Great Britain. And when you come to the war itself, though they have the resources of the wealthiest Empire which the world has ever seen to draw upon, they have so directed their operations that their own soldiers have been half-starved, stricken by disease, and have died by thousands from the sheer lack of the simplest appliances. Who could say a good word for a Government responsible for such a terrible position of affairs?

But there is some difficulty for anyone, especially for one who takes the view which I do of the war, in criticising this Government. Whatever we may say is misconstrued. We are said to be encouraging the Boers. [Ministerial cheers.] I observe that that statement is accepted by hon. Members on the other side of the House. But let me ask, has anything been said by any Member on this side of the House which tends to encourage the Boers half as much as some of the things I have heard from Unionist Members, and which I have seen in the Unionist press? I suppose that the same canons of interpretation will be applied to the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Secretary for War as are applied to our speeches. Take, for instance, the pessimistic speech of the Prime Minister. We are told that the Boers read our speeches and conduct their campaigns accordingly; but if so, they also read the speeches of the Prime Minister, who has said to them: "Do not be disheartened; we have only been sixteen months in trying to subdue you, whereas the Confederates in America held out for four years." Therefore, the Boers say, "Let us take heart of grace and go on; we are only just beginning." But the Secretary for War says, "I can go one better. It took the North four years, indeed, to conquer the Confederates, but what about Spain and the Cubans? The Cubans were half-castes, they had nothing like your equipment—you have the best equipped army imaginable—and they did not conduct their campaign half so skilfully as you. Yet with only 30,000 troops they held out for ten years against the Spaniards with 250,000 troops. So do not be discouraged." And what about the Unionist press? If anything appears in the Liberal press favourable to the Boers it is said "What a wild, traitorous press it is!" But take what I have seen in respectable, patriotic journals in London. They have within the past few weeks been pointing out that our troops are war-worn, jaded, and with no fight left in them. Really it is time that high-minded patriots began to work up indignant fury against the violent pro-Boer utterances of the Prime Minister and the Secretary for War. And really I do not know what the Colonial Secretary is about. What has he been doing? He has fulminated against the Stop-the-War party, and yet he has talked about terms of peace and fair and generous treatment. Why, these are the shibboleths of pro-Boerism, as I understand it. *We* dare not refer to these without being told that we are encouraging the Boers. Why should the Colonial Secretary refer to them? He has played many parts in his time. He has joined every party. Is it possible that he is going to crown his career by once more returning to the pro-Boer party, of which he was the most shining and conspicuous ornament? Really this pro-Boerism which is developing on the other side is most lamentable: and it is ime we should eradicate it!

After all, which is the more likely to encourage the Boers, and to afford them an incentive to desperate fighting—the knowledge that there are men who are prepared to plead for their fair and generous treatment, or the knowledge conveyed to them by the Prime

Minister, the Secretary for War, and others, of what they are to expect if they surrender? What is it? "Not a shred of independence." More than that, "we are to be masters" and they are to be servants. [Ministerial cries of "No, no!"] Well, if one man is master, somebody must be servant. More than that, the Estimates provide for a vote by Parliament for placing 15,000 Imperial Yeoman as settlers on Boer farms. Is it likely to induce the Boers to come to terms? But after all we are delighted to see right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on the other side beginning to discuss the possibility of terms—just what we have been urging for many months past. I think the opinion of the country is that whatever the blunder of going to war was, the still greater blunder was not to have offered terms when we captured Pretoria. Then a great opportunity was lost, possibly for ever. But what are the terms which are offered? There is no substantial difference, as I understand, between the two sides of the House as to what should constitute the ultimate terms of settlement. You say, "Give them the fullest measure of autonomy, of the right to govern their own affairs in their own country." The right hon. the Colonial Secretary said, "Yes, that is my view as well; but in the meantime I will set up a Crown colony." Of course, once you beat the Boers, once you capture the last commando, you can dictate your own terms. But the question now is, what can be done to curtail the war, to avert and to stop this terrible bloodshed and waste of treasure meantime. Does anyone believe that the Boers will lay down their arms merely in order to be governed from Downing Street, upon an indefinite promise, with no time fixed, that at some time or other, when the Government for the time being think fit to do so, they will restore self-government to the Boers? What is the guarantee that that promise is to be carried out? Let us have perfect, open plain speaking about the matter. This is altogether a question of trust and confidence; the Boers have to lay down their arms, trusting in the words of the statesman who in this House said there was nothing dishonourable in a man breaking into his neighbour's territory upon the strength of a letter which he or his confederates forged. Nothing dishonourable in that! If there is nothing dishonourable in that there is nothing dishonourable in breaking a pledge given to the Boers. I do not believe that they will trust any statesman who has laid that down as his canon of honour. But there is more than that. We gave this pledge to the Boers before—in 1852, and certainly in 1877. Then we made a solemn promise to the Boers that if their territory was annexed we would restore to them self-government, but we broke that pledge. We asked them to take the same promise again, and to lay down their arms and submit to us. Besides, ignorant as the Boers may be, they probably have heard of other countries where we promised to restore to their inhabitants self-government after a due interregnum. They are not so ignorant not to know that Egypt is in Africa, in the same continent as their own country; and what has happened there? We entered Egypt and occupied that territory on the most solemn assurances given not only to the people of Egypt, but to Europe, that we would restore to it self-government. [AN HON. MEMBER: Mr. Gladstone.] Mr. Gladstone! Who was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry which gave that assurance? The same right hon. Gentleman who is offering the same pledge now, and the same right hon. Gentleman who has since advocated that we should stick to Egypt and break our former pledge. How can you expect the Boers, remembering all that, to trust to a bare pledge? One thing is certain: not the statesman who is responsible for that pledge, nor any other Member of this House will say that the Boers have not some reason to be suspicious and to doubt when we ask them to lay down their arms with the only security that they must trust absolutely to British faith in regard to what may happen in the future.

There is another reason why, at the present moment, it is exceedingly difficult to arrange peace with the Boers. The conduct of the war during the past six or nine months has exasperated them beyond measure. [HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear!" and Ministerial laughter.]

Hon. Members see nothing except what is matter for merriment in the burning of Boer homes and the turning of women and children into the wilderness! As long as that spirit remains I despair of any terms being made with the Boers. Some doubt has been cast on the statements made in regard to the burning of farms. The noble Lord who represents the War Office stated last week that the farm-burning had taken place as a punishment for treachery. There is no one here who is going to criticise that action if treachery is proved against the occupants of these farms. It may or may not be condign punishment; that is a matter which must be dealt with on the spot. At any rate, I am not going to challenge the burning of the houses of men guilty of such treachery; but I do criticise and censure the conduct of men who, for the treachery of others, burn the homes over their heads of people who are perfectly innocent. I am not going to quote anonymous letters. The first quotation I shall make will be from a proclamation by Lord Roberts himself, and if Lord Roberts has been misjudged, he himself has been to blame. We have been told that farms have only been burned in clear cases of treachery proved against the inhabitants. Proclamation No. 20 sets forth—

> "Should any damage be done to any lines of railway or public works"—amongst other things that will happen will be this—"the houses and farms in the vicinity of the place where the damage is done will be destroyed, and the residents"—not those guilty of treachery—"in the neighbourhood dealt with under martial law."

Do hon. Members opposite approve of that? I will say to the credit of the noble Lord who spoke for the War Office that he did not. He has been to the front. He has seen what the horrors of war are, and he does not want to extend them. But I will prove from quotations from perfectly untainted sources that these farm-burning operations have been very extensive. This is what the *Standard* correspondent at Pretoria says, writing in November last—

> "Half of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony is desolated with fire and sword. The farms are tenantless, and few crops will possibly be reaped this season. By the time resistance is finally stamped down—perhaps not by the end of February at the earliest—the farming districts throughout the two States will, in all probability, be laid waste. This will mean famine and ruin to the Boers. They must see this, but they do not appear to care."

Another quotation I will give is from a Birmingham paper, and I need hardly say that this information must be unchallenged by the supporters of the Colonial Secretary—

> "The charred and blackened country [this is a description of the country east of Bloemfontein] devastated by the red ruin of war has not a crumb for man, or blade of grass for cattle."

But let me give the authority of an hon. and gallant Member of this House who has been to the front, and who has fought in fifteen engagements—I mean the hon. and gallant Member for the Welsh constituency of South Glamorgan, and sits on the other side of the House. He says that he thought—

> "the burning of the farms had been a fatal mistake. I believe but for these acts long ago we should have had the Boers surrendering. This burning and destroying is the gravest evil, and now the Boers who would have come in hate us as they never did before."

Then somebody suggested to him that it was done to punish treachery, but what is the answer given by the hon. Member for South Glamorgan? He says he does not object to the burning of farms under those conditions—certainly not. Where any farm is used as a fort it should be destroyed, but not otherwise. It is the burning of homesteads without cause to which he objects. Then he goes on and gives a rather pretty description of one of the houses partially burned. He went into the house, and on the wall saw a portrait of the Princess of Wales and the Queen. The old Boer to whom the house belonged took the portrait down, and said, "I thought she was a good woman; but if these are the things that are done in her name she is not," and he threw the portrait down and trampled on it. What the hon. Member for South Glamorgan describes are cases of farms being burnt, not for treachery, but without cause, simply carrying out Lord Roberts's proclamation. Another item of interest is that Lord Roberts sent a letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the Boer forces. What does he say in that letter? And I should also like to ask why it is that these letters are kept from the House of Commons? Why is information of this character withheld? I can understand information being withheld which by being published might act detrimentally to our troops in South Africa; but this information is in the hands of the Boers, and, therefore, cannot be detrimental to us. This is one of the many pieces of evidence that the House of Commons is treated disdainfully by the present responsible Ministers of the Crown. We had one instance of that to-day, and we had another instance last night. We vote the money, and, with all due deference, that is the only branch which represents the people in this country; and when we vote the money it is only right that we should know what is going to be done with it.

In the letter which Lord Roberts wrote to Commandant Botha, he complains that the railway has been cut—a peculiar complaint when we consider that the commander of the Boer forces is quite within his right to do everything in his power to embarrass the enemy opposed to him in the field. Lord Roberts says it is very wrong, and he is not going to allow it to go on any longer—that he is going to put a stop to it. But how is he going to do that? Not by capturing the men, but by burning every house within a radius of ten miles. [Cries of "No!"] What is the use of hon. Members saying "No," when I am quoting from the letter of Lord Roberts? Within a radius of ten miles all houses are to be destroyed, because a Boer commander comes and blows up a culvert! [Government cheers.] I have read that this war was brutalising our people; I do not want better evidence of that fact than those cheers. I will just quote another letter, and I shall be curious to see whether hon. Members opposite cheer that. It is written by an officer in the Canadian force, Lieutenant Morrison, of Ottawa (who was mentioned in despatches for gallant conduct), of the march of General Smith-Dorrien's force through a part of the Transvaal. Lieutenant Morrison said it was like the old-time forays in the Highlands of Scotland two centuries ago. He says—

> "The country is very like Scotland, and we move from valley to valley, lifting cattle and sheep, burning and looting, and turning out women and children to weep in despair beside the ruin of their once beautiful homesteads. It was the first touch of Kitchener's iron hand, a terrible thing to witness, and I do not know that I want to see another trip of the sort."

Really brave men are revolted by this. Hon. Members do not cheer that—they are disgusted and shocked. But this is not all. He goes on to say how they burnt a track six miles wide right down to the village of Dilston. Not a word of this in despatches. Then, after a description of some of these houses, he comes to the sacking of Dilston, and he tells how it was burnt.

I really do not know why one should read this. It is a horrible account, and makes one ashamed that one's own countrymen could be guilty of such an action. It is war not against men, but against women and children. In that letter he describes fully the destruction of this town. I appeal to the humanity of hon. Members opposite—and I am sure they have it—do they approve of this? I am glad that at last they are silent, for the credit of the House of Commons. But there has been more burning of villages—not of isolated farms, but whole villages. They did not confine their burning to the neighbourhood of the railway, but ravaged the whole of the country. What happened to the town of Bothaville? There was a leading article in *The Times*, of which I can give the date, and which I can quote if necessary. In that article there is a summary of the news of the day, which states that General Hunter marched from Bothaville to the railway, burning the farms on the way. Bothaville, the town, was burnt. The only reason why it was burnt, according to the telegrams, was because it was a storehouse for the Boers. The village of Ventersburg was also burnt for the same reason. In this connection I think the name of General Bruce Hamilton ought to be immortalised. After the burning of that village this general posted up the following proclamation—

> "NOTICE.—The town of Ventersburg has been cleared of supplies, and partly burnt, and the farms in the vicinity destroyed on account of the frequent attacks on the railway in the neighbourhood."

[Ministerial cheers.] Yes, but you cannot take both grounds; you cannot say it was because of the treachery of those who occupied the farms, and also that it was because the railway was cut in the neighbourhood. [Ministerial cries of "Why not?"] I do not want to be drawn from the real point—

> "The Boer women and children who are left behind"

—the supplies having been cleared out—

> "should apply to the Boer commandants for food, who will supply them unless they wish to see them starve. No supplies will be sent from the railway to the town."

This meant that the Boer women and children were to starve, or were to remain there as a bait for the Boer commandoes, that we might capture them.

All that I can say is that this man is a brute, and a disgrace to the uniform he wears. Then there is a telegram that has come from the front, which has passed the censor, and which, therefore, must be correct. It came from Pretoria and said that the systematic gathering in of all Boer families and their stock in the outlying district was proceeding regularly and vigorously. At convenient centres Boer refugees, voluntary and other, were kept and fed. All those who surrendered voluntarily were given full rations. All the families whose husbands were on commando were put on a reduced scale. It would be increased to the full allowance if the husbands surrendered. That is what the telegram said, and hon. Members who cheer that would cheer anything. It means that unless the fathers came in their children would be half-starved. It means that the remnant of the Boer army who are sacrificing everything for their idea of independence are to be tortured by the spectacle of their starving children into betraying their cause.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Will the hon. Gentleman kindly quote his authority for these statements he gives us?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I will, certainly. It is a perfectly fair question. The telegram comes from Reuter's Agency, Pretoria, 15th January, and appears in *The Times* of 18th January.

Mr. Lloyd-George.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Gentleman is trying to establish a charge for which he has not a particle of evidence.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: You challenge me to give my evidence. The whole of my evidence comes from Pretoria in a telegram from Pretoria; and no telegram can come from Pretoria that is objected to by the military censor there. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that a telegram which has the stamp of the military censor upon it is not a particle of evidence? [At this point Mr. CHAMBERLAIN walked out of the House.] [A VOICE: "There he goes!" and cries from the Irish benches of "Come back!"] The author of this is ashamed of his misdeeds.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): He flies the white flag.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I am not at all surprised; but repentance has come rather late in his case, after all this mischief has been done. [Ministerial cries of "Order!"] If I am out of order there is an authority to call me to order, and if I have in any way transgressed I shall be only too willing to withdraw. It is difficult within the bounds of Parliamentary propriety to describe what one thinks about all this infamy which is perpetrated in the name of Great Britain in Africa. That is really what keeps us from coming to terms. We are in a worse situation in South Africa than we were in twelve months ago. Not a third of the men we sent out to South Africa are now in the line of battle. There have been 55,000 casualties, 30,000 men are in hospital, and what do the papers say about the rest? Thoroughly jaded, worn, broken. Those are not my words, but those of correspondents writing from the front to Unionist papers. All the causes of death amongst our men which are classed by the law as the acts of God are increasing in intensity. It will be within the memory of many hon. Members that the right hon. Gentleman in the first war session appealed to the God of Battles. He has got his answer. It is not the one he anticipated, but it is sufficiently terrible in all conscience to make hon. Members pause and reflect whether they dare go on with this business.

*MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): I understood that the hon. Member to whose speech the House has just listened, had intended to move an Amendment to the Address. The text of the Amendment, which had appeared in the papers, was singularly mild and moderate in tone; but mild and moderate as it was, neither the hon. Member nor his political friends had cared to expose it to criticism or to challenge a division upon it, and, indeed, when we compare the moderation of the Amendment with the very bitter speech which the hon. Member has just delivered, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the moderation of the Amendment was the moderation of the hon. Member's political friends and leaders, and that the bitterness of his speech is all his own. It has been suggested to me that it might perhaps have been better, upon the whole, if the hon. Member, instead of making his speech without moving his Amendment, had moved his Amendment without making his speech. I would not complain of any remarks of the hon. Member were I called upon to do so. In my opinion, based upon the experience of the most famous men whose names have adorned the records of the House, no national emergency short, let us say, of the actual invasion of this country itself ought in any way to restrict or prevent the entire freedom of Parliamentary discussion. Moreover, I do not believe that the Boers would attach particular importance to the utterances of the hon. Member. No people in the world received so much verbal sympathy and so little practical support as the Boers. If I were a Boer fighting in the field—and if I were a Boer I hope I should be fighting in the field—I would not allow myself to be taken in by any message of sympathy, not even if it were signed by a hundred hon. Members. The hon. Member dwelt at great length upon the question of farm burning. I do not propose to discuss the ethics of farm burning now; but hon. Members should, I think, cast their eyes back to the fact that no considerations of humanity prevented the German army from throwing its shells into dwelling houses in Paris, and starving the inhabitants of that great city to the extent that they had to live upon rats and like atrocious foods in order to compel the garrison to surrender. I venture to think His Majesty's Government would not have been justified in restricting their commanders in the field from any methods of warfare which are justified by precedents set by European and American generals during the last fifty or sixty years. I do not agree very fully with the charges of treachery on the one side and barbarity on the other. From what I saw of the war—and I sometimes saw something of it—I believe that as compared with other wars, especially those in which a civil population took part, this war in South Africa has been on the whole carried on with unusual humanity and generosity. The hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs has drawn attention to the case of one general officer, and although I deprecate debates upon the characters of individual general officers who are serving the country at this moment, because I know personally General Bruce Hamilton, whom the hon. Member with admirable feeling described as General Brute Hamilton, I feel unable to address the House without offering my humble testimony to the fact that in all His Majesty's Army there are few men with better feeling, more kindness of heart, or with higher courage than General Bruce Hamilton.

There is a point of difference which has been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition upon the question of the policy to be pursued in South Africa after this war has been brought to a conclusion. So far as I have been able to make out the difference between the Government and the Opposition on this question is that whereas His Majesty's Government propose that when hostilities are brought to a conclusion there shall be an interval of civil government before full representative rights are extended to the peoples of these countries, on the other hand the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition believes that these representative institutions will be more quickly obtained if the military government be prolonged as a temporary measure and no interval of civil government be interposed. I hope I am not misinterpreting the right hon. Gentleman in any way. If I am, I trust he will not hesitate to correct me, because I should be very sorry in any way to misstate his views. If that is the situation, I will respectfully ask the House to allow me to examine these alternative propositions. I do not wish myself to lay down the law, or thrust my views upon hon. Members. I have travelled a good deal about South Africa during the last ten months under varying circumstances, and I should like to lay before the House some of the considerations which have been very forcibly borne in upon me during that period.

In the first place I would like to look back to the original cause for which we went to war. We went to war—I mean of course we were gone to war with—in connection with the extension of the franchise. We began negotiations with the Boers in order to extend the franchise to the people of the Transvaal. When I say the people of the Transvaal, I mean the whole people of the Transvaal, and not necessarily those who arrived there first. At that time there were nearly two and a-half times as many British and non-Dutch as there were Boers, but during the few weeks before the outbreak of the war every train was crowded with British subjects who were endeavouring to escape from the approaching conflict, and so it was that the Uitlanders were scattered all over the world. It seems to me that when the war is over we ought not to forget the original object with which we undertook the negotiations which led to the war. If I may lay down anything I would ask the House to establish the principle that they ought not to extend any representative institutions to the people of the Transvaal until such time as the population has regained its ordinary level. What could be more dangerous, ridiculous or futile, than to throw the responsible government of a ruined country on that remnant of the population, that particular section of the population, which is actively hostile to the fundamental institutions of the State? I think there ought to be no doubt and no difference of opinion on the point that between the firing of the last shot and the casting of the first vote there must be an appreciable interval that must be filled by a government of some kind or another.

I invite the House to consider which form of government—civil government or military government—is most likely to be conducive to the restoration or the banished prosperity of the country and most likely to encourage the return of the population now scattered far and wide. I understand that there are hon. Members who are in hopes that representative institutions may directly follow military government, but I think they cannot realise thoroughly how very irksome such military government is. I have the greatest respect for British officers, and when I hear them attacked, as some hon. Members have done in their speeches, it makes me very sorry, and very angry too. Although I regard British officers in the field of war, and in dealing with native races, as the best officers in the world, I do not believe that either their training or their habits of thought qualify them to exercise arbitrary authority over civil populations of European race. I have often myself been very much ashamed to see respectable old Boer farmers—the Boer is a curious combination of the squire and the peasant, and under the rough coat of the farmer there are very often to be found the instincts of the squire—I have been ashamed to see such men ordered about peremptorily by young subaltern officers, as if they were private soldiers. I do not hesitate to say that as long as you have anything like direct military government there will be no revival of trade, no return of the Uitlander population, no influx of immigrants from other parts of the world—nothing but despair and discontent on the part of the Boer population, and growing resentment on the part of our own British settlers. If there was a system of civil government on the other hand, which I think we have an absolute moral right to establish if only from the fact that this country through the Imperial Exchequer will have to provide the money—if you had a civil government under such an administrator as Sir Alfred Milner—[Cries of "Hear, hear," and "Oh"]—it is not for me to eulogise that distinguished administrator, I am sure he enjoys the confidence of the whole of the Conservative party, and there are a great many Members on the other side of the House who do not find it convenient in their own minds to disregard Sir Alfred Milner's deliberate opinion on South African affairs. As soon as it is known that there is in the Transvaal a government under which property and liberty are secure, so soon as it is known that in these countries one can live freely and safely, there would be a rush of immigrants from all parts of the world to develop the country and to profit by the great revival of trade which usually follows war of all kinds. If I may judge by my own experience there are many Members of this House who have received letters from their constituents asking whether it was advisable to go out to South Africa. When this policy of immigration is well advanced we shall again have the great majority of the people of the Transvaal firmly attached and devoted to the Imperial connection, and when you can extend representative institutions to them you will find them reposing securely upon the broad basis of the consent of the governed, while the rights of the minority will be effectively protected and preserved by the tactful and judicious intervention of the Imperial authority. May I say that it was this prospect of a loyal and Anglicised Transvaal turning of the scale in our favour in South Africa, which must have been the original "good hope" from which the Cape has taken its name.

It is not for me to criticise the proposals which come from such a distinguished authority as the Leader of the Opposition, but I find it impossible not to say that in comparing these two alternative plans one with the other I must proclaim my strong preference for the course His Majesty's Government propose to adopt. I pass now from the question of the ultimate settlement of the two late Republics to the immediate necessities of the situation. What ought to be the present policy of the Government? I take it that there is a pretty general consensus of opinion in this House that it ought to be to make it easy and honourable for the Boers to surrender, and painful and perilous for them to continue in the field. Let the Government proceed on both those lines concurrently and at full speed. I sympathise very heartily with my hon. friend the senior Member for Oldham, who, in a speech delivered last year, showed great anxiety that everything should be done to make the Boers understand exactly what terms were offered to them, and I earnestly hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary will leave nothing undone to bring home to those brave and unhappy men who are fighting in the field that whenever they are prepared to recognise that their small independence must be merged in the larger liberties of the British Empire, there will be a full guarantee for the security of their property and religion, an assurance of equal rights, a promise of representative institutions, and last of all, but not least of all, what the British Army would most readily accord to a brave and enduring foe—all the honours of war. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not allow himself to be discouraged by any rebuffs which his envoys may meet with, but will persevere in endeavouring to bring before these people the conditions on which at any moment they may obtain peace and the friendship of Great Britain. Of course, we can only promise, and it rests with the Boers whether they will accept our conditions. They may refuse the generous terms offered them, and stand or fall by their old cry, "Death or independence!" [Nationalist cheers.] I do not see anything to rejoice at in that prospect, because if it be so, the war will enter upon a very sad and gloomy phase. If the Boers remain deaf to the voice of reason, and blind to the hand of friendship, if they refuse all overtures and disdain all terms, then, while we cannot help admiring their determination and endurance, we can only hope that our own race, in the pursuit of what they feel to be a righteous cause, will show determination as strong and endurance as lasting. It is wonderful that hon. Members who form the Irish party should find it in their hearts to speak and act as they do in regard to a war in which so much has been accomplished by the courage, the sacrifices, and, above all, by the military capacity of Irishmen. There is a practical reason, which I trust hon. Members will not think it presumptuous in me to bring to their notice, is that they would be well advised cordially to co-operate with His Majesty's Government in bringing the war to a speedy conclusion, because they must know that no Irish question or agitation can possibly take any hold on the imagination of the people of Great Britain so long as all our thoughts are with the soldiers who are fighting in South Africa.

What are the military measures we ought to take? I have no doubt that other opportunities will be presented to the House to discuss them, but so far as I have been able to understand the whispers I have heard in the air there are, on the whole, considerable signs of possible improvement in the South African situation. There are appearances that the Boers are weakening, and that the desperate and feverish efforts they have made so long cannot be indefinitely sustained. If that be so, now is the time for the Government and the Army to redouble their efforts. It is incumbent on Members like myself, who represent large working class constituencies, to bring home to the Government the fact that the country does not want to count the cost of the war until it is won. I think we all rejoiced to see the announcement in the papers that 30,000 more mounted men were being despatched to South Africa. I cannot help noticing with intense satisfaction that, not content with sending large numbers of men, the Secretary of State for War has found some excellent Indian officers, prominent among whom is Sir Bindon Blood, who will go out to South Africa and bring their knowledge of guerilla warfare on the Indian frontier to bear on the peculiar kind of warfare—I will not call it guerilla warfare—now going on in South Africa. I shall always indulge the hope that, great as these preparations are, they will not be all, and that some fine afternoon the Secretary of State for War will come down to the House with a brand-new scheme, not only for sending all the reinforcements necessary for keeping the Army up to a fixed standard of 250,000 men, in spite of the losses by battle and disease, but also for increasing it by a regular monthly quota of 2,000 or 3,000 men, so that the Boers will be compelled, with ever-diminishing resources, to make head against ever-increasing difficulties, and will not only be exposed to the beating of the waves, but to the force of the rising tide.

Some hon. Members have seen fit, either in this place or elsewhere, to stigmatise this war as a war of greed. I regret that I feel bound to repudiate that pleasant suggestion. If there were persons who rejoiced in this war, and went out with hopes of excitement or the lust of conflict, they have had enough and more than enough to-day. If, as the hon. Member for Northampton has several times suggested, certain capitalists spent money in bringing on this war in the hope that it would increase the value of their mining properties, they know now that they made an uncommonly bad bargain. With the mass of the nation, with the whole people of the country, this war from beginning to end has only been a war of duty. They believe, and they have shown in the most remarkable manner that they believe, that His Majesty's Government and the Colonial Secretary have throughout been actuated by the same high and patriotic motives. They know that no other inspiration could sustain and animate the Regulars and Volunteers, who through all these hard months have had to bear the brunt of the public contention. They may indeed have to regret, as I myself have, the loss of a great many good friends in the war. We cannot help feeling sorry for many of the incidents of the war, but for all that I do not find it possible on reflection to accuse the general policy which led to the war, we have no cause to be ashamed of anything that has passed during the war, nor have we any right to be doleful or lugubrious. I think if any hon. Members are feeling unhappy about the state of affairs in South Africa I would recommend them a receipt from which I myself derived much exhilaration. Let them look to the other great dependencies and colonies of the British Empire and see what the effect of the war has been there! Whatever we may have lost in doubtful friends in Cape Colony we have gained ten times, or perhaps twenty times, over in Canada and Australia, where the people—down to the humblest farmer in the most distant provinces—have by their effective participation in the conflict been able to realise, as they never could realise before, that they belong to the Empire, and that the Empire belongs to them. I cannot sit down without saying how very grateful I am for the kindness and patience with which the House has heard me, and which have been extended to me, I well know, not on my own account, but because of a certain splendid memory which many hon. Members still preserve.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs): I am sure the House is glad to recognise that the hon. Member who has just sat down possesses the same courage which so distinguished Lord Randolph Churchill during his short and brilliant career in this House. I have listened with very great pleasure to the hon. Gentleman. There was much in what he said that I disagreed with, but I think the tone was different from what we sometimes hear with reference to this most deplorable conflict. It has been a deplorable tragedy, for which this country is most bitterly suffering, and unless we can find some honourable means of putting an end to this sanguinary conflict, on terms consistent with the peace and welfare of this country, I am afraid that the sacrifices we have hitherto undergone will prove to be less than those we have still to undergo.

The hon. Gentleman said the Government should do all they can to make it easy for the Boers to surrender on fair and honourable terms. That is the feeling which I myself entertain, but I cannot help regretting that on more than one occasion those of us who have expressed that feeling from these benches received hard language from Gentlemen with whom the hon. Member is associated. There have been two stages in this war. The first stage ended with the capture of Bloemfontein and Pretoria. I believe that if at that time fair and honourable terms, consistent with the declared intention of the Government to maintain the British authority in these dominions, had been offered, the war would have ended almost after the capture of Bloemfontein. The Government made a demand for unconditional surrender, and the farm-burnings and other devastations were not, I believe, intended for the purpose of cruelty, but have been undertaken through a mistaken military policy which I cannot help thinking has tended only to the exasperation of the inhabitants. From that time thousands more lives have been sacrificed, millions of money have been spent, Cape Colony is now largely under martial law, and we appear to be at this moment not so close to the end of the war as we were in June.

The question I wish to put to the House is this, is it not possible even now, by temperate counsels, to do something to abridge this horrible conflict? As the hon Gentleman said, the Boers have every inducement that men can have to make terms of peace, provided those terms are fair and honourable towards themselves. Their country has been largely ruined, and something like 60,000 of their women and children are in British custody. Is it not possible for the Government, without any loss of dignity, to do what the hon. Gentleman himself suggested, to communicate terms to the Boers such as men who are admittedly brave men, and who have carried out the war, as the hon. Gentleman said, in a spirit of generosity as well as of courage, might be entitled to accept after fighting against overwhelming odds? The object of the Government, as I understand it, is to include these two States in the British dominions, to give the best security for permanent peace, and, when that is achieved, to close the war as soon as possible. I imagine from all their speeches that those are the objects the Government have at heart.

Now, Sir, what are the methods—the only methods—which the Government declare they are prepared to adopt? They say that there must be unconditional surrender of the Boer Governments. In addition to that this other point has been mentioned, that there will be safety for the person and property of the Boers in the field. There never was a civilised war that ended by confiscation of property or by putting to death men simply because they were still in the field. The Government have said also that they will maintain the customs and laws of the country.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN,

Birmingham, W.): We have not said that.

SIR ROBERT REID: Lord Kitchener said it.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I daresay the hon. and learned Gentleman is mistaken. Certainly, as far as possible, they will be; but I should not like the Government to be supposed to be committed to maintain the laws of the Transvaal exactly as they were before the war. It would be absurd.

SIR ROBERT REID: I did not mean that. I was referring to the language used, I think, by Lord Kitchener last December—"substantially to maintain the laws and customs of the country." Of course, no one would think of substituting the English common law for he Roman-Dutch law. What is intended, I imagine, is to leave the customs and laws, as much as may be consistently with an alteration of Government, the same as hitherto. Then the Government said that self-government would be extended at some date hereafter, but no date can be even approximately fixed. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary in December last spoke of it as a comparatively early expectation. At the same time the Prime Minister said it might not take place for generations. I ask the House of Commons to consider what these terms really mean to the Boers now in the field. The farms of these men have been ruined, their country is, in parts, almost a desert, and all their stock is gone. In many cases these farms are mortgaged. The interest cannot have been paid in consequence of the war, and there is no prospect of it being paid within the next two or three or four years. If these men lay down their arms, they will find that their mortgagees will be entitled to foreclose upon them, and they can be deprived of their property without having time or opportunity of restoring their own rights, so that, instead of being masters, or farmers, or squires, as the hon. Gentleman opposite called them, they will either have to find some new source of occupation or become labourers so far as white men are labourers in that district. There is another point which especially appeals to men of honour and of spirit. These Boers have fighting in their ranks a certain number of Colonial British subjects, and they have, from the commencement, always made it a point of honour that, if they surrendered, favourable or fair terms should be extended to their comrades in arms. Whatever hon. Gentlemen opposite or I may think of the conduct of those who have been British subjects, and have enjoyed full self-government, joining the enemies of their country, we cannot expect the Boers to take the same view of it.

Are all these consequences necessary for the honour of this country, or is it reasonable to expect, if the Boers have no assurance that they will be saved from consequences of that character, that they will come in and surrender? If you insist upon their becoming British subjects, there is no honour that forbids you saving them from ruin—and ruin it is which stares them in the face, or which they imagine stares them in the face, unless some such assurances are given.

Is it necessary, from the point of view of security, that we should refuse any terms except those the Government have laid down? Suppose, as I think will probably be the case, the commandoes now in the field are, before long, dispersed and driven north. They will then become, unless you can get them to consent to British dominion, turbulent and desperate men—the same kind of men as those who fought in Cuba and Bosnia, and other parts of the world too familiar for me to refer to. You are, at this moment, compiling for them a calendar of heroes and, as they think, of martyrs, and we all know how "martyrdom is the seed of the Church." If you drive these men to desperation by refusing them reasonable and fair terms, our children will feel the consequences, even if we do not feel them ourselves. I say that true honour and true security, so far as that is attainable in present circumstances, lies in giving these men something to hope for and something to live for. I say offer them an amnesty—a free and a full amnesty. Offer them assistance to repair their farms. The cost of two weeks war would go a long way to effect this. Give them an undertaking that you will protect them from the gombeenman. Promise them local self-government. For my part, I do not deny that I should like more, but at all events promise them local self-government. It is asked, Would they accept it; would not such an offer be considered a sign of weakness? I can, of course, give no security that they will accept it; but this I will say, that these arguments were the arguments which lost us the American colonies. But, whether accepted or not, these methods would, at all events, go far to fix the loyalty of our white subjects in Cape Colony of Dutch blood, who are as much entitled to our consideration as our fellow-subjects of English blood. They have been in a difficult position, as everyone must feel, throughout this war. They are men who have ties of kindred all over the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and have the sympathies of race which we all share amongst ourselves. And if His Majesty's Government refuse everything except the bare terms of unconditional surrender—for I do not regard the accessories which I have mentioned as being anything of importance—you will go some way towards alienating the feelings of the Dutch at the Cape who are disposed to be loyal. It is of supreme importance that we should not, if we can help it, encourage the racial feeling that exists already, as we all know, in Cape Colony. We have practically suspended the constitution of Cape Colony as a temporary measure during the war, but if we contrive to alienate permanently the Dutch population in Cape Colony we shall be confronted with a problem which has never yet been faced by this country—namely, how to deal with a self-governing colony under the British Crown in which the majority of the population are ill-disposed towards the British connection. This country has already made enormous sacrifices. We do not know how much this war will cost in money; but to my mind money is the smallest part. We have sacrificed many brave men—many have lost their lives, more have been mutilated and their lives made miserable—and we have sacrificed the friendship of almost all the European Powers. I do not suppose anyone who watches foreign affairs will dispute that.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I dispute it absolutely.

SIR ROBERT REID: If the right hon. Gentleman is referring to the Governments he may be accurate. I am referring to the population, which is bitterly hostile to us in consequence of this unhappy war. We have lost all that; and, though the country is perfectly prepared to make sacrifices for what is necessary, His Majesty's Government have no right to call for sacrifices from this country unless they are prepared to make peace as easy as possible for those who are our enemies in the field. The greatest master of human nature that ever lived left behind him, among many other priceless legacies, this sentence—

> "When lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner."

It is with a profound conviction of that truth that I appeal to the Government, although I fear it is hopeless for anyone sitting on this side of the House to do so, that while they are calling on our countrymen for these renewed sacrifices they should at least do all they can for the purpose of bringing this disastrous and lamentable war to an honourable conclusion, and that they cannot do without offering easy and honourable and fair terms to the enemy, whose gallantry in the field has been attested by more than one Unionist speaker in this House.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not know why the hon. and learned Gentleman should have concluded his very moderate speech to the House by assuming that his appeal would meet with no approval, gain no satisfaction, from this side of the House. The object, as stated by him, is an object which we, equally with him, have in view. We desire to bring this war to an honourable conclusion; we are determined to avoid no steps which will conduce to that result. It is possible we may differ as to the methods; but certainly he does not appeal to deaf ears when he speaks only of the principles on which our policy should be based.

The speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman is the only speech delivered in the course of this debate which has called for any remark from myself. That speech is addressed, no doubt, to the policy of the Government. The hon. Gentleman adjures us to pursue a particular policy with regard to the future settlement after the war. But other speakers have devoted themselves chiefly to other points—points generally of military administration, which my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War will, no doubt, have an opportunity of replying to in the course of this debate. And let me remark, in passing, the strange case of the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs. The hon. Member had on the Paper for some time an Amendment* which raised a most important issue—an issue of policy, not of administration—which suggests that the time has arrived when we should give assurances to those who are now resisting His Majesty's forces that at the cessation of hostilities we will not only grant security of equal rights to all the white inhabitants and protection and justice to the natives—a policy which we have already promised—but that we should establish full local autonomy within the several areas of South Africa. That is the gist of the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs; and the House has listened to a speech of invective from beginning to end of about an hour's duration, in which the hon. Member has never referred to his own Amendment. He has not moved his Amendment; he has devoted himself to prolonged abuse of British officers, British policy, British Ministers; and all this invective against British subjects, and all this praise of the enemies of Great Britain has been cheered enthusiastically by the Opposition. I shall return to this Amendment presently; but meanwhile I must correct an impression that prevails in the mind of the hon. and learned Gentleman, who seems to think that there was a period in the course of this war, when the troops reached Pretoria, when it might have been possible by the offer of terms to put an end to the war. I cannot conceive what effort of the imagination has led him to that belief. It is absolutely contradicted by all the information in our possession. I believe that there is not the slightest foundation for it. At that time, or shortly after that time, it is quite true that there was an interview between Commandant Botha, who represented only a portion of the forces of the Republics, and Sir Redvers Buller; but the hon. and learned Gentleman does not appear to be aware that in the course of that interview Commandant Botha said distinctly that he would not listen to any term of peace which did not grant the full independence of the Republics.

Sir ROBERT REID: I think Sir Redvers Buller thought otherwise.

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* The following is the Amendment placed on the Paper by Mr. Lloyd-George:—"Humbly to represent to Your Majesty that, in the interests of the future peace of South Africa, the time has arrived when it should be made known to all resisting Your Majesty's forces that on the cessation of hostilities Your Majesty will be pleased, subject to the overlordship of the British Crown, to grant the security of equal rights to all the white inhabitants and protection and justice to the Native population, and to establish full local autonomy within the several areas of South Africa."

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: If the hon. and learned Gentleman knows what was in Sir Redvers Buller's mind, he has the advantage of me.

SIR ROBERT REID: I infer it from what he said in his despatch.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I think it is a perfectly unjustifiable inference. I believe that there is not the slightest foundation for the theory that peace could have been had, after the capture of Pretoria, for anything less than the surrender on our part of all the objects of the war.

Then the hon. and learned Gentleman went on to say that this splendid opportunity was lost by the statement of Lord Roberts that we required an unconditional surrender on the part of the Government. I have already explained that that statement of Lord Roberts referred to the demand for independence which, from the moment the war was declared, was a demand which we absolutely refused to consider again. It did not, of course, refer to the condition of individual members of the forces in opposition to us, and that that was quite clear to them is perfectly evident to anyone who will read the account of the interview; but in that interview Sir Redvers Buller stated to Botha that all members of the force would be permitted to retire with their small arms—not their guns—to their farms, and would be unmolested in the pursuit of their ordinary vocations.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: And the officers?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: And the officers, certainly. As I have said, the only points in this debate with which I am qualified to deal are what may be described as questions affecting the political side of the war, and of the settlement which we hope will some day be reached. Let me say that I have nothing to add to what I said on 2nd December in the House. It was endeavoured then to represent what I said as something new; that a new spirit prevailed; and in that way a sort of an attempt was made to represent the Government as vacillating and changing in its policy. There was absolutely no foundation for that. The truth was that what I said on 2nd December was only some amplification and explanation of what I had said in August of the same year. The policy of the Government has never varied. Before the invasion of British territory, we were ready to accept the most moderate concessions. We were ready to accept a franchise which, even under the most favourable circumstances, could not have operated with any effect for a good number of years. We were willing to accept any condition which gave us the hope of improvement in the position of the British subjects whose interests we were defending, provided that we could avoid this war. But the moment invasion took place, and the first shot was fired by the Boers, that moment we declared our policy that not one shred of the independence which the Boers had abused should ever again be conceded to them.

That was the policy stated by the Prime Minister in his answer to the representations which were made to him by the Presidents of the two Republics. That was the policy, is the policy, and will be the policy of His Majesty's Government to the end. Let there be no mistake about that. It is no use arguing with us on the subject of independence. That, as far as we are concerned, is a closed question. Raise it, if you like to raise it, not in speeches, but by Amendments. We are quite ready. We challenged you at the last election. You have never ceased to complain of the challenge. We challenge you in the House of Commons. Bring forward your views. If you believe the annexation we have announced ought to be repudiated; if you think, with the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just spoken, that we ought to restore the independence of these two Republics, in any form, it is for you to say so in a definite Amendment. It is for you to put the issue before the House of Commons and the country, and we are perfectly prepared to meet you. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that we are all united—which I am afraid we are not—assuming we are all agreed that annexation cannot be undone, then the policy of the Government is and has been to establish equality between the two races from the moment of the annexation, so far as our power extends, and protection and justice for the native population, and to grant the fuller liberties involved in our definition of self-government as soon as that can be safely conceded. But I cannot conceal from myself that the Opposition must take a certain amount of responsibility for those of its members, a considerable number, who are in favour of retracing our steps, once more making a Majuba Convention, and restoring these colonies to the Boers. It is a remarkable thing that we have had six speakers in this debate on the South African question, and every speaker has been opposed to annexation. Where are the members of the Opposition in favour of annexation? We heard a great deal about them at the time of the General Election. It was thought to be a most ungenerous thing to say that a vote gained by the Opposition was a vote gained by the Boers. We have had six pro-Boers speaking in this debate, and have not had a single Liberal Imperialist.

SIR ROBERT REID: The right hon. Gentleman has no right to call Gentlemen in this House pro-Boers. We are just as much lovers of our country as he is.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The term pro-Boer——

SIR ROBERT REID: Is a very offensive observation.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, indeed! Directly the hon. and learned Gentleman says the term is offensive I willingly withdraw it. Now, will he give me another one? Will he tell me what word he suggests as describing a Member of the House who thinks the Boers have been right from beginning to end, and who thinks the British Government and, of course, the country, have been wrong, who believes every scandalous libel against the honour of British soldiers and British officers, who repudiates with scorn every accusation against Boer generals or Boer statesmen?

SIR ROBERT REID: The right hon. Gentleman makes charges against Members of this House. When have I made accusations against the honour of British soldiers?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I did not say you.

SIR ROBERT REID: In the heat of his argument will the right hon, Gentleman be good enough to remember that Gentlemen on this side of the House do not like being insulted in general language. If he has any observations to make about my conduct I will listen. If I am wrong I will withdraw. But I will require him to prove them.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: There is no occasion to offer any proof beyond speeches made in this House during the present session and the preceding session. As I have said, the point of difference between the two sides of the House must not be taken as the question of annexation. What is the point of difference? I would wish—I say it most sincerely—it were possible we were unanimous. Who can doubt for a moment that if the House were unanimous in regard to the war, the hands of the Executive—not a party Government, but the Executive—of the nation would be enormously strengthened? A great deal is said about the effect of what goes on in this House on the war and feeling in South Africa. Of course it has an effect. I do not give that as a reason why hon. Gentlemen should repress their sentiments if they feel bound to relieve their consciences by denouncing their own countrymen. That is their responsibility. It is not for me to judge them. But they must always bear in mind what the effect is. They cannot deny that. They cannot deny that the effect of a divided House, and men of reputation and standing in this country holding such language as has been held by the Leader of the Opposition and others, must be encouraging to the Boers in the field. Therefore, I say, I wish most heartily and sincerely that it were possible, even at this stage, to come to a general agreement. But if we cannot do that, the next best thing is to have a definite issue. Then, at all events, if we cannot see the country is unanimous, we can see, perhaps, in what proportion it is divided.

But, Sir, a definite issue is just the thing the Opposition appears at this moment most anxious to avoid. What is the issue, if it is not the question of annexation? Three of the speakers in this debate, one of the Members for Aberdeen, the senior Member for Northampton—[An HON. MEMBER: The junior Member]—Oh, I beg pardon—the junior Member for Northampton, are certainly among those on the other side of the House who are opposed to annexation. The right hon. Member for South Aberdeen told us—he put it forward, I think rather as a counsel of perfection—that his own opinion was in favour of destroying their independence and treating them as protected States. I do not feel called upon to bring that to an issue, for it may fairly be said that it is a personal opinion not held by any large portion of the Opposition. But that is not the case with regard to the curious evanescent Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs. The Leader of the Opposition made a speech on the first night of this debate, and what was the effect of that speech? We were to offer terms to the enemy. And what terms? Immediate concession of self-government. [An HON. MEMBER: "No, no!"] Yes, it was indeed. I will examine it a little more closely. He criticised the Government, he attacked the Government, he insinuated that the Government were not doing everything they could to lay proper terms before the Boer commanders, but unless it is a question of immediately giving self-government there is no question between us. The Boers know perfectly well, they have been told again and again, directly and indirectly, and it has been repeatedly stated in this House, that at the earliest possible moment they will be granted self-government. There is no question between us if that is all the right hon. Gentleman meant. But no, he intended a great deal more, because I remember perfectly well his preaching to the country before the House met that there should be no interval between military administration and self-government. We say there must be an intermediate period when civil government will be established, but not full self-government.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I thought you said

Crown colony government. That is what I object to.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Either the right hon. Gentleman does not know what Crown colony government is or else he is quibbling about words. Will he be satisfied if I call it a civil government, with Ministers and a Governor appointed by His Majesty and a council to advise him? That is civil government, and it has this about it—that the Imperial Government has control in the last resort. That is what we mean. The issue between the two sides was clearly put by the hon. Member for Carnarvon, and that is what sets the Front Bench opposite into fits. That is a clear issue, and that is what they want to avoid. I should have liked to see the scene when the Leader of the Opposition went to the hon. Member for Carnarvon and said, "Oh, for Heaven's sake, do not let the cat out of the bag. Do not put a definite issue; we shall be beaten. Let us talk as much as we like, accuse the Government of anything you like; let us suggest everything, but do not bring matters to the test of a division in the House of Commons." I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to say if I have misrepresented the view of himself and others on the Front Bench opposite. The view is not put in definite form, but it is desirable that it should be put into definite form, otherwise we are liable to misunderstanding. In my opinion, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carnarvon puts into terms in which it could be dealt with by the House everything that the right hon. Gentleman appeared to accept in the course of his speech, not, however, daring to challenge a vote thereon.

Now let us see what this issue means—let us treat it seriously. We are to propose an armistice to the leaders of the Boers, who made war upon us and whom we have defeated. Very well. Having done that, we are to say, immediately on the cessation of hostilities you are to be given self-government on the model of the Australian State. I think the right hon. Gentleman said that, and I say a more inept, more childish, more ridiculous and more impracticable proposal was never made. What does the proposal amount to? After all the sacrifices in this war, we are to place in the hands of the Dutch population of the Transvaal from which the English population has already been expelled the power of stultifying everything we have done, and enable them under a constitution granted by us to frustrate every object for which the war was undertaken. And why is this proposal made to us? If we were willing once more to enter upon this sort of transaction with the Boers, a transaction which failed so lamentably on a previous occasion, we shall not be able to say again, as we said then many of us, as we believed then, that it was a magnanimous policy and that it would be accepted as such. There is no magnanimity in the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. It is a proposal dictated by his fears. What did he tell us? He told us he was aghast at the present military situation and aghast at the consequences that might follow after the conclusion of the war, and it is upon the ground that our position is an impossible one that, after all these sacrifices we are to betray those who have trusted us, to betray the country which has given us its support, to betray the colonies who have come to our assistance—that we are to do all this, and admit that we, this great Empire, must, in view of the dangerous position in which we find ourselves, surrender everything for which we have been fighting. To whom are we to make these proposals? There are five leaders in the field at the present moment. Are we to make them to all of them? And if one agrees and the others disagree, or four agree and one disagrees, what are we to do then?

The right hon. Gentleman accused us the other day—he used some strong language, because, as he said, we had obliterated the regular Government when we annexed these States. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman suggests that we ought to have stopped at Bloemfontein or Pretoria, while the regular Government was reforming. At Pretoria we annexed the Transvaal; from that time there was no regular Government, and could not be. We are only dealing now with the leaders of separate bands in the field, and the terms we have to make are the terms, the conditions, which may be offered to them and to those they lead.

Then there is another point. The right hon. Gentleman, followed by the hon. and learned Gentleman to-night says that we are in face of a position which is almost an impossible position. The right hon. Gentleman said that there must be: that it is inevitable that there should be, a majority of Dutchmen in South Africa. In the first place, I protest against the use of the word. It is not a question of Dutch. That is an attempt to recognise these so-called racial hostilities. It is a question of loyalist and disloyalist; it is a question of loyalist and rebel, and for my part I am very glad to believe that a very large proportion, I believe the majority, of the Dutch may be reckoned among the loyalist population. From those, therefore, we have nothing whatever to fear, and even if it were true that there would be a racial majority of Dutch in South Africa, so long as the majority of the Dutch or a large proportion of the Dutch are loyal to the British Crown we should have no ground whatever for being alarmed. But, after all, I do not believe that there will be a majority, and I am not by any means certain that there was a majority before the war. Returns are so imperfect that it is impossible to speak with absolute certainty. But if the riches of the Transvaal are anything like what has been generally suggested, what has been accepted by the other side whenever we talk about the power of taxing them, if the resources of the country are anything like what is, I believe, universally conceded, then with the development of the country which will follow the conclusion of the war, I believe that the proportion of the subjects of British birth and origin will be very largely in excess of those of any other nationality.

My hon. friend the Member for Oldham, in his very admirable speech, a speech which I am sure that those who were friends and intimates of his father will have welcomed with the utmost satisfaction in the hope that we may see the father repeated in the son—my hon. friend in that speech called attention to a practical matter which appears to have escaped the attention altogether of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition and of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. That is, that at the present time, owing to the action of the Boers, who, if we are to use the language of the Member for Carnarvon, I should have to say with great brutality expelled Englishmen, English women, English children, sent them away in uncovered trucks and submitted them to every insult and outrage—if we are to take no account of them, then the franchise and the control of the country if given to the Boers would be given to a party which by its own misdeeds in this matter misrepresents its former population, two-thirds at least of which were of a different opinion. Surely it is only reasonable to suppose, before we grant full government, that the country must be restored to something like its normal condition, and that its old inhabitants, those who contributed to its prosperity, and on whose energy and enterprise its future depends, should have returned to their homes and should be able to take part in the political future of the country. If that is the issue which the hon. Member for Carnarvon puts down on the Paper, but which he refuses to carry to a vote—if that is the issue between us—all I can say is that we refuse to have anything to do with the policy suggested. We are quite ready to establish the civil government of which I have spoken, we are ready to maintain equality, we are ready to secure justice to all the inhabitants of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, but we are not prepared to put into their hands the whole control of the administration and civil government until we know it will be safe to do so.

It is said that our views have not been communicated to the leaders of the Boers, and that a proclamation which I promised I would endeavour to have circulated has not yet been so distributed. I wish to say that, so far as the leaders are concerned, I am convinced they know perfectly well what terms we are willing to offer. There is no excuse on their part. It is possible that many of their followers, being ignorant people—when they come to us as prisoners we find they have been deceived as to what is going on—do not know the terms we are willing to offer. We have by various means endeavoured to get to the rank and file a knowledge of the terms which are being offered, and we know what the result has been. The emissaries who have been sent—emissaries not sent by us, but permitted by us to go, who volunteered themselves in what they believed to be the interests of their countrymen, to make these representations—these emissaries have been apparently, as far as our information goes, brutally ill-used, tortured before execution, shot as spies after having been flogged. And that action on the part of the Boers finds defenders among those Members of the House who cannot find invective too strong in which to attack British soldiers and British officers. All I can say is that, as far as I am concerned, I have been in constant communication with Sir Alfred Milner, and through him Lord Kitchener, as to the possibility of any additional communication being made to these forces. The present moment would seem to be hardly suitable for such a purpose, but I ask them to keep me informed as to any possible opportunity for further representations.

In view of the hour I cannot attempt to say more. I will only say, in conclusion, that we are not discussing to-night, although several Gentlemen have tried to introduce the point, the original justice of the war. I cannot understand how any person who approaches this matter with an unprejudiced mind can fail to see, in view of all the information which is now in our possession, that this struggle had to come. The real issue behind all the negotiations, behind everything else, was the determination of the Boers to secure supremacy in South Africa; and all their preparations were made for it. That if we had allowed matters to go much further our difficulties would have enormously increased is certainly my conscientious conviction. I am also convinced that, now that we are in the war, in spite of the fact, which we regretfully acknowledge, that the sacrifices which have been called for are greater than we expected, and that the war has lasted longer than anyone anticipated, the country is of the same mind in which it has always been—that it will grudge no sacrifice which is necessary to carry the war to a successful conclusion, and that it will forgive no Government and no party which attempts to stultify the objects with which the war has been undertaken.

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

House adjourned at Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 19*th February,* 1901.

Several Lords took the Oath.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

The King's Answer to the Address of the 25th of January last, was reported as follows :—

> I have received with much gratification your dutiful and affectionate Address.
>
> I am touched and consoled by your sympathy with My grief at the loss of My beloved Mother, the Queen, to whose unfailing devotion to the welfare of Her people throughout Her long and memorable Reign you bear testimony.
>
> I return you My thanks for the expression of your loyal attachment to My person and your confidence in My desire to promote the happiness and liberty of My subjects, and I fervently join in your prayer that Almighty God will guide and strengthen my councils to that end.

Address and Answer to be printed and published.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that he had received a message of sympathy on the death of the late Queen from the Hungarian House of Magnates, as follows :—

My Lord,

Greatly affected by the cruel loss which the English people had to sustain by the lamented death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the Hungarian House of Magnates in its first Session since Her decease, held on the 8th February, has given expression to the sincere grief and profound sympathy of the Hungarian Magnates in this national sorrow, thus paying their tribute to the imperishable memory of the deceased noble Monarch, who during a reign of unparalleled duration was a never-failing paragon of constitutionalism, surrounded by the enthusiastic love of Her subjects, and the veneration of every civilised people.

The House of Magnates conferred upon me the honour of imparting, by your kind mediation, the above feelings to the House of Lords of the United Kingdom.

In discharge of this honourable commission, I have the honour to remain with the highest respect,

My Lord,
Your most obedient Servant,
A. Csáky,
Speaker of the House of Lords.

Budapest, February 8, 1901.

The same was ordered to be entered in the Journals of the House.

NEW BILLS.

LIGHT LOAD LINE BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to supplement the law relating to load lines on merchant ships—was presented by the Lord Muskerry ; read 1^a; to be printed ; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday next. (No. 2.)

LICENSING SESSIONS BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to alter the qualifications of licensing authorities and the time of holding licensing sessions—was presented by the Lord Bishop of Winchester ; read 1^a ; and to be printed. (No. 3.)

INTOXICATING LIQUOR (SALE TO TRAVELLERS) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the law with respect to the sale of intoxicating liquors to travellers—was presented by the Lord Bishop of Winchester ; read 1^a ; and to be printed. (No. 4.)

HABITUAL DRUNKARDS BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the law with respect to drunkenness—was presented by the Lord Bishop of Winchester ; read 1^a ; and to be printed. (No. 5.)

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 2554. Greece (Ionian Islands).

No. 2555. Portugal (Province of Angola).

CHINA, No. 1 (1901).

Correspondence respecting the disturbances in China [in continuation of China, No. 3 (1900)].

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account of the sums received and paid in respect of the wages and effects of deceased seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1900.

INDIA (TRADE).

Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries, 1895–96 to 1899-1900.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Return for the month of October, 1900.

POST OFFICE (PARCEL POST BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NORWAY).

Agreement between the British and Norwegian Post Offices concerning the exchange of parcels by parcel post.

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.

Minutes of Evidence taken before the departmental committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of regulations under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for milk and cream; with appendices and index.

STATISTICS.

Statistical Abstract for the principal and other foreign countries in each year from 1889 to 1898–99 (as far as the particulars can be stated). Twenty-seventh number.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

List of school boards and school attendance committees in England and Wales.

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND), ACT, 1889.

1. Annual statistical reports by the University Courts of (1) the University of Edinburgh and (2) the University of Glasgow; to the Secretary for Scotland, under the provisions of Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, for the year 1899–1900.

2. Abstract of accounts of the University of Edinburgh for the year ended 31st August, 1900, being the annual report of the state of the finances of the University under Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889.

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

Account of receipts and disbursements for the year ended 31st December, 1900.

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

Account of the receipts and disbursements in the year ended 31st December, 1900; also a separate account of the capital to the same date.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

Account for the year ended 31st March, 1900, with report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon.

GREEK LOAN.

Annual Account for 1900.

SARDINIAN LOAN.

Annual Account for 1900.

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN, 1855.

Account for the year 1900.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853-1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCES).

1. Licence granted by Her late Majesty to Minnie Wells, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Minnie Wells to be at large on condition that she enter the St. John the Baptist's Home, Pimlico.

2. Licence granted by Her late Majesty to Annie Coombs, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Annie Coombs to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution.

. Licence granted by His Majesty to Mary Fox, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Mary Fox to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.

Account of the General Lighthouse Fund, showing the Income and Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1900.

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.

Statements of receipts and payments made by the Board of Trade for the year ended 31st March, 1900; together with an account of the receipt and issue of stores.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

Amended rules made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, pursuant to the provisions of the Capital Punishment Amendment Act, 1868, for regulating the execution of capital sentences.

BUILDING SOCIETIES.

Sixth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of the Friendly Societies of the proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Act; with an abstract of the annual account and statements of societies for the year 1900.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 AND 1896.

Order, dated 8th January, 1901, prohibiting the conveyance of animals, etc., to or from any port in Great Britain by the Steamships "King's Lynn," "Burton," and "Peterborough."

NATIONAL DEBT.

I. (Savings Banks and Friendly Societies)—

1. Account of the gross amount of all sums received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of banks for savings and friendly societies in Great Britain and Ireland, from their commencement at 6th August, 1817, to 20th November, 1900, inclusive.
2. Account of the several transactions which have taken place, during the year ended 20th November, 1900, in the investment of all moneys which came into the hands of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt for savings banks and friendly societies.
3. Account showing the aggregate amount of the liabilities of the Government to the trustees of savings banks and friendly societies respectively on 20th November, 1900, etc.

II. (Military Savings Banks).—Account of gross amount of all moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of "The Fund for Military Savings Banks," from 19th September, 1845, to 5th January, 1901:

SUPERANNUATION (TREASURY MINUTES).

(1) Dated 17th January, 1901, declaring that Charles Street, labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office; (2) dated 5th February, 1901, declaring that John William Gill, messenger, Wakefield Post Office Department—were appointed without civil service certificates through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their respective departments.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Annual Accounts of Exchequer Biils and other Government securities purchased for the year ended, 5th January, 1901.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Additional and amending general orders for the regulation of proceedings under and in pursuance of the Act.

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.

Order in Council of the 13th December, 1900, amending an Order in Council of the 26th February, 1897, relating to the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth.

COUNTY COURTS ACT, 1888.

Order of the Lord Chancellor, dated 29th January, 1901, under section 45 of the Act, ordering that Francis Bramston McCrea, Registrar of the County Court of Devonshire, held at Plymouth and East Stonehouse, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of the said Mr. Francis Bramston McCrea.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.

I. Statutes made by the Governing Bodies of—

1. Brasenose College, Oxford, on 20th June, 1900, altering

Statutes III., V., XIII., and XVI. of the College Statutes;

2. New College, Oxford, on the 10th October, 1900, and sealed on 23rd October, 1900, altering Statute III. of the College Statutes.

II. Statute made by the Governing Body of the University of Cambridge on 13th October, 1900, altering Statute B. of the University Statutes.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 6.)

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

1. University Court Ordinance No. III. (St. Andrews, No. 1). Foundation of Bute Chair of Anatomy in the University of St. Andrews.

2. University Court Ordinance No. IV. (St. Andrews No. 2). Foundation of the Chandos Chair of Physiology in the University of St. Andrews.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 7.)

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

Return of the number of aliens that arrived from the continent at ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1901: Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Earl of Dudley.*)

Return (in part) respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to order of the day), and to be printed. (No. 8.)

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Ordered that all petitions deposited at the Office of the Secretary for Scotland, pursuant to General Order 77, in favour of or against any proposed Provisional Order, the provisions of which are subsequently proceeded with as a Bill in this House under section 2 (4) of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, shall, on transmission from the Office of the Secretary for Scotland, be received as if duly deposited in favour of or against such Bill.—(*The Chairman of Committees.*)

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before five of the clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 19th February, 1901.

PRIVATE BILLS.

The CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS reported, That, in accordance with Standing Order 79, he had conferred with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Private Bills should be first considered, and they had determined that the Bills contained in the following List should originate in the House of Lords, viz.:—

1. Aire and Calder Navigation.
2. Albion Steam Coal Company.
3. Alfreton Gas.
4. Arlesey Gas.
5. Aspatria, Silloth, and District Water.
6. Barrow-in-Furness Corporation.
7. Bath Gas Light and Coke.
8. Belfast Harbour.
9. Bethlem Hospital.
10. Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment).
11. Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Extension of Time, etc.).
12. Birmingham (City) Tramways.
13. Bolton Corporation.
14. Bournemouth Corporation.
15. Bridewell Hospital.
16. Bristol, Clifton, and West of England Zoological Society.
17. Bristol Corporation Cemetery.
18. Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.).
19. Broadstairs and St. Peter's Water and Improvement.
20. Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway.
21. Cardiff Railway.
22. Central London Railway.
23. Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 1).
24. Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 2).
25. Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and District Electric Railway.
26. Chester Corporation Tramways.
27. Chesterfield Improvement.
28. Chester Gas.
29. Christ's Hospital (London).
30. City and Brixton Railway.

31. City and North East Suburban Electric Railway.
32. City and South London Railway.
33. Cork, Blackrock, and Passage Railway.
34. Cowes Ferry.
35. Doncaster Tithe Trust.
36. Dover Corporation.
37. Dover Harbour.
38. Dover Gas.
39. Easton and Church Hope Railway.
40. Elland Gas.
41. Faversham Water.
42. Finchley and Hendon Tramways.
43. Folkestone Corporation.
44. Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway.
45. Great Southern and Western Railway.
46. Handsworth Urban District Council.
47. Harpenden District Gas.
48. Harrogate Corporation.
49. Harrogate Water.
50. Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants).
51. Heywood and Middleton Water Board.
52. Islington and Euston Railway.
53. King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways.
54. King's Road Railway.
55. Leeds Churches.
56. Leeds Corporation (General Powers).
57. Leeds Corporation Water.
58. Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway.
59. Llanelly Harbour.
60. London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.
61. London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen.
62. Lowestoft Corporation.
63. Lynton and Barnstaple Railway.
64. Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway.
65. Manchester Corporation.
66. Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements.
67. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.
68. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.).
69. Milford Docks.
70. Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas.
71. Newport (Isle of Wight) Gas.
72. New Swindon Gas.
73. Nitrate Railways Company.
74. North East London Railway.
75. Nottingham Corporation.
76. Oakham Water.
77. Omagh Gas.
78. Otley Gas.
79. Piccadilly and City Railway.
80. Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway.
81. Poulton-le-Fylde Gas.
82. Prestatyn Water.
83. Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water.
84. Ripon Corporation.
85. Royal Exchange Assurance.
86. Rugby Water and Improvement.
87. St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
88. Salford Corporation.
89. Sheffield Corporation.
90. Sheffield District Railway.
91. Shields Bridge.
92. Shrewsbury Gas.
93. Smethwick Corporation.
94. South Eastern, London, and Chatham, and Dover Railways.
95. South Essex Water.
96. South Lancashire Tramways.
97. Southport Water (Transfer).
98. South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway.
99. Stockport Corporation Water.
100. Stratton and Bude Gas.
101. Stratton and Bude Improvement.
102. Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water).
103. Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.
104. Warkworth Harbour.
105. Watford and District Tramways.
106. West and South London Junction Railway.
107. Weston-super-Mare Gas.
108. Wigan Corporation Tramways, etc.
109. Wisbech Water.
110. Worcester Tramways.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that he had received the following Communications expressing the condolence of the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies with the

British Nation in the loss it had sustained by the death of Her late Majesty :—

London, February 15th, 1900.

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose a resolution from the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies expressing their profound sympathy with the people of Great Britain in the loss they had suffered by the death of the late Queen Victoria.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
SOVERAL.

The Speaker of the House
of Commons.

Chamber of Deputies.

Copy of the records of the Session January 23, 1901, containing the vote of profound condolence on the death of H.M. Queen Victoria of England, Empress of India.

The President stated that it was his sad duty to communicate to the Chamber the decease of H.M. Queen Victoria of England and said that this event, which brought mourning and sorrow not only to the Royal Family of England, but to the whole English Nation, had also afflicted the Royal Family of Portugal, and particularly their August Sovereign, the King, Dom Carlos ; the Portuguese people too were shocked and felt, as their own, the sorrow and grief of our ancient and faithful ally ; he said that he believed himself to be interpreting the sentiments of the whole Chamber, which was the legitimate representative of the country, when he proposed that in the records of the session should be inscribed a vote of profound condolence on this unhappy event, and that the proper communication should be made to the English Government and the House of Commons.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government, said that he associated himself with the proposal of the President, and in deeply sympathetic terms eulogised the virtues and high qualities of mind and character which distinguished the illustrious Queen of England, Empress of India, whose glorious reign had seen the realisation of all the dreams of greatness and prosperity of Her beloved people ; he extolled the qualities which adorn the Sovereign who is about to preside over the destinies of England, and concluded by saying that the funeral ceremonies which were to be celebrated in the United Kingdom were something more than a commemoration, they were the apotheosis of Her who was the glory of Her Country and an honour to humanity.

Senhor Joas Franco Castello Branco, in the name of the parliamentary majority, said that he associated himself with the proposed manifestation, not only as a mark of condolence which was due, in such circumstances, to friendly nations, but as a confirmation of the sentiments of respectful sympathy and well deserved admiration for the virtues of the illustrious Queen whom England had just lost, and who was a perfect model for Constitutional Sovereigns aud Chiefs of modern liberal States ; and after declaring that Portugal owed to England an assurance that she would ever be at her side to share her joys and her sorrows, he concluded by laying on the Table the following motion :—

"I propose that the Chamber, in testimony of its regret and deference, do suspend its sittings until after the funeral."

(Signed) JOAS FRANCO.

Senhor Francisco Beirao, on behalf of the progressive minority, said that he associated himself with the manifestations which had been proposed, and after dwelling upon the excellences of character of the illustrious Departed and the services which She had rendered to civilisation, concluding by moving that the proposal of the President and that of the illustrious leader of the majority should be approved by acclamation.

The resolution was passed.

True copy. Directorate General of the Office of the Chamber of Deputies. January 26, 1901. The Councillor, Director and Secretary General.

(Signed) JOAQUIM P. DI ABRANCHE.

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.

Mr. SPEAKER further informed the House that he had received from the Judges appointed to try the several Election Petitions the following Certificate and Report relating to the Election for the Borough of Maidstone :—

MAIDSTONE ELECTION PETITION.

The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Acts, 1854-1895.

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

We, Sir William Rann Kennedy, Knight, and Sir Arthur Moseley Channell, Knight, Judges of the High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges on the Rota for the time being for the trial of Election Petitions in England and Wales, do hereby certify in pursuance of the said Acts that upon the eleventh to the fourteenth days of February of this year we duly held a Court at the Sessions House, Maidstone, for the trial of, and did try, the Election Petition for the Borough of Maidstone, between Fiennes Stanley Wykeham Cornwallis, Petitioner, and John Barker, Respondent.

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, we report that at the conclusion of the said trial we determined that the said John Barker, being the Member whose Election and Return were complained of in the Petition, was not duly elected, and that the Election was void on the ground of bribery by his Agents ; and we do hereby certify in writing such our determination to you.

And whereas the charges were made in the said Petition of corrupt and illegal practices having been committed at the said Election, we, in further pursuance of the said Acts, report as follows :—

(1) That no corrupt or illegal practice was proved to have been committed by or with the

knowledge and consent of the said John Barker.

(2) That the persons whose names are set out in the Schedule hereto were proved to have been guilty of the corrupt practice of bribery.

(3) That although it was proved that corrupt practices were committed at the said Election it was not proved, nor have we reason to believe that corrupt or illegal practices extensively prevailed at the said Election.

(4) That the said John Barker was guilty by his agents of the corrupt practice of bribery.

(5) That we have given certificates of indemnity to all the persons whose names are set out in the Schedule hereto except Levi Barker, Alfred Henry Russell, and Henry Ward.

A copy of the evidence and of our judgment taken by the deputies of the shorthand writer of the House of Commons accompanies this our certificate.

Dated this 18th day of February, 1901.

WILLIAM RANN KENNEDY.
A. M. CHANNELL.

Schedule.

Persons Bribed.

John Costello.
Frederick Perrin.
George Hoad.
Thomas Bray.
James Jury.
William Rivers.
Thomas Ring.
William Stevens.
Thomas Beadle.
Henry Ward.
Joseph George Rogers.
Albert George Honey.
Arthur Logan.
Arthur Henry Pinhorn.
Alfred Atkins.
Edward Woollett.
Henry Jenner.
Alfred Henry Russell.
Lionel Ireland.
William Muggridge.
Henry Luck.
Thomas Henry Underhill.
Eli Harman.
Harry Harman.
George Mace.

W. R. K.
A. M. C.

Persons Guilty of Bribing.

William Thomas Overhill.
Albert William Airton.
Thomas Hewitt.
Frederick Martin.
Walter Thomas Beale.
Arthur Wiffens.
Albert Turner.
William John Turner.
Levi Barker.
Albert King.
Ernest William Parks.

W. R. K.
A. M. C.

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Petition from Low Moor, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Killamarsh; Worcester; Clayton; Liverpool; Heckmondwike; Longton; Loughborough; and Ecclesfield; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS).

Petition from Epsom, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW MEDICAL OFFICERS (SCOTLAND).

Petition from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Blaenavon; Newport Pagnell; Radstock; Newhaven; and Great Crosby; to lie upon the Table.

PURE BEER.

Petition from Berwick on Tweed, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petitions in favour, from Newport Pagnell; and Fenny Stratford; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN.

Petition from Surbiton, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

Petition from Southport, for termination; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE).

Paper [presented 15th February] to be printed. [No. 27.]

Paper [presented 15th February] to be printed. [No. 28.]

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (FOREIGN COUNTRIES).

Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the principal and other Foreign Countries in each year from 1889 to 1898–9 (Twenty-seventh Number) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Copy presented, of Report on the State of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year to 31st August, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 29.]

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

Accounts presented, for the year ended 21st December, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 30.]

EDUCATION (SCHOOL BOARDS, ETC.) (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Copy presented, of List of School Boards and School Attendance Committees in England and Wales, 1st January, 1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Copy presented, of Additional and Amending General Orders for the Regulation of Proceedings under and in pursuance of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 31.]

EAST INDIA (TRADE.)

Copy presented, of Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries for the five years 1895–6 to 1899–1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILLS.

POLICE SUPERANNUATION (SCOTLAND).

Bill to assimilate the Law relating to Police Pensions and Allowances in Scotland to the Law in England, and for other purposes relating thereto, ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk), Sir Lewis M'Iver, Mr. Wylie, Mr. Hozier, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Walter Thorburn, Mr. Dalziel, and Mr. Law.

POLICE SUPERANNUATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To assimilate the Law relating to Police Pensions and Allowances in Scotland to the Law in England, and for other purposes relating thereto," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 2.]

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND).

Bill dealing with Congested Districts in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Flynn, Dr. Ambrose, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Boland, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Roche, Mr. John O'Donnell, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, and Mr. O'Doherty.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (IRELAND) BILL.

"Dealing with Congested Districts in Ireland," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th March, and to be printed. [Bill 3.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN.

Bill to prevent the sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Crombie, Sir William Houldsworth, Mr. Tritton, Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. Asquith, Sir Henry Fowler, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Alfred Thomas, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Charles Douglas.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

"To prevent the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 4.]

BEER.

Bill to amend the Law relating to the manufacture and sale of Beer, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Purvis, Sir Cuthbert Quilter, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Frederick Wilson, Mr. Round, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Griffith-Boscawen, Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Price, Mr. Younger, Mr. Jeffreys, and Mr. Joseph Walton.

BEER BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the manufacture and sale of Beer," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 5.]

MINES (EIGHT HOURS).

Bill to restrict the hours in Mines to Eight Hours per day from bank to bank, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Yoxall, Mr. Pickard, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda) Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Markham, Mr. Keir Hardie, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Caldwell, and Mr. Joseph Walton.

MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

"To restrict the hours in Mines to Eight Hours per day from bank to bank," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th February, and to be printed. [Bill 6.]

COAL MINES (EMPLOYMENT).

Bill to amend the provisions of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, which relate to employment, ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Pickard, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Holland, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Markham, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Bell, Mr. Cremer, and Mr. Joseph Walton.

COAL MINES (EMPLOYMENT) BILL.

"To amend the provisions of The Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, which relate to employment," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 9.]

EDUCATION (YOUNG CHILDREN) (SCHOOL ATTENDANCE) (SCOTLAND).

Bill to regulate the Attendance of Young Children at School in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pirie, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Baird, Mr. Dillon, Sir William Houldsworth, Sir Lewis M'Iver, Sir Robert Reid, Mr. Robson, Captain Sinclair, Mr. Parker Smith, and Mr. Tennant.

EDUCATION (YOUNG CHILDREN) (SCHOOL ATTENDANCE) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To regulate the Attendance of Young Children at School in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 1st May, and to be printed. [Bill 8.]

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

Bill to amend the Law as to Marriages with a Deceased Wife's Sister, ordered to be brought in by Sir William Gurdon, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Hambro, Captain Jessel, Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Melville, Colonel Sadler, Mr. Charles Shaw, Sir Barrington Simeon, and Mr. Price.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

"To amend the Law as to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 7.]

LEGAL PROCEDURE (IRELAND).

Bill to amend the Law relating to Trial by Jury and other legal procedure in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Clancy.

LEGAL PROCEDURE (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Trial by Jury and other legal procedure in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 15th May, and to be printed. [Bill 10.]

LAND TENURE.

Bill to amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Land, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lambert, Mr. Seale-Hayne, Mr. Soares, Mr. Charles Allen, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Fletcher Moulton.

LAND TENURE BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Land," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 11.]

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS, ETC.

Bill to give Compensation for Damage by Fires caused by sparks from railway engines, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hudson, Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Channing, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Price, Major Rasch, and Mr. Strachey.

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS, ETC., BILL.

"To give Compensation for Damage by Fires caused by sparks from railway engines," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 12.]

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, ordered to be brought in by Mr. J. P. Farrell, Mr. Barry, Mr. Murnaghan, Mr. Kendal O'Brien, Mr. Lundon, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Crean, and Mr. O'Shee.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Labourers (Ireland Acts, 1883 to 1896," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 13.]

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION (SCOTLAND).

Bill to enable parish councils in Scotland to grant Superannuation Allowances to Poor Law Officers and servants and to officers and servants of committees of management of poor-houses formed under a combination for poor house purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Maxwell, Sir Lewis M'Iver, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Ure, Mr. Cross, and Mr. Renshaw.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To enable parish councils in Scotland to grant Superannuation Allowances to Poor Law Officers and servants, and to officers and servants of committees of management of poorhouses formed under a combination for poorhouse purposes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th March, and to be printed. [Bill 14.]

LICENCES (IRELAND).

Bill to stop the issue of new Licences unless in exceptional circumstances in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. T. M. Healy, Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Clancy, Sir James Haslett, Mr. Samuel Young, Mr. T. L. Corbett, and Mr. Jordan.

LICENCES (IRELAND) BILL.

"To stop the issue of new Licences unless in exceptional circumstances in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 5th March, and to be printed. [Bill 15.]

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES).

Bill to amend the Out-door Relief Friendly Societies Act, 1894, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wingfield-Digby, Mr. Strachey, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Mark Stewart, Mr. Goulding, Sir Samuel Hoare, Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Yoxall, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Holland, Mr. Rigg, and Mr. Platt-Higgins.

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL.

"To amend the Out-door Relief Friendly Societies Act, 1894," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 15th May, and to be printed. [Bill 16.]

TRAWLERS' CERTIFICATES SUSPENSION.

Bill to enable Courts to suspend the Certificates of Trawlers convicted of Illegal Trawling, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bignold, Mr. Harmsworth, Mr. Weir, Mr. J. Cathcart Wason, Mr. Jordan, and Mr. Leveson-Gower.

TRAWLERS' CERTIFICATES SUSPENSION BILL.

"To enable Courts to suspend the Certificates of Trawlers convicted of Illegal Trawling," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 17.]

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE).

Bill to grant certificates to persons in charge of Steam Engines and Boilers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Bell, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Helder, Colonel Denny, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Paulton, Mr. Joseph Walton, and Mr. Holland.

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE) BILL.

"To grant certificates to persons in charge of Steam Engines and Boilers," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 1st May, and to be printed. [Bill 18.]

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (IRELAND).

Bill to provide for improving and extending the procedure for obtaining parliamentary powers by way of Provisional Orders in matters relating to Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hemphill, Mr. Field, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Caldwell, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Condon, and Colonel Nolan.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (IRELAND) BILL.

"To provide for improving and extending the procedure for obtaining parliamentary powers by way of Provisional Orders in matters relating to Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 1st May, and to be printed. [Bill 19.]

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Bill to provide Pensions for the aged poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Channing, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Burns, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Sir Walter Foster, and Mr. Broadhurst.

OLD AGE PENSIONS BILL.

"To provide Pensions for the aged poor," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 15th May, and to be printed. [Bill 20.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Law relating to Local Government in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Crean, Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. J. P. Farrell, Mr. Daly, Mr. O'Shee, Mr. Nannetti, and Mr. Tully.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Local Government in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 12th June, and to be printed. [Bill 21.]

LAND TENURE (WALES).

Bill to amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Agricultural Land in Wales and Monmouthshire, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Osmond Williams, Mr. Alfred Thomas, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Ellis Griffith, and Mr. Edwards.

LAND TENURE (WALES) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Tenure of Agricultural Land in Wales and Monmouthshire," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 22.]

TENANTS' IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND).

Bill for improving the condition of Tenants in Cities, Towns, and Villages in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Major Jameson, Mr. Field, Captain Donelan, and Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh.

TENANTS' IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

"For improving the condition of Tenants in Cities, Towns, and Villages in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 19th June, and to be printed. [Bill 23.]

CRIMES ACT (IRELAND) REPEAL.

Bill to repeal certain criminal statutes relating to Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Abraham (Cork), Mr. William Redmond, Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Boland, and Mr. O'Shea.

CRIMES ACT (IRELAND) REPEAL BILL.

"To repeal certain criminal statutes relating to Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 26th June, and to be printed. [Bill 24.]

ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL.

Bill to remove certain Disabilities affecting Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tully, Mr. Daly, Mr. Patrick

Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. O'Doherty, and Mr. M'Fadden.

ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL.

"To remove certain Disabilities affecting Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 25.]

SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Thorburn, and Colonel Lucas.

SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 5th June, and to be printed. [Bill 26.]

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE (IRELAND).

Bill to establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Fadden, Mr. Murnaghan, Mr. Daly, Mr. Roche, Mr. Tully, Mr. Barry, Mr. Cullinan, Mr. O'Doherty, and Mr. Boyle.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE (IRELAND) BILL.

"To establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 27.]

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 2).

Bill to provide Pensions for aged deserving poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bull, Mr. Goulding, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Mr. John Hutton, Mr. Remnant, Mr. T. L. Corbett, and Mr. Hay.

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 2) BILL.

"To provide Pensions for aged deserving poor," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 28.]

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (RESIGNATION OF SEATS).

Bill to enable Members of Parliament to resign their seats, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Loder, Sir Francis Powell, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Fison, Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (RESIGNATION OF SEATS) BILL.

"To enable Members of Parliament to resign their seats," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 29.]

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 4).

Bill to provide Pensions for aged deserving poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. J. W. Wilson, Mr. Goulding, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Gray, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Hay, and Mr. T. L. Corbett.

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 4) BILL.

"To provide Pensions for aged deserving poor," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 30.]

JURORS' EXPENSES.

Bill to provide for the payment of the expenses of Jurors attending Assizes and Quarter Sessions, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lloyd Morgan, Mr. Wharton, Mr. John Hutton, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Abel Thomas, and Mr. Edwards.

JURORS' EXPENSES BILL.

"To provide for the payment of the expenses of Jurors attending Assizes and Quarter Sessions," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 31.]

IRISH LIGHTS.

Bill dealing with the Irish Lights Board, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Patrick White, Mr. Field, Mr. Cogan, Captain Donelan, Mr. Nannetti, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, and Mr. Conor O'Kelly.

IRISH LIGHTS BILL.

"Dealing with the Irish Lights Board," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 32.]

CONSTABULARY (IRELAND).

Bill dealing with the Royal Irish Constabulary control, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Condon, Mr. Kendal O'Brien, Mr. P. J. O'Brien, Mr. Cullinan, and Mr. O'Shee.

CONSTABULARY (IRELAND) BILL.

"Dealing with the Royal Irish Constabulary control," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 33.]

VOLUNTEERS (IRELAND).

Bill for the establishment of a Volunteer force in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, Mr. Boland, Mr. Cullinan, Mr. Barry, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Flavin, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Condon, and Mr. John Redmond.

VOLUNTEERS (IRELAND) BILL.

"For the establishment of a Volunteer force in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 34.]

WATER AND LIGHT SUPPLY (IRELAND).

Bill to amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, so far as regards the Supply of Light and Water to Towns in Rural Districts in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Flynn, Mr. M'Fadden, Mr. O'Doherty, and Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh.

WATER AND LIGHT SUPPLY (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, so far as regards the Supply of Light and Water to Towns in Rural Districts in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 35.]

BOROUGH FUNDS ACTS (AMENDMENT).

Bill to amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Sir James Woodhouse, Sir Harry Bullard, and Sir Thomas Roe.

BOROUGH FUNDS ACTS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

"To amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 25th February, and to be printed. [Bill 36.]

ELECTORAL DISABILITIES REMOVAL.

Bill for the removal of certain electoral disabilities, ordered to be brought in by Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Mooney, Mr. Hemphill, Mr. M'Fadden, Mr. Tully, Mr. O'Malley, Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Flynn.

ELECTORAL DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL.

"For the removal of certain electoral disabilities," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 37.]

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT (1899) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend Section 1 of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Horner, Sir Benjamin Stone, Mr. Harry Samuel, Mr. Ernest Gray, Mr. Boulnois, and Mr. Thomas Dewar.

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT (1899) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend Section 1 of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 38.]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend and extend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sydney Buxton, Captain Norton, and Mr. John Burns.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend and extend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 39.]

COAL MINES REGULATION.

Bill to amend the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Bell, Mr. Bolton, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Jacoby, and Mr. Pickard.

COAL MINES REGULATION BILL.

"To amend the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 17th April, and to be printed. [Bill 40.]

SHOPS.

Bill to amend the Law relating to Shops, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Flower, Mr. Lloyd-George, Colonel Hughes, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Melville, Mr. Nannetti, Sir Barrington Simeon, and Mr. Tennant.

SHOPS BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Shops," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 41.]

FRANCHISE AND REMOVAL OF WOMEN'S DISABILITIES.

Bill to establish a single franchise at all elections, and thereby to abolish University representation, and to remove the disabilities of Women, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Logan, and Captain Norton.

FRANCHISE AND REMOVAL OF WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.

"To establish a single franchise at all elections, and thereby to abolish University representation, and to remove the disabilities of Women," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 3rd April, and to be printed. [Bill 42.]

WAGES BOARDS.

Bill to provide for the establishment of Wages Boards, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Mr. M'Kenna, Mr. Tennant, and Mr. Trevelyan.

WAGES BOARDS BILL.

"To provide for the establishment of Wages Boards," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 26th June, and to be printed. [Bill 43.]

RE-AFFORESTING (IRELAND).

Bill to promote the Re-afforesting of Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Nolan, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. Edward Thompson, Mr. Patrick White, Mr. Tully, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, and Mr. Thomas O'Donnell.

RE-AFFORESTING (IRELAND) BILL.

"To promote the Re-afforesting of Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 44.]

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Bill to enable Leaseholders to become Freeholders, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Mr. Kenyon, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir George Fardell, Mr. Cohen, and Mr. Spear.

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

"To enable Leaseholders to become Freeholders," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 24th April, and to be printed. [Bill 45.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Perks, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Compton Rickett, Mr. Firbank, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. John Wilson (Mid-Durham), Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Bell, Mr. Crawfurd Smith, and Mr. Hain.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

"To prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 46.]

PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT (1874) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, ordered to be brought in by Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. Brynmor Jones, and Colonel Sandys.

PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT (1874) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 3rd April, and to be printed. [Bill 47.]

CORONERS' INQUESTS (RAILWAY FATALITIES).

Bill to amend the Law relating to Coroners' Inquests in the case of Fatal Accidents on Railways, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Channing, Mr. Bell, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. Schwann.

CORONERS' INQUESTS (RAILWAY FATALITIES) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Coroners' Inquests in the case of Fatal Accidents on Railways," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th February, and to be printed. [Bill 48.]

JURORS (IRELAND).

Bill to make provision for the payment of Jurors in Ireland, and to amend the Jury Laws, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William M'Killop, Mr. M'Hugh, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Tully, and Mr. O'Dowd.

JURORS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To make provision for the payment of Jurors in Ireland, and to amend the Jury Laws," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 22nd April, and to be printed. [Bill 49.]

CONTEMPT OF COURT.

Bill to define and limit the power of Judges to imprison for Contempt of Court, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. Crean, Mr. Roche, Mr. M'Killop, and Mr. Condon.

CONTEMPT OF COURT BILL.

"To define and limit the power of Judges to imprison for Contempt of Court," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 22nd April, and to be printed. [Bill 50.]

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL.

Bill to relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain Disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary relief, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Strachey, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Courtenay Warner, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Platt-Higgins, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Rigg, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Nussey.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

"To relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain Disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary relief," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 26th February, and to be printed. [Bill 51.]

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICA—RECRUITING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY IN AUSTRALIA.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Premiers of Victoria and

New South Wales have, in reply to telegrams from Sir Alfred Milner, refused to allow recruiting for the South African Constabulary to be carried on in those colonies; and whether Sir Alfred Milner had authority from the Home Government for appealing to Australian Governments to allow such recruiting.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): At the same time may I ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Sir Alfred Milner cabled to the Governor General that he proposed to send an officer to recruit men in Australia and New Zealand, and whether Sir William Lyne has replied that the New South Wales Government objected to this course; and, if so, whether Sir Alfred Milner was acting on his own motion or by instruction from the Colonial Office.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I have no information as to such refusal or as to such an appeal to Australian Governments by Sir A. Milner. I am making inquiries on the subject. This also answers the question addressed to me by the hon. Member for East Northamptonshire.

MR. CHANNING: Are we to understand that the Government did not authorise Sir Alfred Milner to take this step?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not prepared to answer that question, lest an inference be drawn that if such an application had been made we should not have approved it. As soon as I know the facts I shall be prepared to say whether we approve what was done.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW COLONIES.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies how soon it is his intention to issue the proclamation in the English, Dutch, and Taal languages, announcing the intentions of the British Government as to the immediate civil administration of the new South African colonies, and the promise of colonial self-government at the earliest opportunity, as he engaged to do in his speech in debate on 7th December last, and in answer to a question by the Member for Bolton on 11th December.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have felt obliged to defer to the opinion of both Lord Kitchener and Sir Alfred Milner that during the last few weeks the time was not opportune; but I have asked Sir A. Milner to inform me at once as soon as such action is advisable.

SOUTH AFRICAN LANDS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state when the Report of the South African Lands Settlement Commission will be completed and issued to Parliament.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir. The evidence is not yet in my hands.

COST OF THE WAR—THE TRANSVAAL CONTRIBUTION.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any estimate has been made of the amount of the contribution towards the cost of the war in South Africa which will be levied on the diamond mines and the gold mines now in the possession of the British; and whether it is proposed that such contributions shall be levied by way of specific charges or by way of a rateable tax on profits, and, if not, in what other way.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I do not quite understand the allusion to diamond mines in the question. Everything I have said on this subject has related to the Transvaal. But it is not possible at present to make any estimate, or to state the mode in which such a contribution may be obtained, and I fear that the prolongation of the war will delay the date at which I had hoped such a statement might be made.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the right hon. Gentleman anticipate being able to make his statement before he introduces his Budget?

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No, Sir.

ALLEGED ORDERS TO SHOOT BOERS DRESSED IN KHAKI.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): On behalf of the hon. Member for North Aberdeen, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any order, either from Lord Roberts or Lord Kitchener, or any other general qualified to give such an order, has been issued that the Boers dressed in khaki when captured are to be shot; and, if so, if he can state what was the date of such order, what were its terms, and in how many cases has it been acted upon.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): No, Sir. Certainly not.

GUILDFORD CORPORATION—RESERVISTS AS FIREMEN.

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been officially called to the action of the Corporation of Guildford in refusing to permit the employment of Reservists in the borough fire department; and whether any other locality can be selected as a suitable headquarters for the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regimental District in the stead of a town of which the municipal representatives act thus towards the men who have served their country.

MR. BRODRICK: My attention was not called to this matter officially, but privately. I understand that the corporation has since withdrawn the refusal.

SOUTH AFRICAN DESPATCHES—LORD ROBERTS AND "THE CLOSE OF THE WAR."

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Lord Roberts's despatch of 14th August, 1900, had been received in this country by 20th September, 1900, and whether the Government was at that date in possession of any further advices from him, telegraphic or otherwise, dealing with the probability of the war in South Africa being brought to an early close; and, if any such communications exist, will they be printed as a supplement to the despatches already printed and circulated.

MR. BRODRICK: The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. There was no further correspondence up to the date named except a telegram from Lord Roberts stating he had information that Kruger and Botha had come to the conclusion that further resistance was hopeless.

REINFORCEMENTS OF MOUNTED TROOPS.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many mounted troops have been sent to South Africa since 1st January last, and how many of these are to fill up vacancies, and how many are additions to the strength of the Army in South Africa sent at the request of Lord Kitchener.

MR. BRODRICK: The total reinforcements of mounted troops for South Africa sent out since the 1st January amount to 131 officers and 5,530 men, including one officer and 920 men of the South African Constabulary. There are no returns available to show how many of these will fill up casualties or be additions to the strength of the Army in South Africa.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): Are these figures independent of General Baden Powell's police force?

MR. BRODRICK: I have said they included the men sent out for that force.

MR. BARTLEY: Are we to understand that no portion of the 30,000 additional men has yet been sent out?

MR. BRODRICK: About 2,000 have started.

HORSES OVERWEIGHTED—LIGHT-WEIGHT MEN.

SIR H. MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Stafford, Handsworth): I beg to ask the

Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to the weights habitually carried by our horses in South Africa; whether he is aware that the efforts being made to end the war have been much hampered and delayed by the slowness of movement forced on our troops by the weight placed on the horses; and whether, in order to give some portion of our troops the power of moving quickly, the War Office is, while raising the large number of mounted men it is now proposing to send out, making any special effort to discover and secure the services of the lightest men capable of doing the work required of them.

Mr. BRODRICK: My attention has been drawn to the matter referred to by the hon. Member, and much thought has been given to the subject. There is no doubt that our horses have in many cases been overweighted, but other causes, such as shortness of food, and the unsuitability of some of the horses, are also in part responsible for the lack of mobility. As regards the weight of the men, the standard has been materially reduced, and no man is now accepted for cavalry of the line who is over 5 feet 8 inches.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Is there any record of the countries from which the horses which broke down came?

Mr. BRODRICK: I do not think there is a record of each country.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Is it only the Argentine horses that have broken down?

Mr. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): Is it in contemplation to effect any reduction in the weight of the saddle?

Mr. BRODRICK: Only two or three hours ago I was informed by an expert that horses under the heaviest saddles had gone best.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Did that refer to the American saddle?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order! These details should be discussed on Supply.

FARM BURNING.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is yet in a position to inform the House as to the extent of the farm burning in the new South African colonies.

Mr. BRODRICK: No, Sir. The information called for has not yet reached the War Office, but I am informed by Lord Kitchener that some information has been despatched.

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—RATES OF PAY.

Sir JOSEPH LEIGH (Stockport): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Imperial Yeomen who volunteered for a fixed period of twelve months, and who have been in active service at the seat of war for the past twelve months, will now receive the same rate of pay—namely, 5s. per day—that is to be given to the men of the same class who have recently joined the colours.

Mr. THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Imperial Yeomanry now at the front will receive the same amount of pay which is now to be given to those enlisting; and if so, have they been notified of such increase.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): All the Yeomen will receive the higher rates of pay from 1st February, and any who may have completed twelve months service before that date will receive the higher rates from the date on which the twelve months expired. The exact date of the increase was notified to South Africa by telegram on the 6th inst., but the general announcement was made on 21st December last year.

Mr. DILLON: May I ask the noble Lord whether the War Office has considered the desirability of extending to the ordinary soldiers, such as the Dublin Fusiliers and the Gordon Highlanders, who have gone through the whole of the campaign, the same terms of pay as are now to be given to the Imperial Yeomanry?

*MR. SPEAKER: That does not arise out of the question.

MR. DILLON: I will give notice of the question.

MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS—SERGEANT MAJOR GARNER'S SAVINGS.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a Sergeant Major Garner, 13th Battery Royal Field Artillery, who was killed at Farquhar's Farm in October 1899, left a sum of about £200 in the military savings bank; that his widow proved her claim to the money, but has not been able to secure the payment of a single penny of this money; and that all communications with the War Office have proved fruitless; and whether there is any reason for withholding the payment of this sum; and if not, what further lapse of time beyond the eighteen months indicated is likely to take place before the widow receives the money due to her.

LORD STANLEY: A man's regimental savings bank account is kept with his battery or company. No notification of the existence of any account in this man's name has been made by the battery, and only in December, 1900, the widow reported to the War Office that her husband had left an account, said to be over £100. Inquiries were addressed to the battery, but no reply has as yet been received. The remainder of the estate, so far as it is known, has been issued, and the case was, on the 13th November, 1899, notified to the Patriotic Fund Commissioners, who, it is understood, made a grant of 6s. 6d. per week.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: Will the noble Lord answer the latter part of the question?

LORD STANLEY: This matter involves communication with Natal, which, as my hon. and gallant friend knows, is very difficult just now. I will try and get an answer as quickly as possible.

PROVISION FOR PERMANENTLY DISABLED SOLDIERS

*MR. LEVY (Leicestershire, Loughborough): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that soldiers who have been so maimed in the South African campaign as to be rendered incapable of ever again following any remunerative employment, are being only temporarily relieved by the War Department, and in some cases reduced to pauperism; and if he will state on what principle pensions and allowances are granted to officers, non-commissioned officers, and men respectively, who have been permanently disabled while on active service.

LORD STANLEY; No, Sir; I am not aware of the existence of such a state of things. The Chelsea Commissioners award a temporary pension at first, and when the result of the injury continues, they continue the pension; if the results became more serious, the pension might be increased. The principles on which pensions are granted are clearly laid down in the Pay Warrant, the exact amount within certain limits being left to the discretion of the Commissioners in the case of non-commissioned officers and men.

*MR. LEVY: Does the noble Lord consider that a man who is certified by the medical authorities of the War Office as practically blind, mentally dull, and helpless as a result of the war is sufficiently compensated and able to keep his wife and family on a shilling per day?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

OFFICERS' WAR GRATUITIES.

MR. HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that the persons dependent upon the war gratuity due to the estates of officers who have died in the service of their country in South Africa are often in needy circumstances, he will state the cause of the delay which has hitherto occurred in the payment of this gratuity; whether such gratuity is subject to any deduction; and, if so, under what circumstances; and whether he will give immediate in structions to secure the prompt issue of this gratuity in the future ?

Lord STANLEY: On the death of an officer his estate is wound up by a committee of adjustment as required by the Regimental Debts Act. Owing to the conditions of active service in South Africa there is generally considerable delay in sending home the report of the committee. On its receipt immediate steps are taken to issue the estate, but probate has to be obtained except in cases of estates under £100. The gratuity referred to by the hon. Member forms part of the estate and like the rest is available to meet the debts of the deceased. To expedite matters the gratuity has recently been issued to the representatives on their giving a guarantee to meet all preferential charges.

SOLDIERS' WIDOWS AND ORPHANS IN IRISH POORHOUSES.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what inquiries he has made concerning the statement in the House on 11th December, 1900, by the hon. Member for North Louth, to the effect that while Irish soldiers have been amongst the bravest of our regiments, many of their wives and children are in the poorhouse in Ireland; and what have been the results of such inquiries, if any.

Lord STANLEY: As a result of the action taken by the hon. Member for North Louth, some Irish Unions have referred certain cases to the War Office. These are now being carefully inquired into.

MILITARY AID TO THE CIVIL POWER—BILLETING RATES.

Mr. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether, as a result of the consideration given to the matter last year, legislation will be introduced this session to place the cost of catering troops when sent to maintain the peace in disaffected districts upon the local authorities, and to increase the maximum rates allowed by the War Office for billeting.

Lord STANLEY: As regards legislation concerning the incidence of cost of military aid to the civil power, the question should be addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. As regards billeting, the question of revising the rates was very thoroughly considered about a year ago, and it was decided that no grounds existed for disturbing the present rates.

UNDER-AGE ENLISTMENTS.

Mr. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the enlistment some weeks ago of Edward Moore, of Rossville Street, Londonderry, a boy under eighteen years of age, in the Inniskilling Fusiliers; and whether, seeing that enlistment under eighteen years by the recruiting sergeant is contrary to conditions of Enlistment No. 5, issued by the War Office, the authorities will direct the discharge of this boy out of the Army.

Lord STANLEY: All cases of enlistment under age are decided by the General Officer Commanding the district concerned, who will no doubt give the case all proper consideration.

THE PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY FOR WAR.

Captain NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is now able to announce the name of the new Permanent Under Secretary of State for War; and, if not, whether it is his intention to select an experienced military officer who is competent to advise upon the needs of the Army, or to follow the traditions of the office by selecting a civilian.

Mr. BRODRICK: I shall be glad if this question can be deferred for a few days.

ROMAN CATHOLIC ARMY AND NAVY CHAPLAINS.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that His Majesty King Edward the Seventh, the supreme head of the Army and Navy, has sworn or declared that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are "superstitious and idolatrous," the Government intend to discontiune the payment out of public funds to Roman Catholic chaplains for celebrating Mass and performing the other functions of the Roman Catholic religion for the military and naval forces in the service of the King who profess the Roman Catholic faith so described by His Majesty's oath or declaration.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): No, Sir; we do not propose to discontinue the payment.

NAVY — BOILER COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

MR. PENN (Lewisham): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can state when the Report of the Boiler Committee will be laid upon the Table of the House.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): It is not possible at the present stage to give a date for the presentation of the final Report of the Water-tube Boiler Committee. It is, however, the intention of the Committee to present an *ad interim* Report, which has been specially called for, dealing with some of the points referred to it. I have reason to believe that this Report will be presented to the Admiralty in the course of the next few days.

INDIA—CHINA AND THE OPIUM TRADE.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the opinion expressed by this House in 1891 that the opium trade of the Government of India with the Chinese is morally indefensible, and considering the present demand of His Majesty's Government for Chinese reform, the Government have any intention of abandoning this traffic.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I am not aware that this House in 1891 passed any definite decision upon the subject to which the hon. Member's question refers; but I am aware that in 1895 a Royal Commission, after an exhaustive investigation, reported generally in favour of the system under which the growth and export of opium is now regulated in India. His Majesty's Government have no present intention of altering that system.

COOPER'S HILL COLLEGE.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he will institute an inquiry into the matters in connection with the recent dismissal of certain professors from Cooper's Hill College.

LORD G. HAMILTON: I propose to publish the Papers which deal with this subject, and when published they will show that a most careful investigation, to which full consideration was given both by the Board of Visitors and by the Council of India, was made before the proposed educational reforms were sanctioned.

CHINA—PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN LEGATIONS IN PEKING.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the generals of the Allied forces in Peking have decided to erect an extensive fortress in the heart of that city for the protection of the foreign legations; whether His Majesty's Government has approved of this project; and whether there is any precedent in history for such a proceeding.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): The question of the measures to be taken for the protection of the legations is now under discussion by the foreign representatives at Peking, but no decision has yet been come to in the matter by His Majesty's Government. But I may add that we are fully conscious of the expediency of keeping such arrangements within reasonable bounds.

THE BUDGET.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can give any indication of the time when he will introduce the Budget.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: No, Sir.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman say if he will take it before Easter?

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: I cannot say.

Sir JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in anticipation of increased taxation, large quantities of dutiable articles are being taken out of bond; and whether he has considered any means of preventing the revenue of the next financial year being seriously discounted in this manner.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: Considerable quantities of certain dutiable articles are being taken out of bond, and I believe that much of this is due to the reason suggested in the question. I am considering whether it would be at all practicable to check this by making increases of duty retrospective; but probably the best check to gambling of this kind would be that those who have put themselves to considerable trouble and expense in this way should find themselves disappointed in their expectations of increased taxation on the articles taken out of bond, and it is by no means impossible that this may be the case.

Mr. CHANNING: Does the right hon. Gentleman contemplate introducing the Budget at an earlier date in order to achieve this object?

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: I must decline to answer questions as to dates.

REVENUE RETURNS AND EXCHEQUER ISSUES.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the quarterly returns of revenue and issues from the Exchequer which are supplied to the press are not supplied to Members of this House; and whether he can see his way to giving instructions that in future these Returns shall be laid upon the Table and distributed to Members.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: In accordance with an arrangement made by the late Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 100 copies of the Quarterly Account are sent on the evening of the last day of the quarter, when Parliament is sitting, to the Vote Office.

INCORPORATED LAW SOCIETY—DISCIPLINE COMMITTEE—CASE OF B. G. LAKE.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the case of Benjamin Green Lake, solicitor, sentenced to penal servitude for fraud; whether he is aware that this is the same person who was, up to May last, the chairman of the Discipline Committee of the Incorporated Law Society; whether this is the committee which conducts the investigation of cases in which fraud or other misconduct is charged against solicitors in order to ascertain whether there are grounds for striking them off the rolls; whether he still adheres to the statement of May last that having personally inquired into the allegations made against the Incorporated Law Society, he was satisfied with the explanations given; and whether he proposes to continue the payment out of public moneys of £2,500 a year to the Incorporated Law Society towards defraying the expenses of their investigations into alleged frauds or other misconduct by solicitors.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: The committee referred to in the question is a statutory committee of the Incorporated Law Society appointed by the Master of the Rolls, whose duty it is to consider allegations against solicitors of professional misconduct, and report to the Court if a *prima facie* case is made out. They also report to the Public Prosecutor if there is *prima facie* evidence of a criminal offence. The person mentioned retired from the committee in December, 1899. I adhere to my statement of last

May† on the subject. The allegations into which I inquired related to certain specified cases, and had been made in the public press. I do not see why the Vote should be withdrawn because one person who held a high position in the society has been convicted of crime. I fear that even the House of Commons has in the past suffered in the same way.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Can the right hon. Gentleman say if this lawyer had anything to do with the promotion of the Limerick, Kerry, and Tralee Railway?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

GIBRALTAR—ACCOMMODATION FOR NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is now in a position to communicate to the House the steps taken by His Majesty's Government and the Governor of Gibraltar to carry out the recommendations of the Inter-departmental Committee, which were made in 1898, with the object of improving the sanitary condition of the town and garrison, and of affording better house accommodation and recreation grounds for the naval and military forces stationed there.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The recommendations of the Committee were very numerous, and are being gradually carried out. I am not in a position to state exactly what stage has been reached in regard to many of the recommendations, but the Governor will be asked to furnish a report on the subject.

MR. STEVENSON: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how soon the Report will be presented to Parliament?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am afraid not.

MR GIBSON BOWLES: Has the drainage been completed?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I would rather not answer now. I hope to have a full report before long.

HARBOUR DUES—TONNAGE MEASUREMENT.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the Wexford County Council at a recent meeting unanimously passed a resolution expressing the opinion that the system of levying dues on the net registered tonnage of steamships is detrimental to the best interests of the harbours of Ireland; and whether the Government is prepared to alter the law so as to enable Harbour Commissioners to levy dues on the gross tonnage.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): Yes, Sir, I am aware of the resolution to which the hon. Member refers, but as at present advised, I do not propose to take steps to alter the present law of tonnage measurement which is international. It is, of course, open to Harbour Commissioners to endeavour to obtain powers to levy dues on the gross tonnage by means of local Acts. Such powers have, I am informed, been already obtained in several places, notably in Scotland.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Did I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say the system now in vogue in this country is international?

*MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Has the circular promised last session been issued?

*MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir, but the negotiations are progressing.

MR. T. M. HEALY: In view of the public anxiety will not the right hon. Gentleman expedite its issue?

*MR. GERALD BALFOUR: It is obviously in the public interest there should be as little friction as possible, and with this object it is desirable to consult the parties interested.

CRUELTY IN CAPTURING SONG-BIRDS AND ALBATROSS.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been drawn to certain cases of cruelty to animals practised in angling for song-birds in Cornwall and for albatross on ocean-going steamers; and what steps he purposes taking in the matter.

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† See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. LXXXIII., page 409.

*MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir. The subject is not one which comes within the purview of the Board of Trade, nor have I any powers in the matter.

TRIENNIAL BOROUGH COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

CAPTAIN JESSEL (St. Pancras, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Local Government Board has as yet come to a decision as to the request forwarded by the City of Westminster and other borough councils, in accordance with the London Government Act, 1899, in favour of triennial elections.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I have received applications from most of the metropolitan borough councils asking for Orders directing that the whole of the councillors shall retire together in every third year. There are technical questions of difficulty in connection with this subject upon which I have determined to take the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown. On receipt of that opinion I shall be prepared to come to a decision with regard to the course to be adopted in the matter.

HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS—OFFICIAL RECOGNITION.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education if he will state how many applications for recognition of schools, or departments of schools, as higher elementary schools have been made to the Board since the date of the Higher Elementary School Minute; how many schools or departments have been recognised under that minute; in how many cases the applications have been declined by the Board; and, during the same period, how many applications for recognition of schools as organised science schools or schools of science and art have been refused by the Board.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (SIR J. GORST, Cambridge University): I am told that some 190 applications have been made to the Board of Education, but many of these are general and vague and not for the recognition of any specific school. The answer to the second paragraph of the question is, two; to the third paragraph, one; to the fourth paragraph, none.

STREET REFUGES IN PICCADILLY.

SIR BARRINGTON SIMEON (Southampton): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether the crossing refuges are to be placed in Piccadilly; and, if so, when will this be done.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (MR. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): The matter is not one which is under my control, but under that of the local authority—the City of Westminster.

SIR BARRINGTON SIMEON: Will the right hon. Gentleman communicate with the local authorities as to the extreme danger arising from the present condition of things?

MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: It is not part of my duty to communicate with the local authority, but I have no doubt that the publicity which the hon. Baronet has given to this matter will secure the object which he has in view.

DOG MUZZLING IN COUNTY CARMARTHEN.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Presdent of the Board of Agriculture whether he has received a copy of a resolution passed at the meeting of the Carmarthenshire County Council, held on the 24th of October last, calling his attention to the fact that the Board of Agriculture had either refused or omitted to make inoculation experiments in order to discover whether the dogs destroyed by order of the Board of Agriculture in the county of Carmarthen, on the ground that they were suffering from rabies, were in fact so suffering; and, if so, whether he will state the reasons for such refusal or omission to make the necessary experiments; and whether he will state the grounds on which the muzzling order now in force in the county of Carmarthen was issued.

MR. AKERS DOUGLAS (for Mr. HANBURY): The resolution to which the hon. Member refers does not appear to have been received in my Department, but it is clear that it was passed on some misunderstanding as to the facts of the case. The Carmarthenshire Muzzling Order was passed because certain experiments conducted by our veterinary officers conclusively confirmed the opinion expressed by the veterinary inspector of the local authority that a dog kept near Llanwrda had developed symptoms of rabies. Eleven other cases of the disease have since occurred in the district to which Muzzling Orders have been applied, in two of which inoculative experiments were also carried out.

IRISH AND SCOTCH REPRESENTATION AND THE DEMISE OF THE CROWN.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General if he can state to the House what effect the demise of the Crown has upon the representation of Irish and Scotch constituencies.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs): The demise of the Crown has no effect on the representation of Irish and Scotch constituencies. The 51st section of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, provides that the Parliament in being at the demise of the Crown shall not be determined or dissolved by such demise, but shall continue so long as it would have continued but for such demise, unless sooner prorogued or dissolved by the Crown. As there is only one Parliament for the United Kingdom, this enactment applies in the case of Members for Scotch and Irish constituencies, as well as in the case of Members for English and Welsh constituencies, and the provision in Section 2, exempting Scotland and Ireland and the election of Members for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from the operation of the Act, can have no application to Section 51, the terms of which show that it applies to the Parliament of the United Kingdom as a whole. There is no such thing as a partial dissolution of Parliament. I may add that the Statute Law Revision Act, 1878, repeals the words in Section 4 and Section 5 of the Statute 6 Anne c. 7 (c. 41 Ruffhead's Edition), which, until the passing of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, restricted the duration of the existing Parliament to six months from the demise of the Crown.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: What would be the effect of the demise of the Crown before Parliament had met?

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: That depends on another statute altogether. I shall be happy to show it to my right hon. friend.

LONDON TELEPHONE SYSTEM.

MR. THOMAS DEWAR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he can state approximately when the Government telephone system will be opened so far as London is concerned.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): No definite statement can be made at present.

URBAN DISTRICT VALUATIONS IN IRELAND.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the system of valuation in urban district councils differs from the English method, he will consider the advisability of introducing a measure to assimilate the law, so as to enable the periodical and general revaluation by local authorities in Ireland.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): If the chief object of the hon. Member is to secure a revaluation of urban districts under the existing system which is now being applied to county boroughs, I will consider the possibility of dealing separately with such districts. But to supersede the existing system would not, I think, be expedient and would meet with great opposition from many quarters in which the Irish system is justly considered superior to that which prevails in England.

Mr. FIELD: Are we to understand it is proposed to assimilate the English to the Irish system, which is superior?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I believe in many quarters in Ireland a general revaluation for the whole country is held to be of the highest importance. There would be great objection to having one which was merely local and piecemeal.

ANNALLY (CO. LONGFORD) ESTATE.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a number of farmers on the eastern portion of the Annally (county Longford) Estate have not yet got their vesting orders, although all the necessary papers were lodged fourteen months and in some cases two years ago; can any explanation of the delay be given; and will he call for a report as to the causes of the delay.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Applications from a number of tenants on this estate for advances to enable them to purchase their holdings were received by the Land Commission on various dates between the 24th July last and the 10th ultimo. It may well be that there was delay in the Land Judge's Court. This under existing circumstances cannot, I fear, be avoided. Of the 124 applications, 36 have been sanctioned, while the remaining cases are either awaiting the completion of the inspection of the tenants' holdings, or replies to necessary queries which have been issued from the office of the Commissioners.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Will the cases be settled before Easter?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I should not like to say without fuller knowledge, but I should imagine there will be no avoidable delay.

IRISH HEAD LAND COMMISSION.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any report has been furnished to him regarding recent sittings of the Head Land Commission for fixing fair rents on appeal; whether he is aware that within the present month twelve tenants have had to go to Dublin to get their appeals heard; and can he explain why it is that, as was always the case, the Land Commission refuses to come to Longford on circuit to hear appeals; and will he call for a report on this subject.

Mr. WYNDHAM: If the hon. Member refers to a list of appeals from Westmeath, which were heard in Dublin on the 30th and 31st January, I am informed that the list contained forty-five appeals, and that there were no appeals in it from Longford, though in some of the cases the holdings were situated near to the borders of Longford. Unless under exceptional circumstances, it has always been the practice to hear appeals from all parts of the county of Westmeath in Dublin; by this arrangement the Land Commissioners are enabled to provide for such appeals being heard at earlier dates. It is not the case that the Land Commissioners have always refused to go to Longford for the hearing of appeals.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Land Commission has not sat in Longford for a period of three years, thereby causing great loss to the tenant litigants?

Mr. WYNDHAM: They may not have sat in Longford, but they have taken cases in Dublin, thereby accelerating the business, which, as the hon. Gentleman knows, is in arrear.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Will the right hon. Gentleman use his influence to get a change in the rules, so that poor country litigants may not be put to the cost of going to Dublin?

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not think it would be wise on my part to interfere with the administration of the Land Commission.

RAILWAYS IN COUNTY MEATH.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any funds or balance of funds voted by Parliament for the construction of railways in Ireland yet remain unexpended; and whether, in view of the importance of giving railway facilities to connect the port of Drogheda with the Midland counties of Ireland, the Government would be prepared to assist in constructing a line of railway between Granard and Oldcastle, the present terminus of the Great Northern Railway in Meath county.

MR. WYNDHAM: At the request of my hon. friend I will answer this question. None of the money provided by Parliament for the construction of railways in Ireland is now available for further railway projects.

CRIME IN COUNTY DONEGAL.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the Judicial Statistics for the past year, whereby it appears that the county of Donegal, and especially the North Donegal division of said county, has had during the past five years the lowest average per 100,000 of the population of indictable offences in Ireland; and whether, seeing that this division of the said county is proclaimed under the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881, although practically in a crimeless condition, steps will be at once taken to have the proclamation revoked.

MR. WYNDHAM: The first part of the question states the fact correctly. It is erroneous, however, to assume that the question of the removal of a proclamation against the keeping of firearms is determined by considerations such as are urged by the hon. Member. The Government do not consider it desirable to revoke the proclamation.

LONDONDERRY AND THE PEACE PROCLAMATION (IRELAND) ACT.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, though the City of Londonderry is proclaimed under the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881, so far as regards the carrying of arms, his attention has been called to the discharge of firearms on the 18th December from the city walls, and of a bomb some months ago into the yard of a house in Wellington Street, in the Roman Catholic quarter of the city, and is he aware that no one was ever made amenable to justice; whether a quantity of explosives of the description used at the Orange celebrations held in Derry City was discovered on the other side of the city walls, which resulted in serious injury to one or two boys of the district; and whether an investigation by the authorities was ever made into the above circumstances; and if so, with what result.

MR. WYNDHAM: There was no discharge of firearms in Derry on the 18th December. On the 11th November a signal rocket, that is to say one of a dangerous character, found under the city wall, exploded and injured a young man. This rocket is believed to have been discharged on the 6th June previously. The occurrences were carefully investigated by the police, but they were unable to make anyone amenable.

MR. O'DOHERTY: Are we to understand that, though the City of Londonderry is proclaimed, the constabulary authorities have no idea of the quantity of arms stored therein?

MR. WYNDHAM: One can hardly call a rocket a firearm.

MR. O'DOHERTY: The right hon. Gentleman did not answer that part of the question which deals with the bomb.

MR. WYNDHAM: I think that the bomb and the signal rocket must be the same. I have heard of no other.

MR. O'DOHERTY: May I ask if the discharge of the bomb in Wellington Street was not inquired into by the magistrate, and was not the discovery of the rocket outside the city walls an altogether different matter ?

MR. WYNDHAM : I have done my best to give information. One of these rockets which were discharged on the 6th June last caused injury to the person, and the rocket found on 11th November, to which I have referred, is believed to have been another of those fired on the 6th June. Both occurrences have been carefully investigated by the police.

MR. O'DOHERTY : Have not Orangemen for carrying firearms been fined only one penny each, while Roman Catholics have been subjected to a much more severe penalty ?

*MR. SPEAKER : Order, order !

As the hon. Member did not at once sit down—

*MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Gentleman is a new Member, and perhaps is not aware that it is his duty to resume his seat when I rise.

LATE LONGFORD PETTY SESSIONS CLERK.

MR. J. P. FARRELL : I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General for Ireland whether he can state the grounds upon which the widow of the late Mr. Moore, clerk of petty sessions in Longford, was refused a sum of about £300 compensation on retirement because he died a few days before the necessary papers completing his resignation could be perfected ; whether the refusal of the petition recently addressed to the Lord Lieutenant on the subject has been in consequence of the attitude of the Treasury ; and whether, as this family have been deprived of a sum to which they were legally entitled, steps will be taken to have the payment made to them of this £300.

MR. WYNDHAM : No application was made by Mr. Moore, before his death, for a pension or gratuity, which could only be granted to him on his retirement from office. There is no power to grant a gratuity to his widow. Her son has succeeded his father in the office of petty sessions clerk. The Treasury are in no way concerned in the matter, and were not communicated with.

TIPPERARY RENT APPEALS.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the cause of the delay in the hearing of a number of cases in the Tipperary Union in which notices to fix judicial rents for the second terms were served more than two years ago ; and whether he will make a representation to the Land Commission on the subject.

MR. WYNDHAM : A list containing a large number of cases from this union was issued on the 22nd ultimo, and the hearing of this list commenced at Cahir on the 6th instant. There are no cases now unlisted from the Tipperary district in which applications are pending for so long a period as that stated in the question.

MR. CULLINAN : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the fact that the delay in dealing with these cases has prevented settlements for the purchase of some of the property ?

MR. WYNDHAM : I am not aware of that. I think the delay regrettable.

MR. FLAVIN : Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of appointing more Land Commissioners ?

*MR. SPEAKER : Order, order !

DUBLIN POST OFFICE—SORTERS' GRIEVANCES.

MR. FIELD : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether memorials have been received from three Dublin sorters, Sweeney, Kelly, and Farrelly, who, on grounds of age, had, been reduced in salary to 18s. per week ; and whether proof could be shown they were aware of intention to reduce ; whether, in December, 1897, they were informed that the London Secretary admitted cause for dissatisfaction, and offering the ordinary salary from their nineteenth birthday; and whether the Postmaster General is now prepared to put into effect the promise made by the Secretary.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Postmaster General has received statements made on behalf of the three officers referred to, and hopes to arrive at a decision in the course of a few days.

DUNGARVAN POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.

MR. SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the decision of the Postmaster General with reference to the improvement of the postal facilities for Dungarvan has yet been arrived at.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The railway company have been asked whether they propose to maintain permanently at the present hours the early morning train from Mallow to Dungarvan and the evening train from Dungarvan to Mallow. If the reply is in the affirmative, instructions will be given for these trains to be used for the Dungarvan mails.

IRISH LIGHTS BOARD.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Irish Lights Board consists of twenty-two self-elected and eight ex-officio members; that the salaries of the officials amount to £5,000 per annum; that the "Princess Alexandra" yacht is used for annual inspection at a yearly cost of £10,000; and that the annual outlay of the Board is about £84,000; and whether the Government intend to bring in a Bill to reform this Board or to dissolve it and appoint a responsible Government department with a competent staff.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The number of members of the Irish Lights Board, as fixed by Act of Parliament, is 22, of which number 5 are ex-officio members, and 17 are co-opted by the Board. The salaries of the officials amount, as stated, to about £5,000 per annum. The annual cost of the "Princess Alexandra" yacht is a little over £6,000. The annual outlay of the Board is, as stated, about £84,000. His Majesty's Government do not, as at present advised, contemplate the introduction of a Bill dealing with the constitution of the Lighthouse Authority.

MR. FIELD: Will the Government support a Bill brought in by a private Member for the purpose of reforming this Board?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir, I can give no such undertaking.

IRISH LIGHTSHIPS—REPAIRS.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Irish Lights Commissioners continue to place contracts for the repairs of lightships under their control with an English shipbuilding company at Appledore, Devon, which does not pay the trade union rate of wages; and whether he will suggest the desirability of placing such contracts with Irish firms.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I am informed by the Commissioners of Irish Lights that the last contract for the repair of a lightship which was placed by them with the shipbuilding company at Appledore, Devon, was in the case of the "Gannet," in 1898. As stated by my predecessor in reply to a question from the hon. and gallant Member in February 1899, the company in that case gave an assurance that they were prepared to pay the wages generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district. I am also informed that tenders were advertised for in that case, and the lowest was accepted. As regards the second paragraph of the question, I do not think this is a matter in respect of which the Board of Trade can properly interfere, by suggestion or otherwise.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is it a fact that neither the Government nor the Irish people have any control over these Lights Commissioners?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must give notice of that question.

ESTATE DUTY IN IRELAND.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can state the amount of Estate Duty collected in Ireland since the passing of the Finance Act on devolution of tenancies from year to year, what has been the decision of the Irish Courts as to the legality of such duty, and whether the Government propose to refund any duty held not to have been legally exigible.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: (1) The amount cannot be exactly stated; it is estimated at £37,000. (2) The decision in the case referred to in the question is that what is in Ireland known as "tenant right" comes within the definition of "Agricultural property" in Section 7 (5) of the Finance Act, 1894. The main effect of this decision is that the head rent paid by the tenant, and the expenses of management, are allowable as deductions from the annual value before multiplying such annual value by the number of years purchase agreed upon (but never to exceed 25) to fix the principal value. (3) Orders have been issued that in all cases affected by the decision of the Irish Court, applications for a proper return of Estate Duty are to be entertained.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Have not the Government been ordered to repay something like £35,000?

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: I do not know; it may be so.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Will the Government consider that honesty is the best policy?

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES asked if a return would be granted.

[The answer was inaudible.]

TREASURY GRANTS FOR IRISH HARBOUR CONSTRUCTION.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if until about 1884 it was a custom to devote a separate sum of £8,000 a year solely to the construction of small Irish harbours; if about 1884 the Treasury absorbed this £8,000, granting in lieu thereof a sum of about £220,000 for creating similar harbours; it this £220,000 was drawn exclusively from an Irish and not from an Imperial fund and is long since expended; and if, under the circumstances, he would consider the expediency of reviving the annual £8,000 which was made until about 1884 for the above purpose.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: Down to about 1884 a sum of varying amount was annually voted by Parliament in aid of the construction of minor Fishery Piers and Harbours. In 1883 a sum of a quarter of a million was provided out of the Irish Church Fund under the Sea Fisheries Act for these purposes, and it therefore became unnecessary to apply to Parliament so long as the fund created by that Act lasted. The fund is not yet quite exhausted, but the question of the future policy in regard to such works has not been lost sight of.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in answer to previous questions it has been stated that the fund is exhausted?

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: No, Sir, I am informed that it is not.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Well, we have been told so for the last seven years.

ROYAL OPENINGS OF PARLIAMENT—ACCOMMODATION FOR MEMBERS.

Sir HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will consent to the appointment of a committee to consider the accommodation provided for Members of this House when their attendance in the House of Lords is commanded by the King, and also as to the best means of securing the orderly and safe progress of Members when they obey His Majesty's commands.

The following question also appeared on the Paper:—

Mr. STEVENSON: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the increase in the number of Members of the two Houses, to the inadequacy of the accommodation afforded on such occasions by the House of Lords, and to the necessity for ensuring better order and greater dignity in connection with the proceedings, and in view of the existence of various precedents in accordance with which the opening of Parliament used to take place in a chamber other than those in which the two Houses habitually sat, generally in the Painted Chamber of St. Edward the Confessor, he will consult with other authorities concerned as to the possibility and desirability that in future when Parliament is opened by the Sovereign in person the ceremony shall take place in Westminster Hall, in order that every Member of the Legislature may have an opportunity of hearing the Speech from the Throne.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: As I have already stated to the House, the Government have no control over, and, therefore, are not responsible for, the arrangements which are made when Parliament is opened by the Sovereign in person, but I have it in command from His Majesty to express his approval of the appointment of a Joint Committee of both Houses to consider what accommodation can be provided on such an occasion for Peers and Members of Parliament, and, in particular, whether Westminster Hall could not be utilised.

CAPRICIOUS DISMISSAL OF SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Mr. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government contemplate introducing a Bill during this session dealing with the capricious dismissal of teachers.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The questions which arise in connection with the hon. Member's questions are under the consideration of the Government.

SCOTTISH EDUCATION BILL.

Mr. CROMBIE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the educational measures promised in the King's Speech will include an Education Bill for Scotland.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not prepared to say what action will be taken in pursuance of the announcement until the matter has been further considered in consultation with the Secretary for Scotland.

Mr. BARTLEY: Will it be introduced before Easter?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have told the House already that we have come to no decision on the subject.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S FUNERAL—THE MEMBERS' STAND.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury who was responsible for placing the stand allotted to Members of the Houses of Parliament at the funeral of Her late Majesty at so great a distance from the route of the procession; and whether he will consent to the appointment of a permanent committee of unofficial Members on both sides of the House who would have the right of approving such arrangements as it may be necessary to make when the House of Commons takes part in any State function.

Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS: The route of the funeral of her late Majesty was selected and the general arrangements made by the Earl Marshal, and were not under the control of the Government. For the stand allotted to Members of Parliament I am responsible, and the site selected was the only one available on the line of route which was at the disposal of the Government. It is a matter of regret to me that no better provision could be made. I may add that on the occasion referred to I was at pains to submit what I thought could be done to the authorities of the House for their approval. With regard to the last paragraph of the question, I may observe that the suggestion appears to me hardly a practicable one or suitable for all circumstances and occasions. The erection of stands on these occasions is no part of my official duty, though I am always anxious to meet the general convenience of Members of the House, and to consider any representations that may reach me.

*Mr. ALFRED DAVIES (Carmarthen Boroughs): May I ask how it was there were no covers on this stand?

Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS: Perhaps the hon. Member is not aware of the great difficulties which occurred in getting any accommodation for members. There was extremely short time after the route was settled—I think only four days—and it has always been the practice of this Government and other Governments not to enclose for any privileged class any portion of the ground reserved for the public. There was literally no time to put up a cover, and I doubt whether we should have been justified in putting it up, thereby excluding the view of those behind.

*Mr. ALFRED DAVIES: May I also ask if it would not have been better to have had no place at all than such a stand?

Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Were any steps taken by the right hon. Gentleman or any other person in responsible authority to represent to the Earl Marshal that the position of the stand or the route of the procession was most inconvenient for Members of the House?

Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS: I have said that there was very short time. I had no authority to act for the House, but I acted in the belief that hon. Members would desire the best accommodation they could get, and I placed before the Earl Marshal the desirableness of affording some accommodation for Members. This was literally the only accommodation that could be found.

AGRICULTURAL LAND RATING ACT 1896—TITHE RENT-CHARGE (RATES) ACT, 1899.

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the Agricultural Land Rating Act, 1896, and the Tithe Rent-charge (Rates) Act, 1899, expire next year, it is the intention of the Government to propose their renewal to Parliament during this session, and whether he will generally state the course the Government intend to take in relation to these Acts.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir, it is our intention to propose the renewal of these Acts.

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY: When will the necessary Bill be introduced?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I should like to have notice of that question.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (KING'S SPEECH.)

Ordered, That the Proceedings on the Address in answer to His Majesty's Speech have precedence this day and to-morrow of all other business.—(*Mr. Balfour.*)

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (ASH WEDNESDAY).

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House do meet to-morrow at Two of the clock."—(*Mr. Balfour.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 276; Noes, 153. (Division List No. 3.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Hy. Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch'ch
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bignold, A.
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Carlile, William Walter
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs).
Cavendish, V. C. W (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc.

Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar, T. R. (T'r H'mlets S. Geo.
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dillon, John
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred D.
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn Sir J. (Manc'r
Ffrench, Peter
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Fuller, J. M. F.
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H (City of Lond.
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans- (T'r H'ml'ts
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. Geo. Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W. (Bury St. Ed.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G (Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq of (L'nd'nderry
Hammond, John
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'd
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heath, Jas. (Staffords., N. W.
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T.
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Edw. B. (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hope, J. F. (Sheff'ld, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt. J. (Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. Jas. Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jackson, Rt. Hon. W. Lawies
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Joicey, Sir James
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop)
Kimber, Henry
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Leamy, Edmund
Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. E. H.
Lee, Capt A. H. (Hants, Fareh'm
Leveson-Gower, Fred. N. S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. (Kent)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
Macartney, Rt. Hon. W. G. E.
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
M‘Cann, James
M‘Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
M‘Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M‘Killop, W. (Sligo, N.)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F
Maxwell, W. J. (Dumfriesshire)
Mellor, Rt. Hn. John William
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fred. G.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Mooney, John J.
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A (Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Murray, Rt Hn A Graham (Bute
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlingt'n
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Rentoul, James Alexander
Ridley, Samuel F (Bethnal Gr'n
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Round, James
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H C (North'mb. Tyn's'de
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir M. J. M‘Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Uni.
Thomas, F. Freeman- (Hastings
Thompson, E. C. (Monaghan, N.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E (Tauntn
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John L.
Whitely, H. (Ashton-u.-Lyne)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.

Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, Charles P. (Glouc, Stroud
Asquith, Rt Hon Herbert Hy.
Atherley Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Brigg, John
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carew, James Laurence
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Evans, Samuel T.
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John D. (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Langley, Batty
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Pickard, Benjamin
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfarsh.)
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C R (Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan Charles Philips
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Woodhouse, Sir J T (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Broadhurst and Sir
William Gurdon.

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FOURTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February], “That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

“*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

“We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

*MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): I shall not detain the House long, nor should I have intervened at all at this stage in the debate but for the challenge which was directly addressed last night to the occupants of this bench by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. On the last occasion, in December, when the right hon. Gentleman spoke to the House upon the terms of settlement in South Africa, it was my agreeable duty, in following him, to congratulate him upon the spirit, and to concur to a large extent in the substance, of what he had said. The Amendment which had then been moved by my hon. friend the senior Member for Oldham was, by the general consent of both sides of the House, withdrawn, and it really seemed as if we were within a measurable distance of an eirenicon, not only as between parties in this House, but, what is much more important, as between the combatant forces in South Africa. Nothing, as far as we on this side of the House are concerned, has been said in the course of this debate to detract from or to qualify what then occurred. Criticisms—serious and weighty criticisms—have been passed by my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition and the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean upon certain aspects of the conduct of the war. Anxiety, natural and—as I venture to think—perfectly legitimate anxiety, has been expressed as to how far and by what means the terms of peace announced by the right hon. Gentleman in December have been and are being communicated to the Boers. An Amendment, it is true, was put down on the Paper by my hon. friend the Member for Carnarvon Boroughs; but that Amendment has not been moved. That is one of the main grievances of the Colonial Secretary. I should think that it is the first time, that it is at any rate quite a novel thing for a Minister to complain when there are forty-six Amendments on the Address, that one of them is not to be moved, and that the possible number of divisions is to be reduced to forty-five. It is true that my hon. friend has not moved his Amendment. He confined his speech to an attack on the methods in which the war has been, and is being, conducted in South Africa—an attack in which I may say at once I myself do not in the least concur—and which, as the right hon. Gentleman said, will no doubt be met in due course by the Secretary of State for War. Finally, my hon. and learned friend the Member for the Dumfries Burghs made a grave appeal for the lenient and considerate treatment of those who should surrender—an appeal the extreme moderation of which was acknowledged by the right hon. Gentleman himself, who also said that it would be found not to have fallen on deaf ears.

Such has been the course of this debate; and it is under these conditions that the Secretary of State for the Colonies takes the opportunity to make a speech as unprovoked and as provocative as almost any which I ever remember to have heard in this House. Why, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman, in one part of his remarks, went out of his way to revive—I hope I am not using too strong language—what we had all hoped to be the obsolete Billingsgate of the General Election. He described the six Gentlemen, including my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition, who have addressed the House from this side in the course of the debate, as so many pro-Boers. There was a time, in the heat of the election, when it almost seemed as though the right hon. Gentleman had brought himself honestly to believe that anyone who was presumptuous enough to question the wisdom of his diplomacy, or even the taste of his metaphors, must be in alliance, secret or avowed, with the enemies of his country. But the election fever is over. The majority has been secured, and now sits safely and, I hope, comfortably on those benches. These epithets have served their purpose; and is it not about time that they should be cast into the rhetorical dustbin, which is the only place fit for them? The right hon. Gentleman in almost the same breath complained of the want of unanimity in this House in strengthening the hands of the Executive. This is a very curious way of procuring unanimity. We are sometimes warned as to the effect which speeches made here may produce on the minds of the Boers. I am not sure that the best way to promote an early cessation of the war and to bring about a discontinuance of a hopeless resistance is to suggest, as the right hon. Gentleman more than suggested last night, that, if not the whole, the majority of those who sit on this side of the House are in sympathy, latent or acknowledged, with those who are in the field. However that may be, I think this kind of circumspection should begin at home. Has the right hon. Gentleman reflected what gratuitous obstacles deliverances such as that of his last night interpose in the way of that unanimity which he professes to desire, and of the consequent strengthening of the hands of the Executive for the attainment of that which, I believe, we all, without any distinction of party, agree to be at this moment the cardinal and the capital object of British policy—the securing of an honourable and lasting peace?

But my main object, indeed my sole object, in rising is to remove one or two misconceptions to which the right hon. Gentleman's speech lent countenance, and which, if they were not misconceptions but were founded on fact, would reflect greatly upon our conduct and credit as an Opposition, and I think might even conceivably have the effect of hindering or postponing the termination of the war. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman suggested that we, or some considerable section amongst us, are in favour of undoing the annexation of the two Republics and restoring the political *status quo*. That I believe to be a complete delusion. I am not in the least ashamed to confess for myself that I was a slow and reluctant convert to the necessity of annexation. I am not going into the argument now. It was fought out at the General Election. It is sufficient to say this: that my own view, which I believe to be that of many others, is that to annexation there is not, and there has not been for a long time past, any practicable alternative—practicable, I mean, in a double sense: on the one hand, of guarding against the future recurrence of past dangers, and, on the other hand, of securing equality and freedom for the whole of South Africa. But that is no new statement of policy. So far back as last Whitsuntide my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition at Glasgow, with all the authority that belongs to his position, declared annexation to be inevitable, and stated that, in his opinion—which was also, of course, that of his colleagues—it had to be accepted both by parties in this country and by the Boers and British in South Africa as an indispensable condition of the ultimate settlement. So much for that. But the right hon. Gentleman went on to allege that a number of us here—and he singled out in this particular my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition—had expressed the opinion that the terms to be offered to the Boers should include the immediate concession of self-government in the conquered territories. Well, Sir, speaking again, I believe, not only for myself but for a number of others, and speaking certainly for my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition, I say we have neither entertained nor expressed any such idea. I listened, on the first night of this debate, to my right hon. friend's speech, and certainly he never said or suggested anything of the kind; and I was never more surprised than when I heard the First Lord of the Treasury father upon his words that construction—a construction which was emphatically repudiated a few hours later the same evening by my right hon. friend the Member for South Aberdeen, and I repudiate it now.

What is the situation with which we have to deal in those conquered territories? I am speaking as one who is most anxious that, at the very earliest possible moment, the solemn pledges which the Government and the people of this country have given to the people of South Africa should be completely and effectually fulfilled. You have a community, of which it is no exaggeration to say that both the social and the political fabric have been overturned from top to bottom. You have population in which racial animosities have been heated and envenomed by the war until they have reached a state of the most acute inflammation. You have a territory which has been to a large extent devastated and depopulated. The leaders of the farming class are prisoners of war, and the industrial classes to a large extent are emigrants, Under those conditions I agree entirely with my hon. friend the junior Member for Oldham—whose interesting and eloquent speech last night we must all hope and believe, and especially those of us who, like myself, enjoyed the privilege of friendship with his illustrious father, was the first step in a Parliamentary career of the highest distinction—that to plant, or attempt to plant, the full machinery of constitutional government would be to ignore the fundamental facts of the case. There must be an interval for resettlement and revival, for a renewal of the ordinary functions of social and domestic life, before the work of political and constitutional reconstruction can be properly set on foot. How is that interval to be bridged over ? Here, again, as it seems to me, the right hon. Gentleman magnified and inflated verbal distinctions into differences of principle and policy. I suppose we are all agreed that military government ought to be brought to an end at the very earliest possible moment that it is practicable to do so. I am sure my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition agrees with me there. We are all agreed. It may be, I hope it may not be, but one cannot ignore the possibility, and even the probability, that at the time when it is safe to bring the *régime* of a purely military administration to an end, the conditions are not yet sufficiently matured for starting the new machinery of self-government. If that be so, there must be a period, not of military but of civil administration; and when my right hon. friend protested, as I believe he did protest, in the speech to which I have referred, against introducing into these countries the system of what is called a Crown colony, what I understood him to mean, and what I should certainly mean myself, was that from the earliest moment when you transform the administration from a military into a civil character, you ought, so far as you can, to associate the work of administration and government with some representative element which, although you have not yet got full-fledged representative institutions, still less full-fledged responsible government, will ensure that the Government for the time being is more or less in touch with the feelings and interests and sympathies of the governed. No one proposes, as the right hon. Gentleman seems to think—no one, at any rate, with whom I am acquainted—to purchase peace in this manner at the price of dishonour. It is not a question of yielding to fear that which we are not ready, freely and spontaneously, to give; still less is it a question of betraying those who have trusted us. But it is of vital importance, with a view first of all to the speedy ending of the war, with a view next to making good the pledges we have given, that both Boer and Briton in South Africa shall understand that we are not going to replace the artificial ascendency of one race by the artificial ascendency of another. Surely it would be more useful — I do not care to use the word patriotic, because until recently patriotism was claimed as a monopoly by the right hon. Gentleman and his friends, otherwise I should have said it was more patriotic—at a time like this of grave national necessity that, rather than endeavour to create a perfectly artificial party issue, we should inquire whether the best means have been taken, or are being taken, to attain this end.

I am not going into the question—the very speculative question—of whether terms of peace could or could not have been arranged immediately after the capture of Pretoria last June. Speaking for myself, and for myself alone, I doubt it; and I doubt it for this reason, amongst others: that as we now know, and as the Boers knew perfectly well then, we were not at that time in any real or effective sense in occupation of their country. However that may be, I do not hesitate to say that, in my opinion, the steps which were taken in the immediately succeeding months were singularly ill-calculated for the purpose. What were they ? You had a series of inconsistent and inconsequent proclamations. Of course the responsibility rests not with Lord Roberts, but with His Majesty's Government; and I must say, having studied those proclamations with as much care as I can, I think it must have been difficult almost to the point of impossibility for any Boer of average intelligence to ascertain at any given time what precise offer was open to him to accept. You had, at the same time, the policy of what has been called farm-burning, as to which, again, after carefully studying the evidence, I say—I am giving my own opinion—that it was conducted on the part of our officers and men with all the humanity that was possible in the circumstances. That is my opinion. But it is a policy to be condemned, in my opinion, not so much for its cruelty—all war is cruel—but for its wastefulness, for its want of method, and, above all, for its almost complete futility. Then the generals came home under the impression that the war was over; and the House still awaits, and awaits, I think, with interest and impatience, some statement from the Secretary for War as to the steps which were taken during the autumn and the winter to replace the disbanded and recalled troops and to replenish and reinforce the wasted regiments that were left upon the spot.

What are we doing now? I suppose most of us will agree that we have, or we ought to have, two objects in view—to make the Army efficient, and to bring home to the Boers the conviction of the sincerity of our intentions. The right hon. Gentleman asked last night to whom are we to address ourselves. Well, it appears from the answer which he gave to a question this evening that the proclamation has not yet been issued which he foreshadowed in December last, and which was to be the means by which we at any rate understood the Government were to make known to the mass of the inhabitants of South Africa their intentions in this matter. I cannot help feeling great regret that the issue of that proclamation has been delayed; and we should like to know precisely what are the reasons for that delay. Let me ask, further, if the terms which the right hon. Gentleman announced two months ago have been conveyed to the Boer prisoners at St. Helena and Ceylon? Have any assurances been given to these men as to the restoration and restocking of their farms or as to provision being made for the mortgages and other debts which are accumulating upon them during their absence? Above all, have these prisoners been allowed, are they being allowed—this is one of the most pacific influences that you can bring to bear on the Boers—are they being allowed to communicate freely with their families, their friends, and kinsmen in the field?

These are practical questions which demand categorical answers. We have differed widely in this House as to the origin of the war. We may differ—though I suppose that there the differences are not quite so widespread—as to the wisdom, the foresight, and the energy with which it has been conducted. But we all agree, I believe, without any distinction of party or section, in the desire to secure at the earliest possible moment an honourable peace. Sir, that end will not be accelerated, I venture to say, by truculence of language any more than by weakness in action. If it is to be attained, it can be attained only in one way, and that is by the combination of two things—an army, strong, mobile, capable of commanding victory, and terms of pacification which it will not be derogatory either for the victors to offer or for the vanquished to accept.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. **BRODRICK**, Surrey, Guildford): I do not think there can be any doubt in the mind of any Member of the House that the tone of the speech which has just been delivered by the right hon. Gentleman is different from that of the speeches of his colleagues who have spoken from the same bench. I think that it will be felt by the House that the right hon. Gentleman has struck a distinctly higher note than that which we have heard on previous evenings during this debate, and I venture to say that if all the speeches which have been made from that side of the House during the last three days had been delivered in the same tone and to the same purport the necessity for the speech which my right hon. friend the Secretary for the Colonies delivered last night would not have arisen. But, Sir, there was one very striking feature in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman—striking and, to me, exceedingly disappointing—in that he spoke, not amidst the rounds of cheers which greeted the sallies of other speakers on that bench, but in chilling and disappointing silence. I call attention to that because the right hon. Gentleman asked the House to take up a position, which is not only far better and far higher, from the point of view of the office which I occupy, but also a far more useful and practical position for the purpose which we all ought to have, and I cannot help still hoping we all have, in view—namely, that we should use our opportunities in this House, from whatever standpoint we approach the question, with a determination to do everything, and to leave nothing undone, which will bring us nearer to the termination of the war. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken for his colleagues. I cannot say that the description which he gave of the speech of the Leader of the Opposition agrees with the impression conveyed to us on this bench when we listened to him on Thursday last. But when he proceeded to bring into line the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen, I think that we were in a position to make an effective retort. But I would rather leave that retort unuttered; I would rather accept his statement. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that it does not give the Minister for War any pleasure, to use his own phrase, to go scavenging in the rhetorical dust-heaps of the past. It is almost impossible in approaching this question, in the daily responsibility of watching the ebb and flow of the war, knowing, as the Secretary of State must know perhaps more than any other man, what is going on at the front, responsible for filling up the too numerous vacancies made by wounds and disease, responsible also for withdrawing officers who may not be efficient and replacing them, and for repressing disorder if it occurs, and still more responsible perhaps for defending those who have been maligned in or out of this House—I say it is impossible not to feel that the moment has come, frankly, when we should get rid of these stale party recriminations, and, putting party aside for a few moments, consider how we can best bring to an end this great loss of life which is going on, this devastation which must take place of an entire country, this embitterment of feeling which will remain afterwards, and this waste of resources, which are the necessary concomitants of war.

I look to the debate which is taking place solely from that point of view, and I ask the Opposition to consider, holding what views they please, the question not from the point of view of justice only, on which Gentlemen opposite may hold different views from us, but from the point of view which they themselves have adopted—namely, that of expediency; and I would ask, from that standpoint whether the speeches which have been made in the last few days tend to a speedy termination of the war. I am not going into the argument as to whether we are right in saying that there shall be no independence, whether the Member for South Aberdeen with his protected State is nearer the mark, or whether the suggestions made in two other speeches from that bench of a speedy return of self-government after the close of the war might possibly most tend to conciliation. I ask the House to look at the matter clearly and to face the facts as they are at this moment. We are told by all the speakers opposite that the Boers we now have to deal with are desperate men. You may say that we have made them desperate. [AN HON. MEMBER: Who else?] The more you say so the more you force upon us the view that they are not open at this moment to a reasonable compromise. What I ask the House to consider is this. They are fighting for independence as they understand it. They have been told that the complete surrender of their independence is the only means by which the war can be finished. Does the Member for South Aberdeen really believe that if Lord Kitchener went to-morrow to General De Wet and General Botha and said to them, "We cannot give you back your independence, but we will make you a protected State; we will give you back 25 per cent. of that for which for the last sixteen months you have been fighting," he would get a favourable answer?

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Try it.

Mr. BRODRICK: I think the hon. Member is probably the only Member of this House who thinks so. ["No."] Is it not more in keeping with reason and with our past experience of the Boers to believe that the mere offer of 25 per cent. of their independence would cause them more vigorously than ever to pull themselves together to fight in order to turn that 25 per cent. into 50 per cent.?

The position at this moment, so far as the Government are concerned, is this. We have by proclamation offered to the Boers terms of surrender which have never before, I delieve, been offered to a vanquished enemy. [An Hon. Member: Never were there more disgraceful terms.] Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to develop that for a moment. Lord Roberts's original policy when he entered the Free State was to accept the oath of any Boer who came in and surrendered his rifle, and to allow him to go back to his farm. I do not believe that in any other war such a thing has been done—that a private soldier has been allowed to go free on mere parole, and to go back to live as a private individual in the very country in which warlike operations were going on. That leniency was a disastrous failure; because men who had given their parole were either cajoled or compelled again to take up arms, and the very men who came in one day and gave up their rifles would assault these same posts a week afterwards with all the advantage of the information they had obtained. The next stage in the operations was that those who were taken were sent across the water, and their wives and families were promised protection, and they were promised that they should return when the war was over. That plan, again, has not been a success, for the reason that the Boers, dreading to go across the water as they do, have preferred to continue in arms rather than to come in on those terms. Lord Kitchener has now undertaken a third step. He has proposed (and to the extent of 15,000 persons, I think, his proposal has been accepted) that all the Boers who desired to surrender to the British Government should be allowed to come in and obtain protection in laagers with their families and be preserved either from compulsion to take up arms again or from any danger which might accrue until it is possible for them to go back to their farms. I know not what a British general could have done more in order to bring home to those against whom he was fighting our desire to make the path of submission as easy as possible. But I think it would be not only a mistake but positively disastrous if we were now to go to a man like General De Wet, who is making such a desperate resistance and offering so determined a front against any terms whatever, who is flogging and shooting members of the peace committee, who is alleged, rightly or wrongly, to be flogging his own men who desire to surrender——

Mr. DILLON: Where is your authority for that statement?

Mr. BRODRICK: I say who is alleged to be doing so—is it not absurd to suppose that, if we were to go to him with a proposal now to leave him a few shreds of independence at a time which we cannot name and of a nature which he could not be expected to appreciate, we should break down his determination to continue in arms? I think by such a policy we should not only render ourselves contemptible in the eyes of the world, but make the British Government ridiculous throughout Europe. All I can say is this. The right hon. Member for South Aberdeen said the other night that he could not check himself in making speeches here by the effect which they might have in South Africa.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I did not say that. I said it was my duty here to say what I thought.

Mr. BRODRICK: Allowing for the divergence of language, consequent perhaps upon my less concentrated methods of thought, I should have said that I had exactly expressed the right hon. Gentleman's meaning, However that may be, I want to make the House, in all sincerity, feel in the fullest sense its responsibility in this matter. It is one on which I feel exceedingly deeply. Letters reach me by every mail showing the mischief done by speeches, proclamations—[Irish cheers]—I mean by pamphlets and publications, and speeches which are called those of conciliation. There is a Committee of Conciliation, and another committee which, I believe, is distinct from it, called the Stop-the-War Committee. I believe I am right in saying that one or other of these committees was responsible for the atrocious libel on Lord Kitchener, when it was said that he had given orders to shoot all Boer prisoners. We know that a question in this House, or a statement in the newspapers, is sufficient to disabuse every Englishman of such an idea; but that statement goes broadcast throughout South Africa, and publications like the letter quoted last night by the Member for Carnarvon—from a lieutenant in the Canadian Horse, a letter which may be a highly coloured narrative, but which has never been verified or tested, but on which I will undertake to say General Smith-Dorrien will have considerable light to throw—have been found in the farmhouses not merely in Orange River Colony, but in Cape Colony. I heard by the last mail that our own troops that are pursuing General De Wet in Cape Colony had found them broadcast, having been distributed, deliberately, throughout the Dutch farmhouses in the Cape Colony, creating among those who read them an absolutely false idea, and immeasurably embittering the differences between the two races, and the feelings of those who have hitherto been loyal subjects of the King. What happened the other day in the town of Calvinia, which is in the western part of Cape Colony, and about 100 or 150 miles from the Orange River Colony? It is not a place about which any question of rebellion against Boer authority, if there was a Boer authority still existing in either of the colonies, could arise, as it was as much a part of His Majesty's dominions as the House in which we are sitting. What happened there the other day? A coloured man, educated, well-known in Cape Colony, cultured beyond his fellows, who has taken part in politics in Cape Colony to a considerable extent, was seized by a commando which reached that town about a month ago. What was his crime? It was that he was well-known to be a centre of loyal feeling in that neighbourhood. That man was openly taken out by the commando—who were no doubt stimulated by their feelings as regards cruelties which, they were told by every publication they came across in the Dutch farmhouses, had been practised on their own fellow-citizens—and flogged so brutally that his vitals were exposed. He lingered for three weeks, and was then shot in cold blood before our troops entered the town. I quote that only as an instance of many in Cape Colony who had been similarly treated, and I quote it because I would ask the House to consider whether the Conciliation Committee, by whom these stories are published, ought not better to have been called the Exasperation Committee, because these stories and loose talking across the floor of the House, such as that indulged in by the hon. Member for Carnarvon, without due consideration, and without being verified, do not influence us here, but they do go to South Africa to further exasperate and increase our difficulties there. I am not one who complains of the ordinary chances of war. You must lose lives, you must ride horses to death, you must see a country devastated if you once go to war. All these are necessary incidents of warfare. But surely, it is right for any man who is responsible in any degree for the conduct of operations, to make an appeal that we should do as much as we can here to prevent the ordinary horrors of war degenerating into acts of savagery of the kind to which I have referred.

The right hon. Gentleman opposite has urged me to say what steps the Government have taken in the last two or three months to bring about a speedy termination of the war. In December last I stated that I believed the kindest thing to both parties was to place Lord Kitchener in possession of every force he could desire in order to bring about a speedy capture of the marauding bands which are disturbing the two colonies in South Africa. We are told that the Government have been drifting in their policy and action. I deny that altogether. Our policy has not changed and our action has not for one moment swerved. A statement has appeared in the papers that Lord Kitchener asked us for a large body of troops in December last and that we began very late to provide them. The fact is, we have never been behind Lord Kitchener in our supplies, but we have always endeavoured to anticipate his wishes. The 13th December last was the first time we had had any demand from South Africa for troops for some months. At that moment there were 210,000 soldiers in South Africa. Lord Kitchener then asked whether, as some of his mounted troops, owing to service in the war, had lost numbers, we could supply drafts. I took action on that at once. He also asked whether some of the colonial troops, on whom he greatly depended and whose services he eulogised in the highest manner, could be replaced. The Government immediately appealed to the colonies to replace their contingents, and we had a reply as enthusiastic as we could possibly receive. Ten days or a fortnight ago I published a summary of the mounted troops we hoped to supply in the course of a few weeks. In that summary I put down the colonial troops at 5,000. I find that the number of those who have come forward has already exceeded that figure.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): At 5s. a day!

MR. BRODRICK: And if more were wanted they would be ready to come to our assistance. I promised 2,500 cavalry and 1,000 mounted infantry. Of this 3,500, 2,500 left in a few days, and at this moment form part of the column in pursuit of De Wet. In addition to that, we quickened the recruiting of the 10,000 Colonial Police, which, being a force of a more permanent character, did not fill up quite so quickly as the more temporary reinforcements; and we brought before Lord Kitchener the extreme desirability of prompting every man in Cape Colony willing to take up arms for local defence to do so. Now that the war has extended to Cape Colony, I think the colonists ought to be among the first to strike a defensive blow. Within three weeks some 10,000 men were enrolled in Cape Colony, and these were mounted and equipped with rifles by the British Government. I have been asked by several hon. Members questions as to the supply of horses, and we have been taken to task in some quarters for delay in sending out an additional supply. In keeping up the supply of horses our difficulty has been great, for this reason, the wastage of horses has always exceeded the wastage expected by the commanders in the field; consequently, although we kept up the supply, that supply was not sufficient. When I took office three months ago I immediately tried to attain an object which is most important in regard to the supply of horses in South Africa, that they should arrive a month in advance of the time of their actual requirement. That alone gives the animals time to regain their condition, and probably prolongs their working life many weeks or months. In these efforts we fairly succeeded. From 1st October to 14th February there were 21,800 horses landed in Cape Colony, and on 14th February there were 8,500 at sea on their way, a total of 30,000 in a period of little over three months. I do not think there will be found in any period of the world's history an instance of any nation sending for an expedition to any part of the world 30,000 horses a distance of 6,000 miles in three months. Lord Kitchener also, when the war extended to Cape Colony, found it necessary from the point of view of anticipating Boer raids to secure as many horses as he could locally; and he succeeded in obtaining at a good price a good supply of 13,000 horses and 4,000 mules in January, and I am glad to say, from the most recent telegrams sent, Lord Kitchener has got all the men he can mount provided with good horses. Lord Kitchener applied for reinforcements at the end of January. Early in January I found that the recruiting for the South African Constabulary was not proceeding as rapidly as I had expected, and I thought it necessary, in view of probable demands from Lord Kitchener, that we should be ready to send out a large force of Yeomanry. We called for more Yeomanry, and the response was extraordinary. We have up to date enlisted 8,000 or 9,000, and they are coming in very rapidly. I understand the men are of very good stamp. The result was that when Lord Kitchener did tell us at the end of January that, owing to a very great increase in the area of warlike operations, more mounted troops were needed, we sent him at the end of the same week the first batch. We have sent a considerable number, and in ten days ships will sail with further forces; and by the end of March we expect to be able to put at Lord Kitchener's disposal something like 30,000 men.

It is not for me to say anything of the future course of the war. I can only say that the strain at the front must be very great. Many officers have been on active duty for fifteen or sixteen months, and it must not be supposed that when generals come home in any special case they are in any way discredited. It is extremely desirable that some generals should have a rest, and we are therefore sending Lord Kitchener every general he has selected or desires to have in order to relieve those who have been on service for a long period. In this connection I quite agree with my right hon. friend the Member for Oldham when, in his admirable speech last night, he said that in Sir Bindon Blood and General Elliot, distinguished officers with Indian experience of a special character, we are sending the best men we can to supplement Lord Kitchener's force. But the House may rest assured that whatever form the operations may take the Government will work hand in hand with Lord Kitchener, and we have every confidence and expectation that the steps taken are such that before long they will greatly narrow the area of the war. We recognise that in strengthening Lord Kitchener's hands lies the way to this. The House may be assured that to this consideration everything—even the reorganisation of the Army at home—will be subordinated, that we may keep the Army in the field in the highest state of efficiency we can attain.

During the debate there have been three or four speeches in reference to hospital arrangements in South Africa, and I hope the House will pardon me for entering on that important subject. It is fully worth a debate to itself, but as it has been brought forward during this debate, I ought to say a few words upon it. Great blame has been thrown on the Army Medical Department, and I do not for a moment mean to say that the Department has not many things to answer for; but, in considering mistakes made by the Army Medical Department, let us also consider the part the House of Commons has played in bringing about the present state of things. I am quite ready to take responsibility and blame for which we are fairly accountable at the War Office, but it should be remembered that in the House of Commons, when nearly fourteen years ago the late Lord Randolph Churchill carried on for two years his crusade against public expenditure, this Army Medical Department was severely criticised. I well remember a strong speech in which the right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton said there were too many doctors, and that the Department wanted overhauling, for it cost too large an amount of public money, and the Report of the Committee at the time bore out the right hon. Gentleman's belief. The Committee, after two years investigation at the War Office, decided that there were too many doctors, and that they were too highly paid, with a too high proportion of retired pay, and that the whole subject required revision. By this the War Office has ever since been influenced. In the House of Commons successive Ministers have laid it down that we must provide for three army corps at home and two abroad, and upon this the arrangements of the Army Medical Department have been made. Can you wonder, then, that when we came to send the equivalent of six Army Corps to South Africa the medical arrangements should be somewhat strained? Difficulties arose that were not foreseen in sending supplies along lines of communication longer than had ever been necessary in a Continental war. The War Department in the matter of doctors has for the last fourteen years been between the upper millstone of a Parliament determined to keep down expenditure and the lower millstone of the medical profession, who denied their best candidates except upon better terms. The War Office did all it could to get better men, but the heads of the profession declared that medical men must have military rank, without which they could not hold up their heads among their military colleagues. I remember it was even urged that beyond the titles of major and colonel the title of general should be open to them. Five years ago Lord Lansdowne was assured that unless the title of "general," not "surgeon-general," were given other proposals would be useless. I remember perfectly well suggesting that a deputation of the profession should go over to the Admiralty and ask that naval surgeons should be allowed to become admirals. When they received that recognition the War Office would consider the concession of the rank of "general."

But, not to trouble the House at length, I will sum up in a few words what the experience of the war has shown. It has shown, in the first place, that these military titles have not altogether conduced to harmony. In the second place, the Commission of able, independent men, who, whatever we may say of their conclusions, certainly held no brief for the Government, have shown in their Report that there has been no general disposition on the part of the Army Medical Department to shirk its duties, and that there has been great devotion shown among the medical men. If in some cases there have been defects of organisation and skill, that organisation can be reformed, and want of skill has been due to the fact that officers have been so hardly worked that they have not had proper opportunities of studying their profession. It has been said by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Ilkeston Division that we have not realised the importance of a suggestion that came from himself—that sanitary committees should be sent out to direct sanitary arrangements for the various camps. I think the experience of the war has shown that a committee of that character, or something like it, would have done good service. And, while knowing as I do the devotion to duty of the great mass of medical officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps, I cannot deny that it has been brought out in the course of these inquiries that there was a certain amount of professional jealousy, an indisposition to avail themselves of outside assistance in an emergency, and, perhaps, too much of that red-tape disposition which is supposed to pursue the Army in all its courses, which I, at all events, desire to see removed to a great extent. And in this respect let me say that so far from regarding those who have interested themselves in these matters, both here and in South Africa, with any suspicion or distrust, I thank them for their attempts; I believe they have been largely productive of good to the public service, and I believe we may found on the recommendations of the Commission, and on the extraneous assistance we have received, partly from Members of this House, a new and satisfactory system, but one which can only be brought about by a drastic reform of the Army Medical Service. But in the emergency as it now exists we cannot pretend to make a complete reform in a few weeks. We are bound to look at this question very carefully, and we are determined to call to our assistance the heads of the medical profession. It may be that by making our terms of enlistment more elastic, it may be that by making them more attractive in other ways, we can obtain a better class of men. All I would say is this: if the House will give us a little confidence in this matter I will undertake that no effort shall be wanting, that there is no experience we can get but shall be turned to account, and that no past prejudices shall be allowed to intervene, or prevent our giving the Army in the future an effective medical service.

I do not know that there is any other subject on which I need trouble the House, for I feel that I have been too long already, but I wish to say this before I sit down. The right hon. Gentleman expressed regret that the Colonial Secretary had not yet been able to put out the proclamation foreshadowed in December last. He may rest assured that at the first moment that such a proclamation is likely to have any effect it will be at once published. Lord Kitchener has made, and is making, every effort, by personal action, by offers to meet the hostile generals, by every means in the power of a general or administrator to take, to bring before the Boers the terms on which he is willing to give them the opportunity of surrendering. And those who know—the right hon. Gentleman thought the Boers do not know—those who know what have been the terms in these proclamations, those who know how earnestly the Government desire, and the House desires, to see the Dutch and British races in South Africa again settling down in amicable concord, will know that no stone will be left unturned, as far as is possible to remove past subjects of bitterness and to secure peace between the two races in South Africa. I can only conclude by adopting in the fullest sense the language of the right hon. Gentleman, and by saying that if this House will only keep before it first and foremost, putting aside all party issues, the main question of bringing this war to an end, we shall not only avoid great occasion of difference and recrimination in this House, but we shall go a long step towards securing for South Africa an honourable and lasting peace.

*MR. C. P. SCOTT (Lancashire, Leigh): The right hon. Gentleman has just stated that it is the desire of the Government to do everything they can to bring this war to an honourable and satisfactory close, but in the early part of his speech he seemed to convey to us that the only effectual means was to conquer them. He told us that it was useless to offer to the Boer generals in the field terms of accommodation which would not be wholly acceptable to them, because the only result of offering 25 per cent. of what they wished for would be to induce them to ask for 50 per cent. I hold that this is not the way in which the Government ought to conduct this great and momentous business. I think there must be a feeling in this House and in the country also that the time has come when some more effectual steps should be taken to bring this dreadful conflict to an end. On our side, at least, it is felt that there is doubly a reason for that, because many of us believe that you can obtain now terms which would be better, safer, and more conducive to the welfare of this country and to a lasting peace than you would obtain if you carried this war through to the bitter end and crushed out every spark of opposition. Why do we think that? It appears to some of us that the policy of force and of simply using the enormous power of this country to crush out all opposition in South Africa is in itself doomed to failure. However successful you may be and however complete the triumph which, after infinite losses and sacrifices, you may obtain, the result will be less than the result which you might obtain without those sacrifices by offering generous terms. We are told that to offer terms would be a sign of weakness, but what argument can be weaker than that? What is the supreme weakness of a statesman? It is the fear to seem weak. It requires courage to look the facts fairly and fully in the face and deal with them, not according to the exigencies of party—God forbid that any man on these benches should look to the interests of party in a matter of this kind—but in the interests of the permanent peace of South Africa and the welfare of this country. We have not got to deal merely with the suppression of the resistance of our enemy in the field, but how are you going to govern people on the other side of the globe unless you can do something to reconcile them to your rule? How are you going to do it? If you are going to do it or try to do it why will you not at once make it plain to them what are the lines of the healing policy on which you intend to proceed.

It is my conviction that the only means by which we can secure the permanent peace of South Africa is to offer to respect the natural sentiments of these people, their dignity and prejudices and love for their old customs and institutions, and to give them everything which you can give subject only to this one condition, that you shall guard yourselves against the outbreak of hostilities in the future. What are the securities which are necessary in order to protect us from a fresh outbreak of war, and in order to secure to us the fruits of all this expenditure of blood and treasure? There is now no practical question before the House of restoring to the conquered States the full independence which they have lost. I think the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies confused the issue when he suggested and actually stated that that was the question which divided the parties in this House. He asked, "What is the issue if it is not a question of annexation?" That is not the issue. Annexation is now accepted as a practical necessity, whatever we may think of its justice. We on this side of the House realise that we are powerless upon this matter, and that is not the question upon which we are at issue for the moment. The difference between us is quite other than that. It is not a question of the restoration of the full and complete independence of these two States as Sovereign International States, but we have to consider how we can reconcile those States, who dearly loved the independence they have lost, to the loss of that independence. That is the problem which statesmen have to grapple with at this moment. How can we reconcile them unless we are prepared while they are in the field, and as a condition of their surrender, to tell them what terms we will give them, in what way existence is to be made tolerable to them, what respect is to be shown for their sense of nationality, their love of their flag and of their country. I believe we might go a long way to meet them, and at least it is worth while trying.

The right hon. Gentleman says that to attempt to negotiate or make an arrangement is simply to encourage the Boers to resist. A more fallacious argument I never heard. At any rate, if we believe that any terms of accommodation can be made which will safeguard the interests of this country and at the same time will in some measure reconcile the conquered territories to their absorption in the body of the Empire, it is our bounden duty to make that effort. I believe that much could be done, and that even now it might be possible to put an end to the waste of life and treasure. Obviously the great fear of the Boers is that they will be deprived practically of their independence and that they will be governed in a way they detest—by British officials from Downing Street. This is what happened to them before. This is not the first experience the Boers have had of British annexation. We annexed their country once before. We then promised them that we would grant them full local self-government, but we never fulfilled that promise, because we had not the courage, even when they were a small, weak people, compared to what they are now, to say, "We will give you local independence at once under the British flag providing you acknowledge the supremacy of the Crown." I believe the same thing will happen again, and if we begin with Crown colony government we shall go on with it. It is all very well to say that when these men become reconciled to your rule, when they are loyal and prepared to accept from their hearts British supremacy, then, and not till then, we will grant them self-government. Why should they become loyal to the British? What faith are they likely to put in our promises if their fulfilment is postponed to a remote and indefinite future?

The only plan is to take our courage in both hands and to say to these men, "We give you full control of your own affairs. We respect your old institutions. Keep your Volksraad, your President, your flag—subject, all of them, to the supremacy of the British Crown and the British Government." It is no doubt a difficult course, but all courses are difficult, and I believe it will give the only chance of reconciling these people to British rule and of securing from them, if not a willing assent, at least an assent to the incorporation of their country in the British dominions. I believe, myself, the best plan would have been to treat the conquered territories as protected States, and to have left them their institutions. But if that be objected to—and I admit there are great objections to it—another plan is to treat them as two of the federated States of South Africa. Federation has been the dream of the Colonial Office for a generation. It has been responsible for much of the mischief that has been done and for many of the errors that have been committed. But now, I believe, federation would be accepted, and it would be a panacea to a large extent for all our difficulties. If these States were treated as independent, and were added as two States possessing autonomy under a federal constitution, then the conscious allegiance of the individual citizen would be to his State, as it is in Canada and Australia—the allegiance of the State would be to the Federation, and the Federation would be under the authority and supremacy of the Crown. In that way we should escape the greater part of our difficulties. We should escape all the friction and trouble arising from the need of a Resident and constant interference from Downing Street with the affairs of these communities. We should have a federal body to deal with, a body responsible and strong, with which we could deal effectively, and which we might trust to deal itself with disaffection or rebellion in any of its members. I do not believe that we would get disaffection, but in that way we would to a large extent escape from these difficulties. There are no doubt difficulties in this course, but there are far greater difficulties in the opposite course. Suppose the Government determine to offer no terms, but to crush out opposition and at their own time and in their own way to give some small portion of self-government which by degrees would be developed into a larger measure, what would happen? The Boers would not believe us, they would not trust us, and, thinking that we had deprived them of their rights as citizens and did not mean to restore them, they would become discontented and rebellious. Their discontent and rebellion would again be made a reason for refusing to extend to them the self-government we had promised. No, I believe it is far better and safer to take the risks of dealing at once and effectively with the constitutional position of these States, and with the rights of their citizens, and that by postponing it we shall only lay up for ourselves an infinitely greater crop of troubles in the future.

*MR. LAW (Glasgow, Blackfriars): The speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has been answered already many times in this House, and never more effectively than by the right hon. Member for East Fife. The speech delivered last night by the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs was, from his own point of view, a very able one, and if I am not presumptuous in saying so I can pay it the compliment of saying that if it were properly printed, with a sufficient number of head-lines, it would be a most effective conciliation pamphlet like those with which hon. Members of this House are so generously supplying the public. What struck me, from a debating point of view, was the peculiar ability and the remarkable success of the way the hon. Member laid his baits for the applause of the Gentlemen around him. The first of these baits rather surprised me. It was a reference to the Colonial Secretary's expression of opinion as to the personal honour of Mr. Rhodes. The applause which that remark excited was not due to its novelty; but it seems to me that, as regards the Colonial Secretary, there is no statute of limitations, that the oftener a charge is made against him, and the less there is in it, the more certain it is of being applauded by a certain section of the House. But did the hon. Gentleman not perceive that in attacking the Colonial Secretary he was attacking the former leader of his own party? In 1896 the right hon. the Member for West Monmouth used these words—

> "Knowing Mr. Rhodes as I do, I am certain that he may have been actuated by what the poet calls 'the last infirmity of noble minds,' but that he has not been actuated by any mean or sordid motives, or greed of gain.",

These words seem to me to resemble very closely those employed by the right hon. the Colonial Secretary.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): That was before the Inquiry.

*MR. LAW: I expected the interruption; but these words referred to the supposed complicity of Mr. Rhodes in the raid. These speeches, it seems to me, were creditable to both the statesmen who made them, although I daresay the hon. Member for Carnarvon cannot understand the motives which induced them to make them. It is easy to hit a man when he is down, but that is a form of warfare which does not commend itself to either of the statesmen I have mentioned. Another reference of the hon. Gentleman was to the quotation from the Prime Minister He said that because we demanded the unconditional surrender of the Boer Governments there would be masters, and therefore the Boers must be servants. But no one knows better than the hon. Gentleman that the moment the war is over and the last shot fired, the Boer race will be under exactly the same laws as the men of British extraction; and what is good enough for our own people is surely good enough for the Boers. But what shall we say of the charge made by the hon. Gentleman against the distinguished General now in the field? It seems to me that the last person whom a fair-minded man would attack is one who is absent, who cannot speak for himself, who is serving his country in the field. and who, after all, is risking his life in her service, while the hon. Member is risking nothing, not even his reputation. But it is such a man whom the hon. Member has chosen for an attack, and whom he attacked so brutally last night, and who, for all the hon. Gentleman knows or at all events for all that he has told this House, was merely executing literally the orders of his superior officer. The hon. Member said that we had exasperated the Boers. That is perfectly true, but he seemed to be under the impression that it would be our duty to make war in a peaceful manner! Whenever he could win from these benches a sign that we do not like what is going on in South Africa, he seemed to think that he was scoring against the Government. Of course we don't like it; the soldiers do not like it; and, above all, Lord Roberts does not like it. We don't like war, we don't like the horrors of war, but we are responsible for them only if the war is an unjust war, and that is a responsibility which this Government and country can bear with a clear conscience. If the hon. Member had proved that in this war we had done anything contrary to the laws of war there might have been something in the charges he has made which would have affected the Government and done discredit to the country. But he has not proved that, and no one could. What are the laws of war? The laws of war are the usages of war, and the usages of war are the history of what has been done in modern times by nations under circumstances similar to those in which we are placed to-day. Reference has been made more than once to the analogy of the American Civil War. I venture to say that if our generals had chosen to adopt the measures adopted by American generals in that war, the war in South Africa would have been ended long ago. Hon. Gentlemen know one quotation so well that it is hardly necessary to repeat it. They know the phrase used by General Sheridan in a letter to General Grant describing the devastation caused in the Shenandoah Valley, because it was quoted in one of the Conciliation pamphlets. In that letter General Sheridan said he had devastated the valley so effectually that "if a crow were to fly over the district it would require to bring its own rations with it." I will read you another proof of what I say, which is perhaps not so well known—the general order issued by General Sherman before proceeding on his march through the South, which ended the Rebellion. He gave these instructions—

> "To army corps commanders is entrusted the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton gins, etc., and for them this general principle is laid down. In districts and neighbourhoods where the army is unmolested no destruction of such property would be permitted; but should guerillas or bushwhackers molest our march, or should the inhabitants burn bridges, obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostility, then army corps commanders should order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless according to the measure of such hostility."

That order was most literally and most accurately fulfilled. The hon. Gentleman had again brought the God of Battles into the debate. He told the House that because the war had been more difficult than we had expected, therefore the God of Battles apparently was not on our side. That is a curious and dangerous argument, and I do not agree with the hon. Gentleman. I agree rather with Sir Wilfrid Laurier when he said that the very fact that the war has proved so difficult, and that our enemies were so ready for it, while we were not, proved that the war was not our war, but that it was the war of those who were ready for it, and expected to beat us in it.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I do not wish to go over in any detail the subject of farm-burning, but I desire to deal shortly with a reference of the right hon. the Member for East Fife to the speech of the hon. Member for Carnarvon on that point. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think or state that he did not concur with the eloquent and able speech of my hon. friend; but immediately after making that statement he proceeded to show that he did concur distinctly, and in every respect, with it. The right hon. Member for East Fife said that my hon. friend complained against the manner in which the policy of farm-burning had been carried out. My hon. friend made no such statement. On the contrary, he said that the soldiers who had been employed to carry out that policy loathed it, and if they loathed it the inference was left that they carried it out to the slightest extent consistent with obeying orders. What my hon. friend complained of was the inhuman and barbarous policy forced upon the soldiers, so that if the right hon. Gentleman had not misunderstood my hon. friend's speech he might have agreed with it completely. My hon. friend quoted instance after instance in which the soldiers were annoyed and ashamed of what they had to do; and he quoted especially a Welsh Member who has been fighting at the front and who was the first and loudest to raise his voice from the other side of the House in denunciation of the barbarous and inhuman policy, ordered probably from home, and certainly proclaimed by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. The hon. Member who had just spoken seemed to imply that even Lord Roberts disapproved of the policy, or, at any rate, had a strong distaste for it. I am inclined to think that that is the case; but, if so, Lord Roberts has shown himself a very weak man. It was obvious to everyone who had closely followed the news which came from South Africa that an attempt was made to force Lord Roberts's hands in that respect. We were told that references were coming over from the press in South Africa urging this policy upon the military authorities, and, in fact, covertly and openly denouncing Lord Roberts for his leniency. And Lord Roberts was weak enough to give way. Pretty nearly every mistake that we have made in connection with this lamentable war in South Africa has been due to following the advice given us by the English colonial gang there. Even this disastrous and hateful policy, now proved to be futile and injurious to our own interests, was inaugurated solely and pressed upon us and forced upon us by the Uitlanders, who have deluded us all so long, and for whom we have been fighting.

The right hon. the Secretary for War had made a very powerful and impassioned appeal to hon. Members on this side of the House to refrain from expressing their views because of the injury which it caused in South Africa. That appeal had been made before the war commenced, and I can say that it has been fruitful in mischief. In my belief it was that appeal which brought about the war. From an expression dropped on the other side of the House it seemed to be believed even there that there was really not so much force in the complaint of the Secretary for War. That complaint was made on the radical delusion, fostered by the war party from the very first, that the Boers do not know their own business, that they are incapable of judging for themselves, that they are not sensible or even intelligent men, but a set of little children who can be led hither and thither by the opinion of other people who know less of the circumstances of the case than they do themselves. It has been that nonsense that has led us to carry on our whole policy, under the belief that bluff would succeed with the Boers. Bluff succeeds with children, and very often has succeeded with the Front Opposition Bench; but it has never succeeded with the Boers. They understand their own business as well as anybody, and always have been and will be guided by their own judgment, and it is not to be supposed for a moment that they would be influenced in the slightest degree by anything said in this House. In fact, the Colonial Secretary admitted as much in the remarks he made last night; while the hon. Member for Oldham expressly dissociated himself from the statements of the Secretary for War. He based his argument upon the practice of the most eminent Parliamentarians in past times. When these denounced an African War in a previous crisis, the Boers did not allow themselves to be guided by the opinion of their friends in this country. The mistake the British make in judging of other nations and peoples is in not believing that others are actuated by the same feelings of patriotism as themselves, and that they are not able to judge what is good for them as well as we. Would England be affected in a matter of this kind in the slightest if she was in a similar position to that of the Boers? Supposing that this country was invaded by France, and that the French were unanimous as to the invasion, and that they were as much stronger than we as we are than the Boers, and that we had been driven up north as far as Carlisle, and we were asked to shape our policy in accordance with the opinions of a few gentlemen in the French Chamber of Deputies, who had still some regard to justice. Should we be so foolish as not to defend ourselves to the utmost upon the reliance that the views of truth and justice raised by those gentlemen in France might finally prevail? No, Sir, we should not allow that to influence us in the slightest degree, and it is not to be supposed that the Boers would in this case.

There is this injustice, of which we are entitled to complain. Whatever we do, hit high or hit low, we are to be blamed. The Colonial Secretary on a previous occasion denounced us because we did not express our views. On the 11th of May last, in Birmingham, he expressly said the question was whether the war was just, righteous, and inevitable, and later on he could not refrain from expressing his contempt for the men who, though they believed the war was unrighteous and unjust, had not the courage to express their views. The same argument was urged by the First Lord of the Treasury. Therefore, we who believe from the depths of our hearts that this war is unrighteous are denounced as contemptible if we do not express our views, and if we do we are accused of a want of patriotism. Possibly, if the universal opinion in England and throughout the world was that the war was just on the part of England and unjust on the part of the Boers, the opinions we hold might have had some effect; but the opinion is the other way. The opinion of independent people on the Continent is dead against us, a great part of the country is dead against the war, and the opinion in America is practically unanimous against it, and on that account I for one shall never refrain from expressing my opinion, in the endeavour to save this country from the evil and disastrous course it is pursuing in this war. We were silent in the autumn of 1899 in order to give the policy of bluff a chance of succeeding, which in the case of the Boers it never has. We remained silent because it was said any protest on our part would strengthen the hands of the Boers, but my belief is that if two or three hon. Members and right hon. Members who sit on the Front Opposition Bench—the right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton and the hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick, and others—had sat on the other side of the House it would have been better for the Opposition. We have had to fight them from the first, and I trace the war to a great extent to the paralysing influence of those Gentlemen's silence in opposition.

Now what is the present condition of affairs? It is such as nobody ever dreamt of. No one ever dreamt for a moment that we should be in the deplorable position in which we now find ourselves. Every object for which we embarked in this war could, after the capture of Bloemfontein and Pretoria, have been secured. All the Boers wished for then was to concede what we asked, and that was intimated by the two Presidents to Lord Salisbury. All they wished to maintain was their independence in the country, and that we did not desire to take away when we went to war. The Colonial Secretary stated what was incorrect when he said that from the moment the invasion of Natal took place by the Boer troops the policy of the Government was changed, and became a policy of exterminating the Boer States, and that the policy of not leaving a shred of independence to these people was adopted from that moment. I suppose the reason he made that mistake was because he does not read all Lord Salisbury's speeches. If he had read those speeches he would have found that a month after the invasion of the Transvaal Lord Salisbury said at the Mansion House: "We seek no goldfields and we seek no territory." My point is, that we could have attained all our objects if we had been content with those objects for which we went to war; but after we succeeded in capturing

Bloemfontein and Pretoria we thought the rest would be a walk-over, and we declined to listen to any terms. If the hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who guide our destiny knew then what they know now they would not have thrown away that opportunity. A declaration has been made that "not a shred of independence" is to be allowed to remain, and I have no doubt that every effort will be made to maintain that declaration, but it would be as well to remember that Lord North and his king George III., in the last century, made just as strong a declaration, and had just as high stomachs, but they had to withdraw and give way. The force of circumstances compelled them to do so, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this Government may have to seek some other solution. I believe, unless some terms are made, that South Africa will be lost to England, and it is only by making terms it can be retained. Hon. Gentlemen have said that in South Africa we shall have a second Ireland on our hands if we annex the Transvaal. It is not suggested that if we restore the independence of these States, Cape Colony will be a second Ireland. I believe that if we gave them independence in internal affairs they would give up all claim to direct foreign affairs; and if they were independent in internal affairs it would reconcile all the Dutch, loyal and disloyal.

We have been accused of disloyalty — I am quite as loyal as any man who prates patriotism and jingoism, who maintains that the best interests of the country are to be sacrificed and thousands of lives are to be lost in the future as there has been in the past to save the faces of the right hon. Gentlemen on the Government benches, and the politics of the Conservative party. We have been denounced by our friends and even by our constituents, and called pro-Boers. I have been called a pro-Boer in my own county, but I did not quail. I did not let that cow me. I explained my views and denounced annexation at every meeting which I attended, and the result was that I was returned unopposed, although the Conservatives did everything in their power to obtain a candidate to contest the seat. Other hon. Gentlemen have been returned unopposed — the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton was returned unopposed, and others—but only by the goodwill of the Conservatives. They were returned unopposed because they made friends with the enemy. I was returned unopposed because my enemies did not dare to face me. We have suffered a good deal for our opinions, but we stick to those opinions, because we believe the best interests of our country depend upon those opinions being expressed and adopted by the country. We are ready to sacrifice ourselves to save the country. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, on the other hand, have been ready to sacrifice the country to save themselves. Hon. Gentlemen who have made this war have made a name for themselves in history, but a name only similar to that of the Duke of Alva. In thirty or forty years all England will be eager to dissociate itself from the responsibility of the war. There is no war in the history of our country which will be at the same time so famous and so infamous as this; the fame will rest with the Boers, the infamy with us. The war has made a great general, but he is not English—his name is De Wet. Look at the ignominy of this war. The white population of the Boer Republics is half a million, the population of the country which attacked them 50,000,000. If there was a country opposed to us as superior to us in numbers as we are superior to the Boers, it would have to have a population seven times as large as that of the entire world. These people have resisted an army in proportion to theirs of twenty to one for twelve months. If we had been able to do a like thing we should be entitled to look upon ourselves as heroes, and so they will be reckoned in history. I do not care what the consequences may be to me for the course I have taken in this matter. I have conscientiously discharged what I believe to be my duty, and I believe if everybody else in this House had done the same there would have been no war.

*LORD ALWYNE COMPTON (Bedfordshire, Biggleswade): Although I also had the honour of being returned unopposed, I do not feel equal to the task of following the hon. Member who has just sat down in those flights of rhetoric in which he has indulged. I approach the consideration of this question from he point of view of one who has spent ten months in the country and travelled over a great portion of it, and therefore I should like to ask the indulgence of the House while I say a word upon the subject of South Africa.

I have listened with great attention to the criticisms that have been made in the course of this debate, but what seems to stand out very strongly is the criticism as to the prolongation of the war, and the policy which has guided our Government. In the question of the whole operations of the war the Government has been taken severely to task because at some particular moment when I was in South Africa there seemed to be an idea that the war was likely to come to a termination. Personally, I may say that does not seem to me to be very unreasonable. May I ask the House to look back for a moment to what the circumstances were when the Army under Sir Redvers Buller drove back the Boers and took possession of the railway from Pretoria to Komati Port. Mr. Kruger had gone out of the country with £2,000,000, we had beaten the army over and over again, we had taken prisoner their best general and some 17,000 men, we had taken possession of their chief cities, and occupied their railways, and cut off their supplies. Was it unreasonable to suppose that on the Boers, a brave and intelligent foe, the dictates of common sense and humanity would prevail, and that they would realise the position, that they would see that they were beaten, and would sue for peace? But in considering this matter, it seems to me that what is wanted is a knowledge of the Boer character.

What is the Boer character? Take a community of Dutch such as those who settled at the Cape in 1652, add to them a sprinkling of broken and desperate men whom the Dutch East India Company enlisted in their service, and mix with them a strain of the inflexible French Huguenot, such as settled there later, and the product must be a hardy, rugged, virile, and unconquerable race. Give the Boers a country which is peculiarly adapted to the tactics of marksmen and riders, and you have the most formidable and remarkable foes which any people could encounter. You have in the modern Boer the most formidable enemy that has ever crossed the path of Great Britain. We have altogether misunderstood the character of the Boer for three-quarters of a century, just as they have misunderstood us, and it is not likely that we should understand them now. So far as I am concerned, I do not blame the Government for forming a wrong judgment with regard to the early termination of the war, but at the same time, while I exonerate the Government, I am not prepared to exonerate a great department of the State—the War Office—for relaxing the efforts which they should have continued unceasingly up to the present time. It is, of course, delicate ground to touch upon. I do not know what the relations are between the Defence Committee of the Cabinet and the Secretary of State for War, but at least I am quite sure of this, whatever miscalculations they may have made with respect to the war, and the time when it will be terminated, they never told him to relax his efforts in keeping up the supply of equipment, stores, and food, and, above all, of trained mounted men for South Africa. If that was not said to him then, how was it that on my return from South Africa, the other day, I saw it announced in the newspapers that there was a fresh call to arms, which was practically going to the country for untrained men and offering them 5s. per day? According to my conviction, these preparations ought to have been made earlier, and the army in South Africa should have been reinforced by men who had been in training. There will be another opportunity for discussing these matters, but I should like to make a point of this particularly, because I had an opportunity, which I was glad to have, of equipping and training a body of men myself. I make a point of this because, as I have said, I found on my arrival here that a miscalculation had been made, apparently, inasmuch as no efforts whatever had been made for keeping up the supplies. The next point I wish to make is as to the criticism that has been passed on the policy which has guided His Majesty's Government in our efforts at subjugation. Again I say that to a certain extent there was a miscalculation of the Boer character.

For myself I would say that I have had the honour of the friendship of Lord Roberts for about twenty years. I do not suppose that the whole world contains such a humane man as Lord Roberts. While he is a man of wide sympathies, no one is more capable of exercising an iron will should the necessity arise. The Boers never gave Lord Roberts a chance. I have heard in South Africa and also in this country a great deal about the use that was sometimes made of the white flag, and I think it is quite possible that some of these incidents may have been exaggerated, but I do know that time after time when the Boers thought they were in a tight place the white flag was raised, and when the English soldier, with the simplicity and confidence characteristic of his nature, appeared, the inevitable volley ensued. That occurred over and over again. With regard to the policy of farm-burning, I have from the first regretted it more than I can tell, but such a measure was in my opinion necessary. A long line of communication, which is obviously the life blood of an army, had to be maintained, and I can state from my own personal observation, and also upon the authority of letters which I have received from my own friends, that in every instance in which farm-burning took place it was only under exceptional circumstances, and only after the officer in command had thoroughly assured himself that a case of treachery had occurred. We heard last night some of the fiction which has been current in regard to the action of our troops in South Africa. There is another side to the picture which perhaps the hon. Member for the Eifion Division of Carnarvon has not seen. There was the case of the white flag appearing over a farm and an English soldier going to the farm to get a drink of water and being received with a volley.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Did the hon. Member see such a picture himself, or is he repeating rumours?

*LORD ALWYNE COMPTON: There is another point I should like to refer to, very shortly, and that is the recklessness of the language which has been employed in this country during the whole course of the war. It is language which ought not to have been used. I will give credit to hon. Members who sit opposite for honestly believing that what they say here does not matter, but that is an utter fallacy. The Leader of the Opposition at the commencement of the session said in the speech he made that it was quite possible the Boers did not know of the House of Commons itself, and possibly had never heard of the Colonial Secretary. Let me relate my own experience. When I was in Johannesburg, Sir Alfred Milner made me chairman of a committee to inquire into looting which was alleged to have taken place. I came in contact with burghers who had been fighting against us—lawyers and others who had been in the Transvaal Government. I conversed with them on various topics. They told me that everything that had been said for the last twenty years in this country had been faithfully represented in South Africa. They said—

> "The Boers can perfectly well understand that under your form of government there is an Opposition whose duty it is to criticise. We know that one party takes a different view from the other. We have seen that during the last twenty-five or thirty years. We have seen vacillation in this country. We have seen the party in power acquire territory, and we have seen another party hurriedly abandon the same territory without the slightest consideration for the loyal people whose interests were affected. All that we can understand. We have seen it, and we know what it is, but what we do not understand is that in time of war there can be any dissentient voice in the whole of your country."

They stated with respect to themselves that at least when they were at war all other considerations were put on one side and they faced the foe as one man.

There are two aspects of this question which have presented themselves to my mind. One is the problem as to the settlement of South Africa, and the second is the expansion of our military forces for the defence of the Empire. In regard to the first of these questions I do not think it is desirable for me to say anything on this occasion except that, as the result of my observation and judgment, the very best effect with the view to the fusion of the two races will come from the colonisation of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, From that point of view I am bound to say that in my judgment there are large tracts of country which hold out the most promising prospect for the agriculturist. I shall state what in my opinion would be the best course to pursue. I believe that as soon as subjugation has taken place, or if possible before, if the Government were wise they would adopt some definite form of state colonisation. Farms should be acquired by purchase, and I would suggest that our colonists should be allowed to settle on them. I would suggest also that the farms should be stocked and our colonists placed on them. In the course of this debate I have heard some doubt cast upon the question as to whether any of our people would be inclined to remain there as colonists. My own experience in South Africa has convinced me that many of the men now on service in the country would remain there in fairly large numbers. When I came away my own force was broken up, and of the eighty men left in the country sixty announced their intention to remain in the Colony.

As to the problem of the expansion of our military forces in order to provide for the defence of the Empire, I shall have an opportunity of discussing it on the Army Estimates, but I should like just briefly to say that if anything is proved as the result of this war it is that Army critics like the hon. Member for West Belfast, who is now a member of the Government, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Forest of Dean, and others, including myself, have been absolutely right in our criticisms as to the organisation of the War Office, and that the defenders of the old and bad system were wrong. We have said in the past over and over again that no plan of operations for the defence of the Empire had really been carefully thought out and decided upon, and we also said that when the military organisation of this country was put to the test of war it would be found inadequate. The Government will say, "Look at what has been done—250,000 men have been taken over 6,000 miles of sea, and stores, equipment and supplies have been kept up all the time." I am the first to give credit where credit is due, and so far as I am concerned no words I can utter can convey my appreciation of what has taken place in South Africa—the valour, endurance, and intrepidity of our troops, Regulars and Volunteers, and particularly the Yeomanry, but having said that I ask: Is that enough? Is it right that we should depend on all that in the future? Great armies are not built up in a day. It is only done by laborious years of steady scientific work. If the lessons of this war are taken, the problem of Army reform will be the more easily solved.

MR. HARWOOD (Bolton): I wish to take the House back to the question of China. Although great anxiety is felt in connection with the South African War, I would remind the House that we may sometimes lose the true sense of political perspective. We must recollect that the problems in China are much more difficult and complicated, and fraught with issues of much more importance than those in South Africa. We are face to face in South Africa with only a small population, and we have a problem to solve which we are certain to solve; but in connection with the question of China we are in touch with the oldest and largest civilisation in the world, and we are acting in union with others whose objects we cannot always fully understand. We are extremely nervous in Lancashire as to what will come of the conduct of the Government in this matter. We are extremely anxious that they should take a wise, firm, and right line. One doubt we have in our minds, if I am not speaking disrespectfully of the Government, is this: the general feeling is that we are drifting, and waiting on events without a clear policy. Another fear that we have is that the Government may have allowed itself to be dragged into a line of action distinctly unwise as regards our own interests. I refer to the position in this matter of the German Emperor. I think the Emperor remembers the motto of his famous Chancellor, *Do ut des.* We ought to consider that the interests in China of others are not necessarily the interests of this country. I would ask the Government to consider in regard to this question what they mean to do in China. You have a great carcase there and you have the European eagles gathered together. Do the Government mean to keep up the present Government, or do they mean to substitute another? So far as I can judge their policy is to maintain the present Government. If that be their policy, I ask them to consider the danger of doing anything to weaken that Government. We must be guided by something more than that. This country will make a great mistake and will greatly jeopardise her interests in China if they allow themselves to be dragged by any desire, even of giving just government, into any step that will weaken the government of China.

The noble Lord who spoke on the question the other night said that we were the wronged. Is that quite true? Let us look at the thing from the point of view of the Chinaman as well as from our own point of view. We have taken piece after piece of his territory. Another is encamped in his back yard and another in the garden. He has heard these men talking together as to how they shall arrange for the disposal of the rest of his property. Is it not a reasonable thing that people with national spirit should feel indignant and angry at this process? It is natural that they should resent this treatment. We have divided up the Empire into spheres of influence, and have not hesitated to talk of it in the most open way. Allowance must therefore be made for the natural irritation of the Chinese, and we must not let our indignation at anything they have done carry us beyond the lines of reasonable policy and due consideration for our own material interest.

The other question to which I wished to refer was in regard to the policy to be adopted for bringing the Boer War to an end. Everybody in the House practically agrees with the Minister for War that the question now before us is not one of recrimination about the war, or of explanations of the philosophy of the war, or of discussion as to whether it was right or wrong to begin the war; but it is how, in the name of Heaven, can we bring it to an end at the earliest possible moment. During the last session I was fortunate enough to obtain a promise from the Colonial Secretary that in any proclamation stating the terms of peace it should also be clearly stated that as soon as possible there would be granted to these territories the same system of self-government, or one similar to that which prevails in the other South African colonies. I am extremely sorry to hear that such a proclamation has not been issued, and the absence of such a proclamation may have done much to continue the war. It may seem a bold step, but I would ask the Government to consider whether, when such a proclamation is issued, in addition to stating that a condition of self-government will be given to the colonies, a definite time could not be named when that condition of self-government will be given, unless proper reason can be shown to the contrary. The First Lord of the Treasury has discussed this matter as if there were only two courses. He twitted the Leader of the Opposition with being in favour of granting self-government immediately the war was over. That, of course, was a mistake. But the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that the only other course was a vague promise of self-government at some time or other. If the Government adopt my suggestion it will put upon them the onus of giving a reason for not giving self-government. We are very suspicious of getting a system of self-government crystallised in these colonies. It has been stated again and again that the military system of government is a bad system, and that there must be some system of civil government intervening between the cessation of military rule and the beginning of self-government. But if you allow a form of civil government to settle itself in a territory of this kind it will be extremely difficult to disturb or displace, and I would rather have an inefficient military government for a time than a more efficient civil government perpetuated for a longer period. Another ground upon which I press the wisdom of this step is the remark made by the Prime Minister on this question when he said that "it may be years, it may be generations" before self-government is granted. To dangle before nations a promise of self-government as an inducement to submit, and to add that it may be generations before that promise is fulfilled, is simply to play the fool with anything like business matter. Therefore, I am quite certain it would be a wise thing for the Government to take upon themselves the onus of having to give a reason at the end of a stated period for not giving self-government.

There are two reasons why I press this course. In the first place, it is said that it is no use granting self-government to the people until they are fit for it. But people do not become fit for things except by using them. History teaches again and again that the gift of self-government to one community after another has been successful, though the promise was not great, because once you put responsibilities upon people you bring out the virtues which are necessary for the proper discharge of those responsibilities. I am greatly afraid that in years to come, when others are in our places, this gift may be delayed by the plea that the people are not fit for it; and therefore I ask that we should commit ourselves to some definite promise. My second reason is, that those of us who read Continental papers know quite well that our attitude in this matter is not believed in the world to be honest. I do not believe that we should live for the good of the people of the Continent, or that we should consider the good opinion of anybody, so long as we are doing what is right; but at the same time I do believe that when we find a consensus of judgment against us it should make us consider whether we have done everything we ought, and whether we are really as honest as we claim to be. I am one of the last to desire to run down my countrymen, but I am inclined to think there is a great deal of Pharisaism and hypocrisy about us. Looking back over history I find that whenever there has been a squabble in the world Great Britain, when she has entered into it, has done so with professions of the highest principle, and has emerged from it carrying away the best portion of the swag. This matter involves taking upon ourselves some material burdens, and greatly increasing the difficulties of our political life, and it would be wise for us to make it clear, not merely to the French and German, but also to the American world —for they, too, do not believe in us—that we are honest when we say, "We want no gold; we want no territory," and bind ourselves to grant to these people at a certain date, unless good reasons can be given to the contrary, those principles of self-government which we have extended to our other South African colonies. I believe that we, as Englishmen, are honest in our desire to give this self-government, and I urge that the strongest pledges should be given that we will carry that desire into execution.

Finally, I would say that in bringing about a peace we have to consider not merely the time when the sword will be sheathed and the guns cease to be fired —that will be only the beginning of the task—but we have to look forward to the time when there will be a strong and united fellowship of good feeling between the citizens of these lands. How are you going to bring it about? One element of power in the hands of the Government is the element of hope. I beg of them to consider what they may do by giving hope to these people—not by telling them merely that we will give them self-government in some vague, far-off, uncertain time, but by saying that at a certain time, unless we can give good reasons to the contrary, we will give it. You will then put into the hearts of these people the hope that, within their own lives and the lives of their children, they may become free citizens of a great Empire, and united to forward its interests.

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present. House counted, and forty Members being found present—

*MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.) —Mar Eireannaċ ó áit go labartar Gaeḋilge, fear ó nairiún go bfuil teanga aici agus atá fós ag deunaḋ ċum saoirse d'ḟágail,

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is proposing to address the House in a language with which I am not familiar, but which I presume is Irish, and he will not be in order in doing so. It is an unknown practice in this House, and I must ask the hon-

Member to address the House in English.

*Mr THOMAS O'DONNELL—Nać fíor-Ġaeḋilge mo ṫeanga—teanga mo ṡinsear, teanga, mo ṫíre,

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is disregarding my ruling, and I cannot allow him to address the House in any other language but English.†

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford City): Upon a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask if there is any rule, written or unwritten, to prevent an hon. Member speaking in the language which is most familiar to him. Of course, one cannot argue this question from the experience of other legislative assemblies, but I may be allowed to point out that in my own experience I have heard in one of the legislatures of the Empire—that of New Zealand—Maori members speaking in their own language, although the language used by the general body of the members was the English tongue. I would respectfully ask you whether there is any precedent recorded in the journals, or other authorities of the House, which makes it incompetent for an hon. Member elected by a constituency to address the House in the language most familiar to him, and which is the language used by the majority of his constituents.

*MR. SPEAKER: There is no precedent one way or the other so far as I know; but during the 600 years Parliament has been in existence, there is no record of any hon. Member having attempted to address the House in any other language but English.

MR. LEAMY (Kildare, N.): Upon a point of order, I should like to ask if it is not a fact that when the Irish Chieftains came over to England representing the Irish Parliament—which was being absorbed by this Parliament at the time of the Union—they were allowed to speak in the Irish language, although the English representatives spoke the English tongue. If that is so, why should an Irishman not be allowed now to talk in his own language.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that Irish Members have now set continuously in this House for 100 years, and they have never before thought it to be a grievance to be prevented from speaking any other language but English. I have no doubt that the hon. Member for West Kerry, with the usual eloquence of his countrymen, will be able to address the House in English if he pleases, quite as well as in Irish. A claim of this kind, if it is to prevail, must first be established by a Standing Order of the House.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Is it not within your own knowledge that so recently as the year 1896 the hon. Member for the Rhondda Valley actually addressed this House in Welsh?

*MR. SPEAKER: I remember the incident to which the hon. Member refers. The hon. Member for Rhondda used a Welsh word or quotation in the course of his speech, but he did not make a Welsh speech to the House. But I must adhere to my ruling. The rule of the House is as I have stated, and I hope the hon. Member will conform to it.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: If I may be allowed to offer advice to my hon. friend, I should advise him to bow to your ruling, but refuse to address the House in English upon this occasion, reserving his right to address the House in Irish.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): If the Government had only taken the advice which I gave them upon a former occasion with regard to the situation in South Africa a great deal of money would have been saved. The Government has been disgraced owing to the fact that for the last fifteen or eighteen months some 250,000 men have been trying to conquer 25,000 farmers. This war is a disgraceful war, provoked for the purpose of benefiting land-grabbers and stock-jobbers. It is a stock-jobber war, and actually certain Members of the Government and their families will benefit by this war in the supply of stores and ammunition. I believe that the opinion of every Member on the other side of the House is the same as that of the noble Lord who spoke a few minutes ago, and who let the cat out of the bag when he said that many people had gone out there for the purpose of settling down, and of acquiring large tracts of rich and fertile land. The acquirement of land in this way is simply grabbing the property of others, and as long as I am a Member of this House I shall protest against any such system of grabbing the property of others. The speech of the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen reminded me very forcibly of what Ireland has suffered in the past when the land was grabbed from the people. Now the Boers will be driven into the worst parts of the country, and you will place speculators on the rich lands formerly owned by the Dutch farmers. I should be very glad to see this unjust and wicked war terminated, but I do not see that there is much chance of this when we read that De Wet is invading Cape Colony. So far from these 250,000 men having succeeded in beating the Boers and keeping them in their own country, the Boers are actually invading the English colony, and it is a disgrace to us that such an extraordinary army of English soldiers, about whose valour and perseverance we have heard so much, has not been able to prevent the invasion of our colonies. With regard to this war, and the mistakes which have been made, some people blame the War Office, others the Colonial Office, and some say that the provision for nursing the sick and wounded was at fault. It does not matter to me who is at fault, for I believe this war to be unjust and unholy, and I shall have the greatest pleasure in voting against the adoption of the King's Speech, and in every way I can I shall oppose the voting of money for the prosecution of this war in the future.

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† Mr. O'Donnell gives the following translation of the two sentences spoken by him in Irish: "Mr. Speaker, as an Irishman from an Irish-speaking constituency, a member of a nation which still possesses a language of its own, and is still striving bravely for freedom." At this point the Speaker interposed, after which the hon. Member resumed: "Is it not true that Irish is my native language, the language of my ancestors, the language of my country?"

There is another matter which I regret has not been mentioned in the King's Speech, and that is in regard to the action of the Local Government Board in Ireland. If there is anything which affects the district councils and the board of guardians at the present time in Ireland in discharging their public duties it is the extraordinary and arrogant manner in which they are interfered with by the Local Government Board. During the time when ex-officio members predominated on boards of guardians there was very little chance of the Local Government Board poking its nose into the affairs of local bodies, but the moment popularly-elected bodies came into being the Local Government Board rendered it almost impossible for them to prosecute their business in any sort of a decent manner. Since the election of district and county councils in Ireland they have increased the salaries of the assistant county surveyors in some cases by 75 per cent., and when I put a question to the late Chief Secretary for Ireland as to why this was done, his reply was that they were very much underpaid in the time of the grand juries. So long as the grand juries were in power the Local Government Board never thought it worth their while to interfere with the salaries of these officials. The moment these popularly-elected bodies get the management of local affairs, then the Local Government Board step in and say, "These men have been underpaid in the past, and we will make you pay 75 per cent. of an increase in their salaries." The action of the Local Government Board has made it almost impossible for these public bodies to transact their business and give satisfaction to those who have elected them on these local councils. If the Local Government Board had contributed anything to the rates in these localities in Ireland, then they would be justly entitled to interfere and say what salaries ought to be paid. But it is not fair for them to step in and increase salaries towards which they are not going to contribute anything. The Local Government Board seems to have one object in view, and that is to try and increase the rates in Ireland and endeavour to bring discredit upon popularly-elected bodies. I will give one instance which occurred in my own district. There is a poor dispensary district, where for the last four years we have had a doctor at a salary of £100 a year, and the guardians found that during the time that the doctor was away on his holidays they had to pay £3 3s. for a substitute. The board of guardians therefore decided to raise the doctor's salary by £20 a year. The Local Government Board said, "No; we cannot sanction this." But last year there was a secretary elected for the county council, and it was made a condition of his election that his salary was to be so much, and that he should do the whole work with three assistants. But he was not six months in office when he said he wanted another assistant. A representative of the Local Government Board came down and said, he must have assistance, and the result was that, although several members of the county council protested against it, an additional assistant was given and an addition to the secretary's salary made at a total cost of £160. The reason of the refusal of the increase in the one case was that half the money would come from the Treasury, while in the other case, where the increase had to be given, it came out of the rates. I say, therefore, that I regret that no mention has been made in the King's Speech that there is to be no improvement in the management of the Local Government Board.

I am glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland in his place. I have read some of his speeches in Ireland, and I think he will make an effort to be conciliatory, both in regard to the district and the county councils. If he does so, he will be remembered for a long time in that country. In many places these councils are doing their best to make local government in Ireland a success, but owing to the insensate obstacles thrown in their way by the Local Government Board, it is absolutely impossible for these local bodies to do their duty with satisfaction to themselves and the country. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will see that the Local Government Board will give more satisfaction to the popularly elected bodies who are doing their work without fee or reward, while a few well-paid officers domineer over and scout the ideas and views of the popularly elected councils. The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that owing to the action of the Local Government Board there are any number of appeals pending in the Superior Courts, and I ask the right hon. Gentleman to meet the county councils and district councils in Ireland sympathetically; and I will pledge my word that they will ask very little but what will be for the benefit of the ratepayers, and with the sole idea of carrying out the ideas of the electorate which they wish to carry out. If he does this he will do a great deal to smooth the way of these bodies, which has hitherto been somewhat rugged.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I wish to express my appreciation of the tone of the speech of the right hon. the Secretary for War. I am very glad that he has stamped his approval on the devoted and admirable work done in South Africa by the Royal Army Medical Corps. In the face of difficulties, complications, and dangers complete success in the performance of these duties was almost impossible. The prime difficulty was that the Department was far too undermanned. That is not only my own opinion, but that of the Hospitals Commission. In their report the Commission stated that the deficiency in the staff of the Royal Army Medical Corps and of the staff of officers associated with them had been urged on the authorities before the war without avail. I am very glad to hear from the Minister of War that he has it in contemplation to initiate inquiry into the whole working of the organisation of the Royal Army Medical Department. We have heard about the purely military titles conferred upon the officers of the Department in answer to their desire that such arrangements should be made. It was perfectly well known that unless that concession had been made the supply of candidates for the service would have dried up from the medical schools. I have not been able to satisfy myself whether the system is a success or not, but the Secretary for War seems to think that it is a success. As one who took part in the agitation which led up to the conferring the titles, I can say that the unanimous opinion of the Army Medical Department was that some such recognition of military rank was necessary in order to enable the surgeons to carry on their work to a successful issue in the time of war. Whereas the medical practitioner has had admirable opportunities for the exercise of his profession and of gaining fresh experience as he goes on, the army doctor sees very little, the range of experience is very small and meagre, and the opportunities of working at his profession scientifically are few. What we have urged over and over again, outside the House and inside the House, is, that the medical officers of the Army should get periods of leave, when they might learn the advances in the science of their profession at the post graduate courses in the great centres of medical study throughout the country. The leave might extend to three months every two years, and, in that way, the army surgeon might become once more as efficient as when he started practice in his profession. Of course, all these things will be worked out when the new Commission is instituted. I am very glad to hear from the right hon. the Secretary for War that that Commission is to be founded on a large and generous spirit, and that he has taken into his counsels the leaders of the profession, from whom, I have no doubt, he will learn what is best both for the student and the army doctor. I have no doubt that the result will be that the Royal Army Medical Corps will once more become a popular branch of the service.

*Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): As a humble Member of the House, sent here by the common people to try and seek justice for them, I feel considerable disappointment at the treatment given to the hon. Member for West Kerry. It would be a satisfaction and a pride if we were permitted to speak in the language which is dearest to our hearts, the language in which we were taught to lisp at our mother's knee, and in which we can best express our thoughts. But while we are deprived of the opportunity of using that language, and compelled to resort to a foreign tongue, I have come to the conclusion that hon. Members care as little for our wants as for our language. The Irish language, however, has survived; a new effort has been made to cultivate it, and perhaps a time will come when hon. Members opposite, as well as Irishmen, will take an interest in its study and use. I do not appear in the House in my present attire for the purpose of outraging the traditions of the House. I come here as I live and move amongst my own people, in order to show exaxctly what I am—one of the humble, ordinary folk who have to work for their living; and to make my appeal to you here for justice. I must confess, from my first impressions of this Assembly, I am not too hopeful of any good result from my presence here. I must say that when I came amongst the hon. Members who occupy seats on the one side or the other of this House, I expected to find men whose first desire and intention would be to try and learn the various points in connection with the different questions that would come up for discussion. But, after two or three days experience in the House, I find that too many hon. Members seem to be more anxious to learn the ins and outs of the smoking-room and the dining-room.

I would not have intervened in this debate were it not for the purpose of joining in the appeal in behalf of the people I represent, and asking you to confer on them at least some of the rights to which they are entitled. When I came to the House I expected to hear that in His Majesty's Speech from the Throne some concession was to be made to the feelings of Catholic Irishmen in regard to our faith, which is as dear to us as our very lives. But an oath which contains one of the most direct insults to that faith has still to be taken by the King. And yet we are asked to be loyal, and to shout "God save the King." That, in itself, is one of the strongest and most painful arguments that could be used by an Irishman in regard to the inefficacy and hopelessness of Parliament. However, I do not believe that all hon. Members, even on the Tory benches, possess coldness of heart or want of interest in Irish affairs. I believe that some amongst them have good hearts and good intentions, and that if we could only get at their hearts and make them see the condition of things as they really exist in Ireland, and show them that such conditions ought not to continue, I believe they would do justice to Ireland. But if they will not do justice to Ireland, the Irish Members will, I hope, make it impossible for them to do justice to England also. That is the purpose for which we have been sent here, and we shall knock at the door of Parliament until justice has been done to our people—not asking as gentlemen who have had a university education, but with the honest voice of men who have sprung from the people, who feel with the people, and who take a pride and glory in belonging to the working masses of the land. The other evening the right hon Gentleman the Member for the Sleaford Division was speaking about Manchester beer. The only thing I remember about Manchester is that twenty-three years ago three honest Irishmen were offered there as a sacrifice to British tyranny, and for their loyalty to Ireland. We are not much interested in Manchester beer, or in the affairs of China, or even in the Transvaal, although we sympathise to a great extent with the brave Boers, and protest against the injustice perpetrated against them by England. But I would say to the right hon. Gentleman who gave us such an extraordinary amount of statistics with reference to the consumption of beer in Manchester, that if he wants to get a good glass of beer he should go where you go for your finest soldiers—to Ireland, and he will have a good chance of getting it. Not that I would like to see any Member of this House, or the people generally, indulging to any extent in the beer of any country. I may say it would be a pleasure and satisfaction to me if all the beer were poisoned. I have heard of Army chaplains, and sometimes of Navy chaplains, but in future we apparently shall have a "Beery *Chaplin*" in this House. I wish sincerely that hon. Members would come here for the purpose of trying to understand the statistics relating to the population and condition of Ireland with as much exactness as those relating to Manchester poisoned beer. While I listened to the right hon. Member for Sleaford and watched him holding out a cup of that poisoned beer for the investigation of right hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial bench, I could not help thinking that there was, perhaps, in the mind of the right hon. Member just the suggestion of a wish that someone upon that bench would drink it, so that a vacancy might be left for him to occupy.

I noticed, however, that the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the War Office displayed a courtesy and a kindness towards these benches that I did not quite expect, and he paid a high tribute to the gallantry and nobility of character of the Boers. I could not help feeling, therefore, that there was at least one man on the Treasury Bench whom I should not like to see taking a cup of that poisoned beer. His testimony, of course, was to a certain extent depreciated by the conclusions he drew. He told us that the Boers went into the war with the distinct object of killing. I suppose everyone who goes into war does so with such an object, unless it be that some Englishmen go into it for the purpose of running away at the first opportunity. However, we sympathise with the Boers in the struggle they are making, as we believe, for the simple and sole purpose of gaining their liberty. Although they are doing it in a different way, they are, like ourselves, fighting for their liberty. We believe that they are fighting against the capitalists who have been instrumental in bringing about this war, and they have done so with energy and manhood against frightful odds. They have not been beaten yet, although in the end their liberty may be dragged from them; but while there is an Irishman left we will always speak in their favour and against the tyranny and injustice perpetrated against them. In my own poor county of Kerry we have a labouring population which has been continually depleted by emigration. When I listened to His Majesty's Speech read from the chair, I hoped to hear some indication that at the beginning of a new reign, of a new era, of a new century something was to be done for the Irish race, so that our men and women would be permitted to live in their own land without having to go abroad, surrounded by dangers and difficulties which few of them are aware of. When crossing from Dublin to Holyhead, one of the persons who accompanied me was a young Irish girl who was leaving her country to seek her fortune in the large city of Manchester. I hope when she gets there that she will not be induced to touch any of the poisoned beer. If any hon. Member had been with me on board that boat and had seen that young girl—and remember, she was only one of thousands who are leaving our native land year after year—he would certainly have felt one touch of nature in his heart, and have evinced a strong desire to give us in Ireland an opportunity of managing our own affairs, so that our boys and girls should not be compelled to leave their native home in order to get a living elsewhere.

I have spoken much longer than I intended, and I have merely striven to give expression to a few of the sentiments in my heart. I want you to understand that though you have thrust the Irish people to their knees, they are living still; and that until the right to manage their own affairs which they ask for is conceded, and until they are placed in a position to legislate for themselves, so that the Irish people of every description are able to live in their own land, they will continue coming and knocking at the doors of the British Parliament demanding that right for Ireland.

LICENSING LAWS.

*Mr. WHITTAKER (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley): I rise to move an Amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, in order to express regret that there appears to be no intention on the part of the Government to deal adequately with the question of reform of the licensing laws. There is no need for me to dilate on the evils of intemperance. It is recognised that drinking is our country's curse; our enemies say it is our national characteristic, and all right-minded people deplore it as a great dishonour. It is admitted to be a potent source of crime and poverty, and it is a great barrier across the pathway of social and moral progress. It confronts and baffles and defeats all philanthropists and reformers. Statesmen, judges, magistrates, doctors, ministers of religion, guardians of the poor, governors of gaols and workhouses, and that innumerable band of men and women who render priceless service to their fellows by constant, self-sacrificing, and largely unseen work among the poor, all unite in describing intemperance as the giant evil of our day and generation. Not only do the drinking habits of the people destroy their health, corrupt their morals, and waste their resources, but the liquor traffic itself—that swollen tyranny—has become a kind of British Tammany, a widespread source of political corruption, a distinct danger to the State, and a menace to the purity of our local and national public life. That is the social evil and the political danger with which it is the object of this Amendment to ask the Government to deal.

The Amendment expresses regret that there is no indication in the King's Speech of any intention to at all adequately attempt to discharge an immediate, urgent and obvious duty. There is an announcement in the King's Speech, but it is by no means easy to say precisely what that announcement means. The general opinion is that it means extremely little. It is clear that no reform in the licensing system, as a whole, is intended. Lord Salisbury says—

> "It may be matter for regret that our licensing system has reached its present condition, but how, without injustice to the individual, without injury to the public weal, and without exaggerating the influence of Parliament, this state of things can adequately be remedied we do not at present see."

That is a pitiable confession of impotence and incompetence. It is quite true that he goes on to suggest that somebody else may see a remedy, for he says—

> "In any case the remedy is obvious. Legislation is not the monopoly of the Government, and if the noble Earl will propose Bills on these and other subjects we shall consider them with sympathetic interest and we shall be glad to find a way out of the labyrinth of our troubles."

We have some idea what the sympathetic interest of the Prime Minister is worth. We know his treatment of the Children's Bill last year, and how he treated the Motion of the Bishop of Winchester. One thing is clear from the King's Speech, and that is that it is results and not causes that are to be dealt with. That is not what the nation desires or requires By all means check and punish drunkenness, but the Government should grapple vigorously with the system which facilitates, promotes, and largely creates the evil. Drunkenness in public-houses is already an offence against the law. It is a violation of the licence to permit it. Are we to understand from the Prime Minister that it is so prevalent, glaring, and scandalous as to be the most obvious and urgent reform? If so, what is to be said of the authorities that permit it and under whose supervision it has grown up? It seems to me that we ought to deal with this licensing question thoroughly, but the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Treasury have made it quite clear that the Government does not mean to grapple with this question seriously.

What is the position? In 1896 they appointed a Commission. In 1899 the Commission reported, and the Majority Report—it issued two Reports—after expressing the opinion that drunkenness has materially decreased in the last twenty-five years, went on to say—

> "Yet it is undeniable that a gigantic evil remains to be remedied and hardly any sacrifice would be too great which would result in a marked diminution of this national degradation, nor is Parliament likely to remain satisfied with leaving things as they are or to trust wholly to the influence we have described."

That is the portion of the Report which indicates the extent of the evil. It is a gigantic evil and national degradation. I may say, on behalf of myself and my colleagues who signed the Minority Report, that we all agree with that statement in the Majority Report, and I must remind the House that on the Commission sat eight chosen representatives of the liquor trade.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Mr. Speaker, on a point of order, is there any method by which we could compel the attendance of some member of the Government? The Ministerial bench is empty, and this is a most important debate.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): Should I be in order to move the adjournment of the House?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member cannot move the adjournment whilst another hon. Member is in possession of the House.

*MR. WHITTAKER: I was pointing out to the House that on the Commission were eight chosen representatives of the liquor trade. They signed the Report that there is a gigantic evil, and also that Parliament is not likely to rest satisfied with leaving things as they are. That was the opinion of eight representatives of the liquor trade. Is there an hon. Member in this House who does not endorse those statements? Yet the Government practically refuses to do anything, and makes a suggestion which is obviously so trifling as to be absolutely ludicrous? Therefore, I beg to move this Amendment, which practically declares Parliament will not rest satisfied to leave things as they are. It is twenty-five years ago since the Secretary for the Colonies used these words—

> "Temperance reform lies at the bottom of all further political, social, and religious progress. Drink is the curse of the country. It ruins the fortunes, it injures the health, it destroys the lives of one in twenty—I am afraid I should be right in saying of one in ten—of our population, and anything which can be done to diminish this terrible sacrifice of human life and human happiness is well worthy of all the attention and study which we can give it."

And then he went on to say—

> "The agitation will go on without us if not with us. If we are silent the very stones will cry out. If there is in the whole of this drink business any single encouraging feature it is to be found in the growing impatience of the people at the burden they are forced to bear, and their growing indignation and sense of the shame and the disgrace which it imposes on them."

The Home Secretary only the other day said that in his opinion things were growing worse rather than better, and yet the Government is practically silent, and the Prime Minister at one time gibes and flouts and sneers, and at another wrings his hands and pleads impotence and incompetence; whilst the Home Secretary prattles ancient nonsense about better dwellings for the poor. It is enough to make the very stones cry out. Thirteen years ago the Government then in power thought it needed dealing with. Eleven years ago they made another attempt. In 1894 the Colonial Secretary said "temperance was the most urgent social reform." In 1895 he said "there is a grievous scandal existing, to which it is the duty of statesmen to devote attention." In 1896 the Government appointed a Royal Commission, which was an admission that this question needed dealing with; and only the other day the Home Secretary said—

> "It had been said, and he thought without exaggeration, that intemperance was one of the greatest evils which could possibly be inflicted on a country. It was indisputable that it filled our prisons and crowded our workhouses, that it lowered vitality, that it prevented the breadwinner from putting forth the strength that was necessary for the purpose of maintaining his family, and that much of the wretchedness and distress in this country was owing to the extent to which, unhappily, intemperance existed. They were, he thought, justified in saying that all parties in the country, to whatever section of the temperance party they belonged, or indeed whether they belonged to any section or not, were agreed that the evil was a great one, and that it would be a great blessing to the country if means could be found to mitigate, if not altogether to remove, that great evil."

Then why do not the Government take some action? It is a year and a half since the Commission reported. We cannot be charged with being unduly hasty. The Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Treasury have indicated one reason, which is that the Commission was not unanimous. Of course they were not. They could not be unanimous, and I venture to say it was never intended that they should be. The constitution of the Committee was too absurd to hope for unanimity. But I say if the fact that a commission does not agree is to be taken as an excuse for burking a question, it will always be easy to avoid dangerous and difficult legislation by appointing a commission which never will agree on a particular subject. The excuse is too paltry, and would never be put forward except by a Government which, in proportion to its majority, has less courage and backbone, and is more flabby than any I have ever known.

It is a plea of incompetence. They do not wait for unanimity on other questions—when they give doles to parsons for tithes, doles to aid agricultural rates, and subsidies for sectarian schools. They do not stipulate for unanimity then, nor is there any demand for it when they desire to shovel money into the pockets of their friends. It is only when they are called upon to grapple with a gigantic evil and a national degradation upon which a body of men fatten who claim to have put the Government into power and to be able to put them out again that they stipulate for unanimity. The First Lord of the Treasury and the Home Secretary have stated that there is no unanimity as to a remedy; but there is unanimity that something should be done. The Commission does disclose where the shoe pinches; it discloses weaknesses, defects, and failures in the law; it shows the evils to be grappled with, and it is the duty of the Government to propound the remedy. That is their duty and responsibility, and they cannot shuffle it on to the shoulders of anyone else. The Government asks for a plan, but it is not our business to supply one. I remember years ago in this House the Colonial Secretary, speaking with true commercial instinct on another question, saying what he would do when he sat on the Treasury Bench and received the fees. It is the duty of the Government to suggest a remedy, and of the House to accept or reject it. Have they not a plan? I seem to remember during the last and the previous election that the supporters of the Government went to the polls with the plea that they were in favour of reasonable and practical temperance reform. Those men must have had some definite idea of what they were talking about. Where is their scheme? If they do not produce one they are charlatans and political humbugs. I venture to say there is a good deal of unanimity upon this matter. Of course, if the Government stipulate that the trade must be unanimous, they probably demand the impossible; but it is a novel doctrine that those who fatten on abuses and wrongs must be consenting parties to reform, or nothing can be done.

The Times pointed out some time ago that it was not to be expected that the trade would agree to temperance reform, which means the checking of drinking, and consequently less profits, but if there is not unanimity there are many points of general detail upon which the Commission is unanimous, and still more of general principle. The Home Secretary demands unanimity, and when the points of agreement are suggested he doubts if licensing reform will do much good, and branches off to better dwellings, and through it all chews the cud of compensation, and his own fiascos in 1888 and 1890. I am not surprised that he was frightened at the deputation which waited upon him, and made their foolish proposal. They practically asked him to revive the absurd, discredited, and discarded proposals of twelve or thirteen years ago. It was not unreasonable for the right hon. Gentleman to refuse to consider their scheme. With regard to points of agreement, take the question of watch committees. There was absolute unanimity in the Report that representatives of the liquor trade should not be members of watch committees. Let me remind the House what a scandal there was at Manchester. In that case it was found that there a superintendent of police had some property bequeathed to him, a brothel and a beerhouse. He would not allow the police to bring charges against the keeper of that house, and set them to raid other establishments to promote the business of his own; and when eventually a summons was obtained against the keeper he withheld the summons so that the keeper might escape, and when finally the matter came before the magistrate at Manchester, I never read more scathing language than he used in connection with this man's conduct. Moreover, this superintendent of police, while himself a married man, with a grown-up family, had cohabited with a woman who was a beerhouse keeper, and took her to the Isle of Man for a holiday. That was brought to the attention of the watch committee; but did they dismiss him? No. They merely censured him. It was only after a public outcry that he had to go, and then they awarded him a pension, though after another public outcry that pension was refused. The chief constable of the city had to go in consequence of that scandal, and at the next election the watch committee was purified. Yet the Government of the day conferred a C.B. on the chief constable, and this year the chairman of that watch committee was knighted. At the very time the Commission was sitting the mayor of the borough of Wigan was a publican who held premises in a district in which the police had to go in couples at night, and who had admitted that he had sold drink illegally. At Derby, too, there was another terrible exposure; and anybody who read the evidence taken before the Commission would understand why they unanimously recommended that it should be made illegal for anyone connected with the trade to sit on a watch committee. Another unanimous recommendation was that no one who acted as solicitor to brewers should be allowed to act as clerk to any bench of magistrates. Justice must be purified at its source by removing liquor-dealers and brewers from the watch committee. These are anomalies that ought to be remedied. As to Quarter Sessions, there is a belief that the present condition of things is extremely undesirable. The magistrates who review the decisions do not know the localities or the conditions under which the licences are dealt with. There is agreement that the *bona fide* traveller nuisance needs to be dealt with; there is very large agreement as to the serving of children, and there is agreement that the licensing authority should have control over all licences. There is also unanimity on the Commission as to providing legal assistance for the police in carrying out their duties with regard to licences. There is also agreement that the hours of sale on Sunday should be very much reduced. There is not agreement as to the actual hours, the majority—twenty out of twenty-four—reporting in favour of two hours at noon and two at night. There is agreement as to the necessity of some restriction upon clubs, and there is also agreement as to the necessity for greater power as to snugs, screens, partitions, back doors, and side entrances—those abominations that respectable men ought to be ashamed to resort to. They facilitate people sneaking in unseen to get liquor if they are ashamed to be seen doing it. The baker or the butcher does not want a side entrance or a back door. The publicans want these entrances because they know that the people who go into these places are ashamed to be seen. The people who own these public-houses are not ashamed to facilitate those people in doing what they are ashamed to do. The screens and partitions inside mean that when they get inside they are afraid of being seen by one another. If I had time I could tell you some terrible stories of what has occurred behind the screens.

I have ventured to name a number of points on which there is unanimity. There is no question of compensation in connection with these things. If the Government cannot see its way to anything further, these are some points on which they might do something. The Home Secretary referred to reduction in the number of houses. The recommendation of the Commission is unanimous that there ought to be a reduction. The Home Secretary questioned whether, after all, it would be of very great value to reduce the number. He says there has been a great reduction in the number during the last twenty-five years, and yet public-houses are now worth more than before, and that more drink is consumed now. Well, of course the houses are worth more. If you have fewer of them and a larger population it does not necessarily mean that there is more drinking. You may have fewer houses, and a smaller total sale, but each of the fewer houses may sell more liquor. It is the monopoly that sends up the value.

I shall now deal with the point whether, in spite of the reduction in the number of houses, there has been an increase in drinking. I challenge the fact entirely, and I will undertake to prove that there has been a diminution in drinking as the number of licences has diminished, and that until there was a diminution in the number of licences there was a steady increase in the consumption of liquor. The Home Secretary gave the period of twenty-five years, and I will take his own period. I will take the bulk of my figures from the statistical abstract issued by the Department over which the Home Secretary previously presided with such distinguished credit. Between 1874 and 1899 there was a diminution of 15,000 in the number of public-houses and beerhouses. During the same period the consumption decreased 15 per cent. in spirits, 30 per cent. in wines, and 4 per cent. in beer. At the same time, the consumption of tea went up 41 per cent., sugar 47½ per cent., and tobacco 31 per cent., showing that the decrease in the consumption of liquor was not due to a diminution of the prosperity and the spending power of the people. I will go back twenty five years prior to 1874. During those twenty-five years there was an increase in the number of public-houses, and the consumption of spirits went up 21 per cent., of wine 130 per cent., and of beer 60 per cent. Everyone knows that facilities do increase drinking. If they do not, why is not anyone who wants a licence allowed to have one? There is not a single bench of magistrates in the country which grants licences to every applicant. Every Committee and Commission which has investigated the subject during the last seventy years has recommended a diminution in the number of licensed houses on the ground that an increase in such houses facilitates drinking. The trade continually enlarge their premises because they know that facilities increase drinking, and they will tell you that clubs do promote drunkenness. The Registrar-General gives statistics every ten years, which show that the mortality amongst publicans and their servants is greater than in any other trade. Why is that? Because the men are under more temptation than anybody else; they are constantly face to face with liquor, and the result is that they drink more than other people. The terrible increase in drinking amongst women during the last twenty-five years has been due to the establishment of grocers' licences and refreshment houses. It is very proper that better dwellings should be provided for the people, but my firm opinion is that temperance is the most important factor in social reform. Is there no drunkenness in the dwellings of the well-to-do? Ask our doctors and the clergy. In the north of England I know something of colliery villages, which have been built near great pits. The conditions of the people in these villages are the same. The houses are all alike and men work at the same trade and earn the same rate of wages. Go through the streets of these villages and you will find some of the houses utterly miserable and neglected, while others are clean and respectable. Make inquiry, and you will find that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the dirty houses are occupied by intemperate people. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that if you take the drunken family out of the dirty home and put them into the house of the sober family it would alter their way of living? I say that the drunken family would soon alter the condition of the clean home. It is since 1876 that a reduction in the number of licences has taken place. Up to 1876 from 1828 there was a steady increase, and from 1876 there has been a considerable decrease. The twenty-five years prior to 1876 was a prosperous time in this country, and pauperism was diminished one half during that period. Our exports rose from £71,000,000 in 1850 to £223,000,000 in 1875. There was a great increase in the education of the country during the same period, and the sanitary conditions under which the people lived were greatly improved. During that time licences increased by 15,000. In spite of better sanitary regulations and Factory Acts, drunkenness and crime increased, and, what is very important, the death rate stood still. Our sanitary legislation made no change on the death rate of the country. It was in 1876 that licences began to go down; drunkenness and crime also went down, and the death rate fell from 4 to 5 per thousand. I suggest that formerly the evils of intemperance more than counterbalanced all the improvements in the other directions.

The Prime Minister deprecated changes the effect of which could not be seen. I venture to say that here are changes the effect of which can be seen in diminished drinking, and in the improved condition of the people. We have never during the past century reversed any restrictive legislation with regard to the liquor traffic. The Licensing Commission does not suggest that we should go back on the restrictive legislation we have passed. All the forecasts as to the failure of Sunday closing have been refuted and disproved. Many of the reforms recommended in the two Reports are already in operation in Scotland, and they are a success there, and the people of Scotland are asking for more.

But there is the difficulty of compensation. I venture to submit that this is not an insuperable difficulty. What are the conditions under which compensation could be agreed to? First, it must be so arranged that it will not block the way to further temperance reform. It must also secure some immediate or early substantial reform, and it must not come out of the public pocket. I am not going to argue the question of legal right. That has been settled by the law courts of the country long ago, and is now beyond dispute. With regard to the question of compensation, eight of the members representing the trade on the Commission signed the recommendation that the compensation should come from the trade itself. Both the Majority and the Minority are absolutely unanimous on that point. The fact disposes of the legal claim, because no one who had a legal claim would ever suggest that he should provide the money himself. It has been alleged that the temperance party were foolish to reject the schemes of 1888 and 1890, but the truth is, those schemes were impossible, because they were inadequate, because they endowed public-houses, and because they blocked the way to future reform. As a matter of fact, many more public-houses have been got rid of without those reforms than would have been the case with them. In London those proposals of 1888 and 1890 would have provided money enough to buy up between 150 and 200 public-houses in seven years. But in seven years in London since that time we have got rid of 600 licences. Therefore, when people say the temperance cause lost much by not accepting those schemes, they do not know what they are talking about. The temperance party ought not to accept any measure of compensation that will not give them a much bigger reduction than they are now getting. It should be an essential part of any scheme, too, that it should not block the way to future reform. I am satisfied that a workable and satisfactory scheme of compensation, by means of funds raised from the liquor trade, could be arranged. The great bulk of the temperance people will not oppose a reasonable scheme, if the way to further reform be not blocked, and the whole of the money required comes from the trade. Lord Peel's scheme is only one way of grappling with the problem. If the trade wish to pay more money to each other that can be arranged. To say that extreme men prevented legislation is childish nonsense. No body of extreme men could in this country prevent reasonable, just, and effective legislation.

My object in proposing the amendment is not to press on the Government any particular scheme of reform; all I wish is to press upon them most earnestly to do something. I do allege that the responsibility is theirs, and the amendment calls upon them to undertake the responsibility and to discharge the duty. I know the question is a difficult one, but the greater will be the honour to those who deal with it. And they must not talk as though they were giving something to temperance men as an advantage, as though we, as a class or section of the community, were going to gain something by it; they must not talk as though we were really primarily and specially responsible for the evil. We are interested in dealing with this matter only as citizens anxious to get rid of a great evil in our midst. If there be any class of men upon whom the burden of responsibility with regard to the liquor traffic does not rest it is those of us who touch not the stuff. Our hands are clean, at any rate; we do not necessitate the business from which this evil flows, and to talk to us as if we were specially responsible for dealing with it is little less than an impertinence. Those are responsible who necessitate, countenance, and justify the traffic. The responsibility is theirs, and if they will but shoulder that responsibility and attempt to discharge the duty which lies upon them, temperance men will help them in so doing.

The Government should grapple with this question. I am not the man to advise the liquor trade, but I venture to suggest that the trade itself will do well to get the question settled. We who sit on this side of the House will be in power some day, and there are more ways of killing a cat than by hanging it. We can destroy the value of the monopoly in public-houses if the trade will not consent to some reasonable method of doing it. High licence fees and a free licence to everybody who will pay the fee will knock the bottom out of the public-house monopoly in twenty-four hours. It can be done, and the trade need not look to another place to protect them, because it could be done in a Money Bill. Temperance men want something doing; we are anxious to have this gigantic evil dealt with. The country wants something doing, and I venture to think that the trade itself is somewhat weary of the uncertainty and unrest which the continual agitation is causing it. The opportunity, therefore, is favourable; everybody is in a mood for a reasonable settlement. Let the Government but pluck up their courage to deal with this question, and they will secure a great triumph. I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name.

*MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): After the able speech of my hon. friend it will not be necessary for me in seconding the Amendment to do more than emphasise one or two of the main conclusions to which his speech inevitably led. I feel some diffidence in referring to Lord Peel, but perhaps, I may, without presumption, be allowed to say that I think he has rendered the country a great service through his chairmanship of the Licensing Commission, and that future history will count his name memorable, not only because of his having been a great Speaker of this House, but because he very courageously grappled with a very difficult problem and made an important contribution towards its solution. My hon. friend has already pointed out that the main conclusion to which this Commission came was somewhat remarkable, namely that there, was rampant in this country a gigantic evil in regard to intemperance, and that hardly any sacrifice would be too great which conduced to reduce its power. That was a strange conclusion to come from a Commission so constituted. That body had upon it representatives of every phase and section of opinion on the subject. Another fact which ought to be alluded to is that, with regard to that inquiry, we had an absolutely open door; there was nothing in the shape of a press censor in connection with it. Every section of public opinion had an equal right and opportunity of laying its views before the inquiry, and yet the result of three years examination of the problem was an emphatic verdict of condemnation of the existing licensing system. The Commission aroused in the country an extraordinary amount of interest, by reason of the fact, I believe, that the matter has now become a national question. The conscience of the country has at last been touched upon this point, and the temperance problem has passed from the region of uncertainty and doubt into the domain of fact. Anyone who has seriously considered the conditions surrounding the problem will at once see that that is an element in the case of the greatest importance. The Amendment points out that there is at the present moment in the country a widespread desire for legislation in the direction of temperance reform. The evil is admitted; no one doubts it for a moment.

I would very briefly lay down three general propositions with regard to the Amendment: first, we are dealing with an issue of national importance; secondly, that the condition of things in regard to it is so grave that it demands the abandonment of political considerations; and thirdly, that there is no time to be lost, but that action ought to be taken in the direction of legislative interference without delay. We are dealing with an issue of national importance. I am not going to weary the House by going over ground which has been already covered, but evidence from every quarter substantiates this proposition. Judicial and criminal statistics, the records of crime, disease, and insanity, the opinion of the medical prefession, the statistics of the Registrar General, the annual colossal and annually increasing drink bill, and, more than all, if you go below the surface of things you will find that this poison of drunkenness is prejudicially affecting what I might call the higher life of the country. As evidence upon this point we have the unanimous judgment of the Royal Commission. I would draw the attention of the Home Secretary to the very strong words he made use of the other day in replying to a deputation to which reference has already been made. The right hon. Gentleman admits that drunkenness fills our prisons, crowds our workhouses, lowers the vitality of the country, prevents the maintenance of families, and causes much of the distress and misery of the people. In the face of such facts no Government are justified in declining to propose legislation dealing effectively, at all events, with the most glaring defects in our licensing system.

Then the position, I take it, is so grave that it demands the abandonment of political considerations. The time has come for us to look at this problem from the national standpoint. Is not this the history of every great reform? In regard to all big questions is it not the case that a point comes when the politician must be merged in the citizen? This is the case with regard to questions affecting national defence. I am glad to think that with regard to the Army and the Navy we have at all events in this House reached a point when those matters are dealt with from a national and not from a political standpoint. And is not this curse of drunkenness the great enemy of our home life that our country has to fear? I want to give one or two of the reasons why I think the Government have not so far been able to show any indications of their determination to deal with this question. One reason I would submit is a want of information on the part of leading political statesmen of the day as to the true and real condition of things, My hon. friend the mover of this Amendment has referred to the action taken by the late Lord Randolph Churchill in years gone by. Many speeches in regard to temperance reform made by that gentleman are memorable to this day, and I think the reason of that great interest was the fact that he took an opportunity of seeing for himself something of the havoc which drink is doing in regard to the life of this metropolis. Another reason put forward for the inaction of the Government is this. In his speech to the deputation the other day the Home Secretary said that he was unable to promise any great things with regard to legislation on temperance lines, because of what he called the opposition and the difficulty of carrying a Bill through Parliament. Is that a valid excuse for a Government with a majority of 134 behind its back? Clearly the opposition to which the right hon. Gentleman referred is not a Parliamentary opposition. My hon. friend has already dealt so clearly with the plea that nothing can be done because of the want of agreement on all points in the Commission that I will not dwell upon that point; I would only emphasise the fact that it is not true that there is a want of agreement upon many of the main points. We are agreed as to the necessity of a drastic amendment of the laws relating to the administration of the trade, and also as to the necessity of a great reduction in the number of public-houses. Even if we had not been able to come to an agreement upon those points, I do not think that any Government, having regard to the circumstances of the case, are not justified in shirking the responsibility of taking effective action in regard to the matter. But what is the real reason that we cannot get any real and substantial reform? It is because of the unfortunate alliance between the party opposite and those who represent the drink trade. I do not say that there are not on the other side of the House a large number of hon. Members who take as great an interest in temperance reform as any Member upon this side. I further believe that this alliance is not generally of their own choosing; it has grown up owing to the application of one of the leading political doctrines of their faith to an interest in the country which has assumed gigantic and alarming proportions. But nevertheless the fact remains that, speaking generally, Members on the other side of the House are more or less pledged to resist temperance legislation. Until this alliance is severed we cannot hope, so far as legislation coming from the party opposite is concerned, to have an adequate solution of the question. There was also a general agreement on the Commission with regard to the amendment of the Sunday Closing Act in Wales, and with regard to Local Veto the Chairman's Report recommended that after a certain period of time that principle should be applied to the Principality.

My concluding point is that we have arrived at a condition of things which demands immediate action. I was reading the other day a very interesting article which appeared in the *Lancet*. It points out that during the last twenty years, whereas there has been a diminution in the death rate in all other groups, in the group dealing with deaths from drink there has been a substantial increase, the rate of mortality rising from 45 per cent. per million to 77 per cent. per million. The writer of the leading article, who cannot be in any way regarded as attached specially to temperance reform, makes this observation—

> "No temperance lecturer can be more profoundly convinced than we are ourselves of the terrible mischief which is being done to our country at the present day by alcoholic indulgence."

If we are not touched in regard to this matter by questions affecting humanity, perhaps some of us may be affected by other considerations. In looking forward to the future it is important for us to watch very carefully what is taking place in regard to the trade and the economic position of this country. I believe the time has come when we should throw aside the subtleties of political controversy and have united action upon this question, which is of vital concern to the nation. There is apparently in this country at the present day a serious lack of earnestness in regard to social questions. The air is filled with the word and spirit of Empire. I have more than once candidly admitted that there is no one who takes a greater pride in the glory of the British Empire than I do, but I cannot close my eyes to the unalterable fact that if we are to maintain our prestige and our position abroad as an Empire we must see to it that our house at home is set in order. One of the most essential reforms in my judgment for the strengthening and the uplifting of the home life of the country is an effective measure of temperance reform, and I believe it is in this way alone that in this century the British Empire can be made, not only in name but also in deed, the greatest power for good in the world. I have very great pleasure in seconding the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words,—'But we humbly express our regret to Your Majesty that, having regard to the Reports of the recent Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws and the wide-spread desire which exists that some effort should be made to diminish the evil, which they describe as gigantic and a national degradation, there is no indication in Your Majesty's Gracious Speech of any intention to deal at all adequately with this subject.'"—(*Mr. Whittaker.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, Ince) protested against the references made by the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division to Wigan. He had no hesitation in saying that neither the chairman of the watch committee nor the Mayor of Wigan would encourage drunkenness any more than the hon. Member opposite.

*SIR WILLIAM HOULDSWORTH (Manchester, N.W.): Those of us who sit on this side of the House, and yet have much sympathy with the views expressed by the mover and seconder of this Amendment, feel that they have two difficulties to contend with in dealing with this question on this occasion. One is that an Amendment to the Address is generally viewed as a vote of want of confidence in the Government, and, that being the case, if the hon. Member goes to a division, we shall have some difficulty, I am afraid, in following him. The second difficulty is that we are in ignorance at the present moment as to exactly what it is His Majesty's Government have in their minds in regard to carrying out the statement of the King's Speech in reference to this licensing question. Many of us have examined it very carefully, and have endeavoured to conjecture what it meant, but we have failed to derive very much comfort from it, or, in fact, to imagine what the proposal is. I am one of those—and there are a considerable number on this side of the House—who, while not anxious to press upon the Government drastic and impracticable measures, do earnestly believe that the time has come when progress should be made with regard to temperance reform. I venture to say, notwithstanding some remarks of the seconder of the Amendment, that there is a very large body of Members on this side of the House who will support the Government in bringing forward, and vote in this House for moderate and reasonable measures of reform, which, after all, although moderate and reasonable, may be very beneficial indeed and pave the way for further legislation in the future.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS: I am sorry to interrupt, but that is exactly what I endeavoured to say. I acknowledged the fact that there were a large number of Members on the other side heartily in favour of temperance reform.

*SIR WILLIAM HOULDSWORTH: I am glad if I misunderstood the hon. Member. The Home Secretary the other day seemed to be very much afraid of entering upon legislation connected with the licensing law, and apparently he gave as his reason that he would have to face the difficult question of the reduction of licenses coupled with the thorny subject of compensation. I hope that that was not really the Home Secretary's own feeling. I think he was a little misled, perhaps, by the deputation which appeared before him, because I rather think that that deputation had not so much in their minds the reforms that many of us have in our minds; they wished to impress upon the Home Secretary the very reasonable and beneficial character of the scheme of reduction and compensation which they recommended. I venture to suggest that we should leave aside for the present that large question of reduction and compensation. I am in favour of the reduction of licenses, and I believe it will be essential, but there is a great deal of work to be done before we get to that question. If we put that in the fore-front of anything we attempt it will only block the way and prevent us doing a great deal of good which might pave the way to such a reduction coupled with compensation. It is sometimes said that piecemeal legislation is bad legislation. I do not think it is. I can fancy that in regard to some subjects piecemeal legislation may do harm if it is ragged legislation, but I think we could show the Home Secretary that on this question there are a number of reforms which are simple and complete in themselves which might be taken up and carried into law without interfering at all with further progress, and which would be most beneficial.

The question of compensation is always dragged across the path of temperance reform, but the Report of the Royal Commission consisted of five parts, and in the first part, relating to England and Wales, there are forty-three recommendations which have nothing to do with the question of compensation at all. Indeed, it is only when we come to the fifth part that the question of compensation is dealt with. My hon. friend opposite has suggested some reforms which, I agree, will be most beneficial and are demanded. Having been a member of the Royal Commission, I venture to say that the hon. Member has not exaggerated in the slightest degree the evidence that was brought before us. I am quite prepared to stand by the words the hon. Member has used, and to say that in many parts of the country the present administration of the licensing laws is in a scandalous condition. That is not a question of temperance reform. It is a question of the reform of the administration of the present law; and if the Government are afraid of entering upon purely temperance legislation, surely they ought not to be afraid of reforming the administration of our existing licensing law.

I will not weary the House by giving a long catalogue of the various reforms that are suggested in these Reports. A large number of them, as the hon. Member pointed out, were unanimous recommendations by both sides of the Commission, including the trade, and I venture to say that the trade ought to be bound by the action of their delegates in regard to them. I also believe that the Majority Report in many of its recommendations not only represents what temperance reformers desire, but represents the opinion of the public outside—that these are reforms which should be undertaken at once by the responsible Government of the country. One simple reform that might be undertaken —it is so simple a matter that I am almost ashamed to mention it—is the holding of the licensing session in March instead of August and September, when the renewal of licences and the granting of new licences is very loosely done, because in the various localities the people are away at that time of the year. Then there is the reform that a licence should not be renewed in the case of a house under £12 rateable value. Off-licences should be under the control of the licensing authorities, and the distance in regard to *bona-fide* travellers should be extended. Then there is the power to arrest for simple drunkenness, and of dealing with habitual drunkards. There is also the important question, unanimously recommended by both sides of the Commission, as to the limit of age at which children should be served with drink. I believe that public opinion has been thoroughly roused on this question, and that it has a great deal of sympathy from many who have no liking whatever for what is called ordinary temperance reform. It is strongly felt that if we cannot in our generation remove the stigma of drunkenness, which unfortunately attaches to our nation, we should endeavour to prevent the next generation from falling into the evil. There is in addition the very important question of clubs, which is not exclusively a temperance question. I do not know whether the Home Secretary will venture to take that question up. I feel that the more the number of public-houses is decreased the more the growing evil of clubs will increase. The proposals of the Commission with regard to clubs are not at all drastic. They do not interfere with *bona-fide* clubs, but would put a stop to bogus and drinking clubs which are often set up for the sole purpose of drinking, and carried on by some publican who has lost his licence. The regulations proposed would improve the condition of working men's clubs, many of which are admirably conducted and free from the stain of drunkenness, but many of which would be better for the public eye being turned upon them.

These and many other recommendations I think the Government might take up, and I trust the Home Secretary and the Government will take a more courageous attitude on this subject. Up to a certain point this is becoming less and less a party question, and it will find a great deal of support from these benches. I have had an opportunity during the past few weeks of ascertaining the views of a large number of Members on this side of the House, and I am surprised to find the change that has taken place in public opinion on this question since I first entered this House. We are not fanatics. We will be found to be most reasonable, but if the Government does not move we shall have to be unreasonable. I do not ask for a comprehensive Bill. I simply ask the Government to deal with some of the urgent reforms recommended in the Report of the Royal Commission, and to give their support to any private Bill introduced for this object, which would, without their assistance, have only a remote chance of becoming law.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.) contended that instead of reducing the number of licences the Government should go to the root of the question and see that what was sold in public-houses was good and wholesome. Much of the spirits sold in this country was imported from Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, and was manufactured from sawdust and shavings by what was known as the sulphuric acid process. It was this sort of stuff that produced the mischiefs of which so much complaint was made, and at a recent exhibition it was used to clean the elephants with. If attention was not given to this matter they in Ireland would have to seriously consider the question whether they should in the future produce barley or sawdust. He hoped the House would pause before taking away the vested interest in licensed houses such as was admitted to exist in Ireland, and not run amuck against all licensed houses with so-called temperance reformers. The great check in Ireland was that it anyone broke the law he lost his licence. He denied that there was any widespread desire to deprive of licences a class of traders in commodities which bore the brunt of taxation. If the temperance party had their way they would reform the trade off the face of the earth, and then they would have the greater evil of unlicensed public-houses or shebeens. If the House would see that arsenic was not put in beer, and that whisky was not made from sawdust, it would do far more towards promoting temperance than by reducing the number of licences, and taking the bread out of the mouths of people who were conducting their business in an honourable way. Would England like to have its trade interfered with, simply because of the fads of some gentlemen who did not understand the question? [AN HON. MEMBER laughed.] That laugh was probably the exhilaration of adulterated tea. The licensing question was one of the most serious questions of the day, because the trade was the backbone of the taxation of the country. He did not remonstrate with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the question of licensing, but on the subject of foreign spirits which were not taxed, and he asked that when the question of licensing was being considered, the Government should also consider the question of the sale of deleterious compounds produced in foreign countries, and sold in this country under names which they had no right to bear. He never heard of Danish whisky, or Swedish whisky, or German whisky, but compounds from these countries were bottled in bond, and fraudently imposed on the public as Irish whisky. He objected to that, and he felt sure that the Government would consider it before interfering with the vested interests in a trade which had always found money for taxation. It could not be shown that the licensing system in Ireland was a bad one. The drink bill in Ireland was £2 14s. per head, but the sober people of England spent £4 5s. per head. In Ireland they had not only a better licensing system, but they had better stuff. They were always asked in Ireland to take their opinions from England, and to go to England for sobriety and licensing reform. They declined. They did not want English licensing; they did not want English liquor, but they asked England to take theirs. They did not wish licensed houses to sell as an Irish commodity a compound made in Germany or Denmark. There was one thing that the Government should consider, and that was whether they were going to rob people who had invested money in a trade which was always sanctioned by law. If the Government abolished all licences to-morrow, how would the teetotalers like to see tea and soda water taxed? They would then be all found drinking London water. He would conclude by making an entreaty to the Government to deal with the question of commodities. If they found that adulteration was rife, and that the public health suffered, then let them not spare such licensed houses as sold such compounds, because they had broken the law. But as long as licensed houses carried on their trade in a fair and honourable manner, any Government worthy of the name of a government would not interfere with them, notwithstanding all that the faddists of the nation might say.

SIR MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): In a somewhat amusing speech the hon. and gallant Gentleman stated that the people would not drink Scotch whisky in Ireland. I would reply that we would not drink Irish whisky in Scotland, a liquor which I heard described in this House as "a torchlight procession down one's throat," and I think no one accustomed to Scotch whisky would favour it. I do hope that some good will come of this debate. The matter is one in which the whole country is of one way of thinking, although not much was said about it at the General Election. I believe in every constituency, certainly in every Scotch constituency of which I have knowledge—and I have knowledge of a good many—it was held that legislation on the lines laid down by the Royal Commission must take place; and it would not be well, under these circumstances, for the Government, with its great majority, to do nothing during the present Parliament. I think, however, that the tone of the proposer and seconder of this Amendment was somewhat harsh as regards the position of the Government. I do not condemn the Government. They have introduced a sentence on the subject into the King's Speech. What that may be worth I do not know, but it may be worth—and I rather think it will be worth—a great deal more than some hon. Members seem to think. Therefore I give the Government every credit for yielding to the wishes of the country, provided that they see, as I am satisfied they do, the great urgency and importance of the question. It is not that Englishmen attach any great importance to drastic measures. I have been in Parliament for, more or less, twenty-five years, and I have never yet seen one of those great reforms foreshadowed at the commencement of any session carried into law. Almost the only measure of any utility affecting Scotland which was carried during the last twenty-five years namely, the closing at an earlier hour at the wish of the town councils in the burghs, was really carried by myself. The hon. Baronet the Member for North-west Manchester foreshadowed several important measures. It is true they were small ones, compared with the larger measures foreshadowed by the Royal Commission; but if several of them were passed in the present Parliament we should be much the better for them, and I believe they would tend to give us a more sober people, and to put licensing reform on a much better basis. Those of us who know anything about licensing in Scotland know it is not a question of liquor, but really a question of administration, and if the question of administration is better attended to in the measures which the Government may give us no one will be more satisfied than I will be.

*MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I think the Irish Members are entitled to some explanation from the Government on this licensing question, so far as it affects Ireland. We have heard from these benches eloquent speeches on the temperance question. I, for one, do not object to home rule for England in temperance matters. If you want legislation to deal with the evils existing in England, let it be confined to England. The general rule on these temperance matters is that Gentlemen from the Liberal benches bring forward temperance measures, and apply them not to England but to Ireland. Ireland is used as a place to experiment upon, and as a kind of dumping ground for temperance fads. I think, therefore, the Irish Members are entitled to know from the Government, if they are really serious about bringing in temperance legislation, whether it is to apply to Ireland. You passed a Sunday Closing Act for Ireland, but there is no Sunday Closing Act for England. We who have experience of the working of the Sunday Closing Act in the West of Ireland know that that Act has closed no house which would not have been closed if it had never come into operation. All the respectable houses would close of their own accord on Sundays, and as a matter of fact, the Sunday Closing Act has really been a Sunday Opening Act for all low-class public houses.

The hon. Member who introduced this amendment referred to the police corruption in Manchester, Wigan, and other cities in this country. We know that in Ireland police corruption on a smaller scale has also occurred. From my own experience I know that the police, instead of enforcing the Sunday Closing Act with an equal hand and with equal justice, use it as an engine very often for political and personal spite. A certain class of publicans are harassed, whereas another class are allowed to sell as much as they like on Sundays. I myself, having been appointed a magistrate under the Local Government Act, had to complain about the conduct of the police in this very respect. But I could obtain no satisfaction. In fact, other magistrates and myself have been sneered at because we are Nationalists. If you put in force any law of great severity it is almost bound to lead to corruption on the part of the men who are called upon to administer it. If, therefore, you increase the restrictions at present existing, how are you to guard against corruption on even a wider scale? On that ground alone I object to any further attempts to make people sober by Act of Parliament, or to make them temperate by methods of coercion. The ordinary individual would not drink a glass of whisky more simply because there were a hundred public-houses in a street instead of ten. Of course foolish and stupid people will get drunk no matter what legislation you may pass, and to say that because a few idiotic individuals get drunk the reasonable habits of ordinary men are to be hampered is a proposal which this House should not tolerate. My reason for interfering in this debate is simply to object to any further extension of licensing restrictions to Ireland. If you want them in England I will not object. The hon. Member who moved the amendment referred to the terrible drunkenness prevailing in some parts of England. I have had some experience of that myself. I remember attending a meeting held in a colliery village in the North of England—it was called a "village"—of 10,000 inhabitants. The day happened to be pay-day, and I never saw such a state of drunkenness before. After the Irish meeting was over, which I attended, I remember that every place I went to, I saw nearly every man, woman and child in a drunken condition.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Mid): As one of the Members for Durham I should like to know the name of that village. I venture to say that the hon. Member cannot find a village in the north of England which in any way comes near his description. I hope he will use more careful language.

*MR. TULLY: I have great personal respect for the hon. Gentleman, and I do not wish to hurt his feelings particularly. If he would like the name of the village I will give it to him afterwards.

MR. JOHN WILSON: I wish to have it now.

*MR. TULLY: It was in the village of Hetton-le-hole.

MR. JOHN WILSON: It is untrue.

*MR. TULLY: I was a witness of it myself. When I was looking for a car to take me to the station, every place I went into appeared to be crawling with drunkenness, and I could not get a vehicle to carry me to the nearest railway station there were so many people drunk in the place. I do not object to any coercion, any Crimes Act you may introduce to put down intemperance of that description. I never saw any thing like it in Ireland, and I hope I never shall. I hope in this matter the Government will confine their legislation to England. When we brought forward the question of the over-taxation of Ireland the hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment was one of our most conspicuous and able opponents, and although he would not give us Home Rule in the matter of financial relations I am quite willing to give him Home Rule in the matter of temperance legislation. I have seen it stated that one of the methods of dealing with this question is to wipe out all public houses under a certain valuation in Ireland without compensation. There is also another proposal. In obedience to some circular or mandate issued from Dublin Castle, the county court judges in Ireland—a respectable body of men—were summoned to meet, and came to the conclusion to recommend to the Government that all licensing business in Ireland should be taken out of the hands of the local magistrate and put into the hands of the county court judges. I object to giving them any further power in these matters. I think they are entirely unfitted to deal with licensing questions in Ireland, by their political as well as their legal training. Moreover, they have quite enough to do at present. The cry never went up in Ireland for abolishing the jurisdiction of ordinary magistrates until, owing to the operation of the Local Government Act, men like myself, elected by the votes of the people, were able to take our seats on the magisterial bench. And because such men have become magistrates it is suddenly discovered that everything wrong is now done by the local magistrates and the Government are accordingly asked to abolish their jurisdiction and to hand over the question of licensing to the county court judges. Another proposal is to, hand over the licensing administration of Ireland solely to the paid magistrates. I think that is equally objectionable. In fact, if I had to choose between the two classes I should prefer the county court judges. Whatever chance of fair play or independence or consideration for the people that might be looked for—and it might be very small—would be found among the county court judges rather than among the promoted policemen who figure as resident magistrates.

I think the Secretary of State for the Home Department outlined recently a very wise alternative scheme, by which the vice of intemperance could be dealt with in a satisfactory manner. He said that if intemperance was to be combated the people must be housed in proper houses. I am very glad to see that the King is identified with that question, and I hope that during the opening years of his reign legislation regarding it will be passed, because it is on the lines of improving the dwellings of the poor that you can effect real temperance reform. When we consider the miserable slums in which these people have to live, and the miserable cabins in Ireland, often with nine or ten persons in a single room, is it any wonder, that, worn out with hard and constant toil, these people should at the end of the week seek some respite by recourse to indulgence in drink? As long as the poorer classes are housed—

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon Member would not be in order in discussing the housing of the working classes on an Amendment having reference to licensing reform.

*Mr. TULLY: I do not, in any way, wish to disregard your ruling, Sir. I was merely pointing out an alternative to that raised by the motion. In my experience the gentlemen who so strenuously advocate the question of temperance are generally employers who are trying to get more out of their men at lower wages. They think that by preventing the working men from spending money on drink, they will be able to get them to work for less wages. There is nothing straightforward about them, although they pose as possessing a monopoly of all the Christian virtues, whereas any of us who differ even slightly from them are sinners who ought to be cast out into the wilderness. My experience of these gentlemen is that they make their temperance fads a stalking horse for their own profit, and for the purpose of getting more work out of their workpeople. I think, however, if these temperance fanatics are compared to the men who resist their ideas it will be found that the latter are just as straightforward and as anxious for the good of the people. My own experience is that whenever we put forward in our local bodies any housing or water scheme the men who oppose it are generally those who are distinguished as temperance advocates. I am certain the House will not consent to any legislation on this question unless men of all classes and all parties assent to it. It seems to me that the gentlemen who are most desirous of promoting temperance legislation are the gentlemen who will give no freedom of opinion to others, and who will allow no one to differ from them without calling them vile names.

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

DECLARATIONS OF HEADS OF STATES.

Address for "Return of the various Oaths or Declarations touching religion which are made on their accession to power by the Heads of the following States: Great Britain and Ireland, Empire of Germany, United States, France, Austro-Hungary."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Adjourned at two minutes after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 20th February, 1901.

The House met at Two of the clock.

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.

Petitions in favour, from West Sussex; Newport (twenty); Cherrington (three); Tibberton (six); Kynnersley (two); Market Drayton; Great Chatwell (two); Horton; Donnington (two); Lilleshall (five); Heath Hill; Edgmond (six); Caynton (two); Edgmond Common; Chetwynd (two); Pickstock; and Chetwynd Park; to lie upon the Table.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Petition from Stroud Green, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Leicester; and Norwich; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Sunderland; and Cannock; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Newport Pagnell; and Fenny Stratford; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Surbiton; and Glasgow (two); to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICE (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1900-1901).

Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 29.]

SAINT VINCENT.

Copy presented, of the Amending Prison Rules, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Minute of the Board of Education, dated 31st July, 1900, modifying Article 101 (g) of the Day School Code, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SEA FISHERIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Copy ordered, of "Statistical Tables and Memorandum relating to the Sea Fisheries of the United Kingdom in the year 1900, including also a Return showing the Quantity of Fish carried by railway from each of the Principal Ports of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in each year from 1895 to 1900, inclusive (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 58, of Session 1900)."—*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 32.]

FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Copy ordered, "of Monthly Accounts relating to the Trade and Commerce of certain Foreign Countries and British Possessions."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 33.]

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FIFTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [19th February] to Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question to add the words—' But we humbly express our regret to Your Majesty that, having regard to the Reports of the recent Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws and the widespread desire which exists that some effort should be made to diminish the evil, which they describe as gigantic and a national degradation, there is no indication in Your Majesty's Gracious Speech of any intention to deal at all adequately with this subject.' "—(*Mr. Whittaker.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

LICENSING LAWS.

*MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I shall not detain the House at any great length to-day. When my remarks were interrupted by the twelve o'clock rule last night I was dealing with the aspects of the temperance question as it affects Irishmen in Ireland. I think a most important aspect which should concern Irish Members is also the restrictions on Irishmen in England and Scotland. There are many millions of our race scattered over these countries, and they have only one direct representative in this House. The constituencies have been so arranged that they have been deprived of the representation they are entitled to. I think restrictions dealing with the number of public-houses will press particularly upon the Irish in Great Britain. When the Irish were driven over here in the famine years to seek a miserable existence the few who rose above the ranks of the ordinary labourer in the North of England and parts of Scotland were generally to be found in two or three avocations. A certain number of them succeeded as pawnbrokers, marine store dealers, and publicans. [Cries of "Oh!" and laughter.] I mean Irishmen of the second generation whose parents were driven over here as labourers. [Laughter.] I am sorry that some of my friends do not agree with me, but that has been my experience. I have noticed in some districts that a great many Irishmen were unfortunately obliged to follow the avocation of a publican.

I will take Glasgow as an instance of how temperance restrictions are applied to Irishmen. Glasgow is municipally the most admirably managed city in the United Kingdom. I remember that some time ago the corporation brought an improvement scheme before Parliament. It was an extraordinary improvement scheme. One clause was so strong that if a man set a dog or a cat after a mouse in the street he was liable to be arrested and imprisoned. Under that scheme it was proposed to wipe out the houses in a certain area, and the area selected was the particular quarter where there was the greatest number of Irishmen holding public-houses. These Irishmen got no compensation. They simply got five or six years' notice and their property was taken from them by the Puritans of Glasgow, and the result of this confiscation was that a monopoly was created for the Scotch publicans in the neighbourhood. Glasgow is a particular example of what you will achieve by harassing temperance legislation. I have been often in Glasgow, and I know from experience that there is more drunkenness there than in any other city in the kingdom. They have many inventions in Glasgow for evading the licensing laws, and a sort of demoralisation is created by unnecessary restrictions on the ordinary habits of the people. I have seen more drunken men in Glasgow on Sunday than I have ever seen in any city in Ireland or in the whole of Ireland. If a man wants a refreshment on Sunday he has to descend to a subterfuge to get it, and thus they demoralise the man, and probably pave the way for his total downfall. In England and Scotland some of the best supporters of Liberals on these benches are Irish publicans, who cast their own trade interests aside, and support the Liberals as Home Rulers, but we were told by the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division that when they come into power they will have revenge on the publicans. I have not paid very much attention to the temperance question myself, but I am in favour of giving a licence to every man who asks for it, but I should make it a condition that when there was one conviction against him he should never more have a licence. So long as the Liberal party have leaders like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife, and a tail like the hon. Member for the Spen

Valley Division, who wishes to confiscate the property of publicans ——

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must confine himself to the question before the House.

*MR. TULLY: Well, I was referring to an argument that fell from the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division. The hon. baronet the Member for Kircudbrightshire last night indulged in a joke in regard to Irish whisky. He said it was like a torchlight procession going down a man's throat. That joke is twenty-five years old.

SIR MARK STEWART (Kircudbrightshire): It was originally from the Irish benches.

*MR. TULLY: But it appears to have taken twenty-five years to penetrate the Scotch perception of humour. Two or three years ago I heard of some friends who were at an hotel in Scotland, and on a Thursday, which was wet, they were unable to go out fishing. They remained in the hotel and began to play billiards. The proprietor came into the room in an advanced state of intoxication and would not allow them to proceed with the game. His wife afterwards explained that he was in the habit of getting drunk on the "Sawbath," and that he had mistaken Thursday for the "Sawbath."

*MR. SPEAKER reminded the hon. Member that there was a rule of the House against irrelevancy.

*MR. TULLY: I was merely replying to the attack made by the hon. Baronet on one of Ireland's national products. I objected to this temperance legislation because some of the most prominent men in the movement are employers who are simply anxious in the temperance cause because they hope to get their workmen at less wages.

*MR. SPEAKER again called the hon. Member to order, and asked him to confine himself to the question before the House.

*MR. TULLY: I shall pass from that subject. I was interrupted last night by the hon. Member for Mid Durham. I know that the Irish of Durham have a very high esteem for the hon. Member, and I personally have very great esteem for him. He questioned certain facts which I gave with respect to a village I visited. When I was there I happened to have my camera with me and I took snapshots of the scenes of drunkenness which I witnessed. I have shown them to friends as pictures from real life in an English village. I think that the remedy for intemperance is not to be found in such legislation as that proposed by hon. Members on these benches. I think that a good deal of the evils of which they complain arise from the grinding commercialism and the grinding industrialism, which is wiping out so much rural life here and in Ireland, and killing all the joy of life in these countries. A poor man, whatever his ambition, if he makes any savings, cannot now become a small shopkeeper or tradesman, as formerly. He has to go on in the same groove. Zola, in one of his novels, has described the effect of big concerns—how they brutalise the people.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that he is not confining himself to the Amendment.

*MR. TULLY: I will not incur your censure any further. Drunkenness and intemperance are symptoms of a disease caused by industrialism and commercialism, and until some statesman deals with the subject in a broad spirit and not in the petty way suggested in the Amendment, we shall not have the peace and prosperity we should like in this country.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I confess that I have listened to the later stages of this debate with the greatest possible pain. Whatever view individual Members of this House may take of this question, it ought to be recognised and it ought to be treated as one of the most serious questions of the day, and I have no patience with Irish Members who furnish amusement for Englishmen in this House. We are sent for a very different purpose and we shall have to furnish them with something else than amusement and laughter if we are to do any good in this House. I have no kind of liking for an Irish Member posturing as a kind of Handy Andy for the amusement and the contempt of English Members in this House. I do not intend to apply that in any but a general sense, but the tone of the hon. Member's remarks was worthy of Charles Lever's novels and not of the House of Commons. I do not think the Irish people will at all relish the idea of an Irishman providing amusement and laughter for Englishmen in this House.

But apart from this, I desire to say that whatever my own views may be as to what is right and what ought to be done I have no desire to ask the Government to do that which is impossible. You cannot go in advance of public opinion in this matter, and if you attempt it you will be driven back, and you will not get forward. I am not one of those who are inclined in the least to tilt at the moon and to ask the Government to do things which cannot be done, and ought not to be done in the present state of public opinion. When I say that, surely there is ample margin short of the impossible for the Government to take action upon. Surely there is ample margin for moderate and reasonable legislation on this question which will carry the assent of the House of Commons, and, what is still more, even carry the assent of the best portion of the trade itself. There is one matter as regards Ireland, and one only, to which I will refer in the absence of the Chief Secretary, but, after all, Ireland is under the Home Office in this matter. The House were told last night that nothing ought to be done as regards Ireland. Surely in the face of the way the licensing business of the country is carried on at the present moment no responsible man will say that. What takes place now? I do not say that it has just commenced in Ireland, because the old magistrates were quite as bad as the new ones. [Nationalist cries of "Worse."] So far as this drink trade is concerned, they have made Ireland a place in which there is a larger proportion of public-houses to population than in any other part of the United Kingdom. Her small towns are literally filled with public houses. Before any licensing session is held the magistrates of the whole county are actively canvassed; they travel twenty, thirty, or forty miles after being canvassed openly and above board in fairs and markets, take their seats upon the benches at these far-distant places, and overrule, by the votes they have promised before the evidence is given, the local magistrates, who, knowing the circumstances of the district, desire to refuse the licence.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Temperance people canvass also.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: No, they do not. I was never canvassed—never once. But what difference would it make? The evil would simply be intensified if magistrates with temperance sympathies allowed themselves to be canvassed. It merely shows the intensity of the evil, and the necessity for a remedy. I am not going to urge any change in the licensing authority. Certainly, I am not going to propose that the county court judges or resident magistrates should be the licensing authority. What change is made must be on the responsibility of the Government, but it is absolutely impossible from the standpoint of the administration of justice, altogether apart from the licensing system, that this canvassing should be allowed to proceed any further in Ireland. It is really ruining and destroying the country. I am not in favour of forcing legislation in opposition to the wishes of the people, but when you come to a great crying and admitted evil like this it is absolutely necessary that the Government should step in and prevent the evil going any further than it has already gone. That is not an extravagant demand to make upon the Government. The Chief Secretary for Ireland knows the facts, because they have been placed before the Government by the county court judges and by those who preside over courts of quarter session, and I say that if the Government are not prepared to remedy this evil they ought at all events to do what the Government did in 1871—they should support a Suspensory Bill stopping the issue of new licences until they can make up their minds as to a proper licensing authority. I had no intention of intervening in this debate until I heard what pained me from the other side of the House. I have intervened from a strong sense of duty, and I am perfectly certain that both as regards Ireland and Great Britain if my right hon. friend will have the courage to face what can be faced with the consent of all parties he will find a support in this House and of the country of which he little dreams.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): The hon. Member for South Leitrim said that he had given but very scant consideration to the temperance question, and he rather justified his statement by his speech. I have given some forty years consideration to the subject, and I should like, if possible, to bring the House back to the practical consideration of this most important Amendment—the most important, I have no hesitation in saying, that will be brought before the House in regard to the King's Speech.

The last speaker said that all he asked from the Government was that they should bring forward legislation which was not beyond or in advance of public opinion. I will ask the Government for less than that: I do not want them to do more than to meet public opinion half way. I think they will have no difficulty in bringing forward something that will receive general assent on both sides of the House, and be of the very greatest value to the community at large. There is a reference in His Majesty's Speech to the licensing question, but we do not know what it means. I sincerely trust, from something which fell in the debate last night, that the Government mean a very great deal more than appears from the brief statement in the King's Speech. If so, I will try to define how the Government may safely go a good deal further without any serious opposition from any party in this House, from either political party in the country, from the trade itself, or from the temperance party. I think if it is shown that a scheme is feasible that will go a long way in the direction of licensing reform, and receive all this support, it will be a very serious thing for the Government to refuse to introduce legislation. The Commission (of which I was a member) referred to in the Amendment were entirely agreed with regard to the first four portions of the Report. Lord Peel, the chairman, took the whole Commission along with him in the consideration of his Draft Report until he reached the fifth portion, which deals with the reduction of the number of public-houses and compensation. We may therefore claim that as to the lines upon which the first four portions of the Report proceed, both sides are practically in agreement. I propose in what I have to say to exclude altogether the fifth portion of the Report, whether in the Minority or in the Majority Report, from my consideration. If the Government are wise they will do the same. It is really the only portion of the Report which contains any very serious controversy, and a great deal may be done in the direction of temperance reform without touching either of the two vexed questions to which I have referred.

The Amendment divides itself into three portions: it first calls attention to the Report of the Royal Commission and to the fact that very little is said in His Majesty's Speech in regard to it; it then comments on and emphasises the widespread desire for legislation; and then it says "there is no indication in your Majesty's gracious Speech of any intention to deal at all adequately with this subject." There are many reasons for pressing the Report of this Commission upon the attention of the Government. It the first place, it is their own Commission; they appointed it. They appointed it in consequence of pledges given by every Member of Parliament sitting on the Government bench at the present moment. I do not believe there was one of them who did not in his election address in 1895 declare that if he was returned to Parliament something would be done with regard to temperance legislation. I do not hint for a moment that the Commission was appointed with a view to shelving the question. I believe it was done honestly, with the intention of having a Commission representing all sections of the community interested in licensing reform, who would collect such evidence and make such a report upon the evidence as would enable any reasonable Government to proceed with legislation. There was a singular unanimity with regard to a great number of important reforms, a unanimity which is the more singular from the numbers of the Commission itself. That body consisted of eight members of the liquor trade, eight known and recognised temperance reformers, representing every section of the temperance movement, and eight gentlemen called "Neutrals." How the Government could find anybody neutral on this question I could not understand, but I was a little reassured when I saw one of the neutral gentlemen come in with the blue ribbon in his buttonhole, although I regret to say he did not live up to his blue ribbon by any manner of means. But the singular composition of the Commission would always forbid agreement, and yet there is agreement upon a number of important temperance reforms that are acceptable alike to all the heterogeneous mass of opinion that was represented on the Commission. My hon. friend the mover of the Amendment emphasised a good many of these points. I will venture to go over similar ground, emphasising some of the points of agreement upon which he did not expand, and, even at the risk of being a little tedious, I will try to show the practicability of a most valuable and far-reaching scheme of licensing reform that I believe would pass the House without a division on second reading, and in Committee would meet with serious difference of opinion only on details and methods. I want very respectfully to address myself to the very large section of the House who are personally interested in this question—those who are justices of the peace, who take part in licensing matters, and the very large number of members who for years past have interested themselves in local administration and matters of social reform. I shall refer very briefly to particular points of temperance reform recommended in the Majority Report which receive the unanimous support of those who signed Lord Peel's Report.

One very important matter which has not yet been referred to is the question of clubs. We all know quite well that there is an enormous amount of intemperance in this country, and social and moral unhappiness and degradation following that intemperance, in consequence of the large and increasing number of drinking clubs. In 1893 I, in conjunction with four other gentlemen, two of whom were engaged in the liquor trade, introduced a Bill on this subject. That Bill passed the House of Commons without a division and was sent upstairs to a Select Committee. Very important evidence was obtained, and the Bill was reported to the House. The Government, therefore, is not without information in regard to this matter. During the last three months I have devoted very close attention to this subject, and with the advice of a large body of clubs in the country, including 1,200 Conservative clubs that are gathered together in one association, have considered a Clubs Bill, and if the Government have not time to attend to the subject I shall be very glad to hand that Bill over to my right hon. friend the Home Secretary. I am certain that a wise Clubs Bill would meet with no opposition either from the temperance party, or from magistrates, or from those engaged in the liquor trade. I sympathise very much with those engaged in the liquor trade, because they have to carry a very heavy burden of censure in consequence of the intemperance of the country, a considerable portion of which burden ought to be borne by these drinking clubs which are springing up all over the land. There is no doubt whatever that some legislation ought to be brought in dealing with this matter; otherwise it will become a most serious question. One of the most serious mischiefs connected with clubs is the frequency with which some public-house, which in consequence of breaking the law right and left loses its licence, is at once turned by the proprietor into a club. A late member of this House and of the Liberal Government, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who appeared before the Committee in 1893, told us of a case in Kent in which the occupier of a public-house, tied to a small brewer, had been deprived of his licence because the house was the constant resort of poachers and fruit thieves. The man simply called his customers together and turned the place into a club—a fruit-stealers' and poachers' club, really. These men were then able, instead of being turned out at ten o'clock and having to wander about until the grey of the morning, when it was light enough to steal fruit, to stop comfortably in the "club," and for this the membership charge was only 1s. 6d. per year. The man did so well with his club that he owned thirteen beer-houses in thirteen villages, and I am now told that he despises the licences and is in the proud position of having thirteen tied beer-houses, all clubs. I know of many a club tied to a brewer. The brewer furnishes the club and everything connected with it; the membership is bogus, and it is a tied house. These places defy the police; the people drink as much as they please; and there is no doubt that many of these clubs are simply dens of debauchery and all sorts of uncleanness. The London police gave evidence before that Committee and before the Commission, and both Reports are in agreement with regard to clubs. The Majority Report recommends that all clubs in which intoxicants are supplied should be registered; that the onus of proving *bona fides* should be placed on the clubs applying for registration; that no club should be registered unless the club property be vested in all the members of the club or in trustees, and unless no individual member is interested directly in the sale of exciseable liquor on the club premises; that the registering authority should examine the rules, and satisfy himself that the club is not formed solely for the purpose of sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors, and that some check is placed on the election of members, on the privileges of honorary membership, and on the introduction of friends by members; that the sale of intoxicating liquors for consumption off the premises should be strictly prohibited. In a town I once had the honour to represent this was a very serious mischief. The people not only sat drinking in these houses all night, but they took drink home with them. The Report also recommends that no person under eighteen years of age should be admitted as a member of a club in which intoxicants are sold; and that the authority to grant certificates to clubs should be the stipendiary magistrates, in cities and towns where they exist, and in other localities a court of petty sessions, consisting of not less than three justices. That is a very brief and carefully boiled down summary of the recommendations of the Majority and Minority Reports. If the Government brought in a Bill based upon those simple lines it would receive the support of the whole of the House of Commons and the country, with the exception of the bogus clubs themselves; and if the Bill did not meet with the approbation of the members of those clubs, it would certainly have the approval and gratitude of their wives and children.

Another recommendation that I would respectfully urge upon the Home Secretary is with regard to the consolidation of the law. If he would undertake a measure upon these various points of agreement, and then send the Bill to a Select Committee, or to the Committee on Law, with instructions not only that these points were to be included, but that the whole of the Acts relating to the sale of intoxicating liquor were to be consolidated, it would be an immense advantage to those of us who have constantly to do with the administration of the licensing laws. At present they constitute a bundle of absurdities and incongruities which it is very difficult to interpret, and I am certain that this one act of consolidation would have an immense result in increasing the general sobriety of the country. I would also press upon the Home Secreatry the fact that the principle of the reduction of the number of public-houses is accepted by both sections of the Commission, but I do not urge the Government to undertake this at the present moment. It would open up controversy on the question of compensation, and I believe it would be better to stick exclusively to those matters which really are recommended by every member of the Commission.

Then, the disqualification which applies to the members of the licensing authority should apply equally to the clerk to the licensing authority. The hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division dealt with that so exhaustively and conclusively yesterday that there is no need for me to refer to it. Another very important point which will come home to every member of a licensing body is that the reasons for the refusal of the renewal of a licence should be stated in open court, and, if desired by the applicant, be given in writing; that notice to the licensing authority itself of all applicants for new licences should be required. Then there is a recommendation that a proper interval—say a month—should be left between the grant and confirmation of a new licence, so that the second hearing may be a reality, and that all new licences, including off-licences, should require confirmation. If an interval of a month was left, a great many licences would be refused. It further proposes the abolition of temporary licences, and that the annual licensing sessions should be held in March instead of August and September. I need say nothing upon that, because the hon. Member for North-West Manchester put the case so plainly and clearly yesterday. Then there is another important matter, and this affects Ireland very largely, that no licence should be renewed to a public-house of under £12 rateable value. That would sweep away a very considerable number of licences. [AN HON. MEMBER: Without compensation?] There is no mention of compensation, except that sometimes notice should be required. These small houses, especially the small beer-houses, are frequently of the very worst kind.

Then comes a recommendation of the very first importance, and one which, if we could get no other, would be one of the most valuable items in the whole programme of the temperance reformer—that all "off" wine and spirit licences should be subject to the full control of the licensing authority, as well as all wholesale licences for the sale of wine, spirits, beer, and sweets, excepting those required by brewers, distillers, wine and spirit merchants, and blenders. I want the House to bear in mind all along that these are the recommendations of the members of the Commission who were engaged in the liquor trade. Then it is recommended that the sale of liquor in passenger vessels plying between ports of the United Kingdom, and in theatres, should be brought under the control of the licensing authority. I hope before this debate closes some Scotch Member, familiar with the Clyde, will say a few words upon this point showing the drunkenness which prevails in many of the quiet places down the Clyde in consequence of excursion steamers on Sundays and at other times which are practically floating public-houses not under the control of the police at all. Both sections of the Commission are agreed on a reconstruction of the licensing authority, with the inclusion of some element of popular representation.

Then the abolition of the appeal to Quarter Sessions is recommended. That is a matter which is a constant sore to every temperance reformer, and not only a constant worry to every licensing court of first instance, but a grievance of the very first order with borough magistrates. They who know all about the neighbourhood and clearly understand its requirements, who know the character of the man, and, it may be, of the firm supplying the house, exercising their discretion under knowledge refuse the licence. An appeal is made to the Quarter Sessions, and country gentlemen who know nothing of the circumstances of the borough reimpose that licence. It has become so serious a nuisance to many borough magistrates that their whole line of conduct is hampered. The licensing bench on which I sit, one of the best in the country, constantly give decisions which they would very much rather not give, because they do not like being snubbed by the Court of Quarter Sessions and having their decisions completely upset. It is a most important fact, and I hope the House will note that the Majority as well as the Minority Report urges the abolition of that appeal. Then there is another recommendation on which temperance reformers feel very strongly, and which is but simple justice, and that is that in no case should the licensing authority be liable for the cost of an appeal. We have a case which has established beyond doubt that there is no legal claim whatever to a publican for the loss of his licence; whatever claim there may be is merely sentimental, not legal. That case is Sharp v. Wakefield, and in that case Wakefield, the magistrate who initiated the action, had to pay the whole costs of the appeal. It is most unfair that a magistrate placed in a position of responsibility, getting no salary for his work, should be personally cast in costs for a matter which is certainly of public importance and interest. We have found it impossible to get borough benches to appeal from a decision of a Quarter Sessions because they will not face the enormous cost which has to be incurred. I speak feelingly because I have constantly to fork out £5 or £10 to some fund or other for defending one of these appeal cases. It is not fair that the cost should be thrown on the charitable subscriptions of temperance men or upon members of the benches themselves.

Then there is another point upon which there is not quite practical agreement, but almost, and that is that complete Sunday closing should be extended to Monmouthshire. The Government had an experience last year of the attitude of their followers on this question, but I have no hesitation in saying that the present Parliament is very much in advance of the last with regard to the sentiment on the Government side of the House, and I am sure that if they take up the matter of extending Sunday closing to Monmouthshire there will be no opposition whatever. The only protest made against it on the Commission was by Messrs. Hyslop and Walker, both of whom are engaged in the retail liquor trade, and therefore naturally biased in the objection that they took. Another point upon which these two gentlemen differed from the rest of the Commission was that the licensing authority should have power to impose the conditions of Sunday closing upon a new licence. Another recommendation was that except in

London and the principal cities the hours of opening on Sundays should be restricted to two hours at midday and two hours in the afternoon. That is the recommendation of the eight liquor men. Then, that a limited number of licensed houses, where travellers may be served at specified hours, should be selected by the licensing authority, and a special licence duty imposed upon them; and that the statutory distance should be extended to six miles. Then it recommends the amendment of the law as regards travellers drinking at railway stations. That may seem a trivial thing, but I was catching a train at Manchester at ten past eleven and went into the refreshment room, but was unable to get near the counter. The public-houses closed at eleven, and there was a crowd of 500 or 600 people clamouring around the bar for a "last drink." The same scene may be witnessed at any important railway station at a town where the public-houses close at ten or eleven o'clock. The Report then objects to occasional licences being granted except by two or more justices sitting in petty sessional courthouse. There is nothing more abused in the licensing law than the power with regard to occasional licences. They go to the nearest magistrate and get from him these licences, but in my opinion applications of this kind, which may be an intolerable nuisance in the neighbourhood, ought to be obtained in a public court, and ought not to be granted under any other circumstances. Then there is the question of selling drink to children. The Report says—

> "Sale, either on or off, of any kind of intoxicant to children under the age of sixteen should be forbidden. The penalties now imposed for knowingly serving children under age shonld be raised, and similar penalties should be imposed on those who knowingly send them."

Messrs. Hyslop and Walker consider this would be most harassing and inconvenient, but in dealing with a question like this they have got to put up with a little inconvenience. There is a Bill on the subject which has almost secured first place on a Wednesday, and that measure will certainly come on for discussion, and we shall watch with interest the attitude which the Government take up in regard to that measure. If they really wish to be consistent reformers they will not only support that measure but they will give every facility for passing it into law. If they will only do that, it will at least be evidence of their earnestness in regard to this question.

I will not take up the time of the House in going over other questions which are dealt with, but there are also a great many recommendations with regard to habitual drunkards, and this subject is rather indicated in the King's Speech. Strong recommendations upon this question have been agreed to by all the Commissioners with the exception of these two gentlemen, Messrs. Hyslop and Walker. There are no less than thirty-three recommendations of the first class made by the majority and approved by the minority, and there is no controversial matter to be found in any of them. I have no hesitation in promising the support of the whole temperance party in the House and in the country to these recommendations. There is nothing in them to which we object, and every one of them has been approved by Lord Peel's Report. I am not so unreasonable as to expect heroic legislation from the present Government, and I do not ask for it, but I might remind the Home Secretary of a few very significant words which fell from my hon. friend the Member for North-West Manchester yesterday, in which he said—

> "He hoped the Home Secretary and the Government would take a more courageous attitude on this subject. Up to a certain point this was becoming less and less a party question, and they would find a great deal of support from those (the Ministerial) Benches."

All I say is that I am satisfied that such a measure would get the solid support of the Liberal party in this House. Leave out of the Report altogether Part V., which deals with compensation and reduction, and with that left out you cannot go wrong on any other points of agreement. I do not want to say a single word about the parrot cry that extreme men stop legislation. I do not think that you will find a more extreme man than myself, for I am an avowed prohibitionist, but I defy any hon. Member to find a case during the sixteen years that I have sat in this House where I have stopped temperance legislation. I do not know whether the Home Secretary would retort that I had stopped very important legislation during the 1886-92 Parliament or not——

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I feel very much inclined to do that.

MR. CAINE: Then I will deal with that. They carried the Second Reading of the Bill by a majority of seventy-two. They had a very large and substantial majority at their back, and how was that Bill lost? It was lost in Committee after hon. Members had realised what the Bill meant, for it meant endowing the liquor trade with four or five millions sterling. When this was realised the House began to pause, and there was a falling-off in the Government supporters to the extent of some seventy Members, and in an important division the majority of seventy-two was reduced to seven, and the measure was dropped. It was in consequence of the action of the right hon. Gentleman's own friends that the Bill was lost, and not the extreme men. The Bill was simply defeated by the common sense of his own supporters, of whom at the time I was one.

This resolution speaks of a "widespread desire" that some effort should be made by the Government. It is no exaggeration to say that there are not five men in the Liberal party who have not been returned pledged to support the recommendations of Lord Peel's Report. It has been adopted in two great speeches by their chosen Leaders in this House. As a result of the pressure of the electorate at the last election we had seventy Conservative Members returned who have formed themselves into a temperance committee. This would have been impossible in the last Parliament. Why is it possible now? Simply because they have been in touch with the constituencies, and the temperance movement has made all that difference. My right hon. friend the Home Secretary is a practical politician, and I have no doubt that it will have a great effect on his mind that what was impossible in the last session is possible this, and that seventy supporters on his own side will stand by him in any attempt he may make to bring about a practical settlement of this question. But for the war the test question of the election would have been temperance reform. Public opinion, as expressed and formulated in this House, is in favour of drastic and immediate temperance reform, and the right hon. Gentleman and the Government need fear no opposition to any of the moderate reforms I have cited as receiving the unanimous report of the Royal Commission.

Let me say a word or two in conclusion. Let me press upon the serious attention of the Government and of the House the important conference held last week at Manchester under the presidency of the hon. Member for North West Manchester at which the following resolution was passed unanimously, and which was confirmed afterwards by two public meetings held simultaneously in the Free Trade Hall and in another of the largest halls in Manchester. The resolution adopted was:—

> "That this Conference, believing that the time has fully come for securing a substantial instalment of temperance reform, and also believing that the recommendations contained in the Report of Lord Peel, the Chairman of the Royal Commission, and eight of his colleagues, would produce an immediate and beneficial effect, hereby pledges itself, without prejudice to any other scheme which may be approved by the general body of workers in the temperance movement, to strive earnestly to secure legislation on the lines of that report at the earliest possible date."

Of course, the larger covers the less. We have now the temperance party in the country practically unanimous with regard to Lord Peel's Report. All these recommendations found in the Majority Report secured the unanimous support of all those organisations which were represented at that important meeting. There were no less than seventy-five important societies embracing practically the whole temperance organisations of the United Kingdom which were represented by various delegates who had been appointed to support the resolution which I have just read to the House. It included all those extreme societies such as the United Kingdom Alliance; the National Temperance League, the British League, the two Societies of British Women, the United Temperance Council, the Scottish Temperance League, and the Irish Temperance League were all represented, and their delegates had distinct instructions to support the resolution. I ask the Home Secretary's special attention to the fact that the National Conservative and Unionist Temperance Association had its delegates at that meeting, and they supported the resolution which I have read in favour of Lord Peel's Report. And now what is the attitude of the religious bodies upon this question? It is impossible for us to ignore the influence of the Church upon this question. The Church of England Temperance Society voted in favour of this resolution, and not only this but all its diocesan branches had representatives present and they also supported the resolution. If the Home Secretary takes up this question he will have the whole power of the Church of England at his back. Amongst other religious bodies who supported this resolution I may mention the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, the Catholic Total Abstinence League of the Cross—which has accomplished perhaps more than any other society—and the temperance organisations of the Church of Scotland, the Church of Ireland, the Wesleyans, the Methodists, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Unitarians, all the Presbyterians of the United Kingdom, and the Society of Friends. Therefore religion is drawn up in one line in favour of Lord Peel's Report. No body of Christian people you can name were absent from that great conference. The Licensing Committees of Westminster and Manchester, whose Bills are familiar to this House, and, in fact, the whole temperance party of the country, moderate and extreme, have joined forces on Lord Peel's Report, and if the Government have been waiting for the agreement of the temperance party, as they so often say, they have got it now. Every recommendation I have quoted forms part and parcel of Lord Peel's Report. Therefore, let the Government take heart of courage, and face this difficult and all-important problem like men.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton): I am not willing to enter into a controversy as to what is the great hindrance to temperance legislation, but I do not entirely agree with the views expressed by the hon. Member who has just spoken. Nevertheless, I desire to emphasise points of agreement and to see how far they can be worked out. A great deal of disappointment has been expressed as to the attitude of the Government, and I must confess that I was greatly disappointed at the mention of the proposed Bill in the Speech from the Throne. I was also disappointed on account of the very unfortunate attitude taken up by the Prime Minister last year in another place, and because of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply which the Home Secretary gave to a deputation which waited upon him early this year. This question has been very prominently brought to the forefront, and I cannot but hope that when the right hon. Gentleman lays before the House his Bill we shall find a very pleasant surprise, and that many of the points emphasised today will be contained in it. I speak feelingly upon this question, for, looking back over a service of thirty years, it is a deep disappointment to think that practically nothing has been done in the way of temperance legislation. I will not say on whom the blame lies, but I would venture to say that the cause of it has been, to my mind, because legislation has been attempted very greatly in advance of public opinion. I think we now begin to see the mistake we made then, and we are beginning to realise what a great opportunity there is before us at the present moment.

It is encouraging to observe how large an amount of agreement there is in the two Reports of the Licensing Commission, for one might have thought that, constituted as the Commission was, it was a perfectly hopeless thing to obtain any agreement between them. But owing largely to the exertions of Mr. Edward Buxton, who represented the trade interests, a large amount of agreement was arrived at, and it is for us now to turn that agreement to good account and see if we cannot relieve ourselves from the reproach of allowing this evil to continue unchanged. The country expects this of us at this time, and I desire most entirely to endorse the speech made on this side by the hon. Baronet. There are several practical measures which, without injustice to vested interests or to the spirit of fairness, can be dealt with, and which the country expects to be dealt with. There is the question of the licensing body itself, and I am strongly of opinion that that body should be a fixed body, and that there should be associated with the magistrates representatives of the ratepayers. I also think that it is desirable that they should meet in the spring rather than the autumn, and also that the Court of Appeal ought to be very much strengthened and put on a different basis. The question of new licences has been brought before us very prominently this year, and we ought to consider seriously the enormous gift which is made to the fortunate man who obtains a new licence practically at the expense of the ratepayers. I cannot see why new licences should not be put up to auction. There is another point in regard to the penalty to be inflicted on publicans who deliberately transgress again and again the law and are brought before the magistrates. The magistrates are placed in this difficulty, that in some cases the endorsement of a licence leads to the taking away of the licence altogether, and of course they hesitate very much before they take away such property altogether. It might be worth while considering whether there should not be power given to the licensing authorities, where there are repeated offences, not to take the licence away altogether but to suspend it for a time so that a lesser penalty would be inflicted which would not carry the extreme penalty of extinction. Upon this question I think we also ought to bring before the public how much might be done by the enforcement of the existing law. More ought to be done in this direction, and if my suggestion of a fixed licensing body were adopted they would make themselves more acquainted with their powers and there would be much less difficulty in the enforcement of the law. Of course we can do nothing unless we are backed up by public opinion.

I will repeat again that I believe we have a very great opportunity afforded us at the present time, and there is also a great responsibility upon us. We want as far as possible to keep this question free from all party considerations. We desire to put our statements before Parliament, and what we want to do is to strengthen the hands of the Home Secretary—who, I am sure, is with us heartily on this question—so that the right hon. Gentleman may go forward with a strong mandate from this House and from the country to carry out necessary and useful reforms. If, however, this House were to censure the Government for not doing more, in the hope that some impossible scheme which would never be passed into law would be forthcoming, and which if it were passed into law would never be carried into effect, I feel we should have dealt a severer blow to temperance than it has received for a very long time.

MR. DOUGLAS (Lanarkshire, N.W.) said it appeared to him that the point of the greatest interest to them was to see how far the words of his right hon. friend who had just sat down would be responded to by the Government, and what it was that the Government had in their minds. He observed that those who had spoken on the opposite side of the House had no more conception of what was meant by the Government proposals than hon. Members on the Opposition side. He could not help thinking that the course of the debate would have run more smoothly if the right hon. Gentleman had been able to explain in some degree what the proposal was which was indicated in His Majesty's Speech. If the measure meant that there was to be some more thorough and systematic treatment of habitual drunkenness, then his own attitude towards it would be very different. If it carried out the unanimous recommendation of the Commission that habitual drunkards were not to be supplied with drink in public-houses, then he did not think that any wiser measure, so far as it went, could be adopted. For his own part he had no desire to suggest any such revolutionary legislation as that which had been advocated in previous speeches, but he thought it had been fully recognised that there were many matters upon which they were agreed, and about which there was no serious difference of opinion, with which the Government might deal. There was agreement as to the magnitude of the problem and as to certain very substantial remedies for its solution.

With regard to the proposals contained in the Majority and the Minority Reports of the Commission, he hoped that they would not accept so low a view of the Royal Commission as to suggest that it was making a bargain with an interest. The Commissioners who put their signatures to those proposals firmly believed that they did so in the public interest, and they were prepared to stand by them in their full meaning and extent. Among the points as to which there was agreement they could not, he thought, include the question of the reduction of licences. Undoubtedly there was a nominal agreement to the effect that licences ought to be reduced in number; but, on the other hand it was admitted in both Reports that that reduction could not take effect without some measure of compensation. Compensation was an essential element in the process of reduction, and there was the widest disagreement as to the policy of compensation to be adopted. Therefore, for the purposes of a practical policy, the agreement as to the reduction of licences was nominal and verbal rather than real and substantial, and it must accordingly be excluded from the questions on which the Commissioners were agreed. On other proposals, happily, there was a greater degree of agreement, and he thought it unfortunate that those proposals should be overshadowed by the difficulties attaching to the reduction of licences and to compensation. He thought it still more unfortunate if there were to be an attempt—as had in some quarters, at all events, been read into the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary—to evade those other questions by what was obviously a shallow and, indeed, a preposterous suggestion that all licensing reform was strictly equivalent to a wholesale reduction of licences. He did not propose to discuss the points on which there was agreement, but he should select one, namely, the proposals with regard to the licensing authority, especially as they affected Scotland. He concurred most heartily with what had been said by the hon. Baronet, the Member for North-West Manchester, that the problem before them was in a large measure one of administration, and it was very important that there was such a large measure of agreement between the two Reports on the purely administrative aspects of the case.

He desired to call attention to a few reforms in licensing administration. In the first place, there was the important proposal that the licensing authority should be served by special licensing police—a proposal which had been recognised readily by a great section of the retail liquor trade, as well as by other sections of the community. In the next place it was proposed that the licensing authority should have larger powers over licensed premises, and over the conditions on which the sale of liquor was to be carried on. Then it was suggested that there should be considerable reform in procedure, which would remove some of its obsoleteness, and render it less likely to be abused by interested persons. Lastly, there was that which was very important, namely, an agreement that the licensing authority should be reconstituted. That was very significant indeed. It was proposed that every licensing court, whether for licensing or for appeal, should consist of a definitely selected panel, and not of random people who might happen to be present. It was also proposed that in county courts there should be introduced a definite representative element, appointed, one way or the other, by the people of the district themselves. It would be impossible to over-estimate the importance of those two points in their bearing on the practical efficiency of licensing administration. He believed that if one were to sum up in a word the malady from which the licensing courts chiefly suffered, that word would be "irresponsibility." They had no definite sense of responsibility in their work, but the introduction of a selected panel, appointed by whomsoever it might be, would secure a far greater degree of responsibility and efficiency than at present. He thought it would be generally agreed, even by those who were least inclined to place power in the hands of the people, that nothing was more important, if the action of the licensing authority was to be in full harmony with the people of the neighbourhood, than that these people should have a real and effective voice in deciding who were to constitute the licensing court. There was indeed a slight difference in degree as to the number of persons to be elected and the number who would continue to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenants, but the important point was that it was agreed that a deliberately selected court was required and that the opinion of the district concerned should play an effective and official part in the work of licensing. It was a proposal which would involve no question of compensation, no injustice and no fresh machinery, which was perhaps one of its main recommendations. If the Government refused to consider that and other simple and plain proposals, many would be driven to the conclusion that their minds were fixed against serious reform. For his part he would be very slow to form such an opinion, but no other conclusion could square with the facts if things were allowed to go on as they had been going on. It was certainly somewhat disappointing to those interested in the question to be told, in the first place that the problem of intemperance really belonged to the problem of housing, and then to find that even that problem was not to be dealt with. No duty lay nearer to the hands of the Government than that of temperance reform, in view of the good forces that were at work in society in that direction.

Mr. RANDLES (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I desire to associate myself with the appeal of my hon. friend the Member for North-West Manchester, who urged on the Government that they should have regard to the moderate and reasonable requests of their own supporters. I have come myself from a part of the country where the question of temperance reform has been discussed by the most extreme men, and, although I believe there is very little sympathy with these extreme men, I find there is a decided general undercurrent of desire for such temperance reform, both administrative and legislative, as will enable the people of this country to live more soberly and in a more temperate manner, and make it easier for them so to do. We are listening to more moderate proposals and counsels. The old days when we should have the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, are gone past, and reasonable measures of reform in accord with public opinion will be acceptable to all parties. I have no hope of seeing any reform from the other side of the House, and therefore I trust the Government will be able to do something that will satisfy the reasonable expectations of the people. The mover of the Amendment referred to the time when his party would be in power. They may conceivably be in power in days to come, but even if they are is it reasonable to suppose that they will ever be able to introduce and carry through a measure which will satisfy their own supporters, let alone Members on this side of the House? I would ask the Government to have regard to the requests of their own supporters and to public opinion in the country, and to introduce from time to time such measures as are to be found both in the Majority and the Minority Reports of the Royal Commission. I believe that while Parliament is young it will be much easier to accomplish these reforms, because we all know how easily people are turned away from their good intentions.

*Mr. RITCHIE: I think the House would like to hear now what I have to say on behalf of the Government with regard to the proposals made in this debate. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment referred to some remarks which I made in connection with this matter to a deputation which waited on me not very long ago to urge on me the necessity for legislation in accordance with the Majority Report of the Royal Commission, and he referred to expressions which I used in connection with an evil which all of us recognise and all of us deplore. I have nothing whatever to retract from what I then said as to the evils of drunkenness and the unhappy consequences with which the country is confronted. I believe it is difficult to exaggerate the enormous evils which follow in the wake of drunkenness. I have always felt that these evils were so great that some effort ought to be made to deal with them in one way or another. I have always been profoundly impressed with the crimes which result from over-indulgence in drink, and with its effect upon the health and strength and manhood of the country; and no one, even if he had not previously held those views in regard to the extent and danger of this evil, could have been at the Home Office, even for the short time during which I have filled the position of Secretary of State, without becoming firmly convinced that much of the crime which we have to deplore is caused by drunkenness. The great majority of the crimes which come before me at the Home Office in connection with violence to the person have been traced to drunkenness. I am afraid that many of the men who have to expiate their crimes upon the scaffold have been led, very largely at any rate, to their ruin by over-indulgence in drink. So that, even if I were not impressed before with the evils which follow from drink, I certainly could not shut my eyes to the knowledge which I have obtained during my short connection with the Home Office, and I am sure that my experience of the terrible results of drunkenness has been shared in by every gentleman who has filled the office.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): Hear, hear.

*MR. RITCHIE: I have, therefore, nothing to withdraw from the observations which I addressed to the deputation in connection with this question. But there has been some misconception—I think, perhaps, it was a natural misconception—as to the attitude I took up upon the question of reform, in consequence of the answer I gave to the deputation. The deputation came to me to ask that the Government should undertake a very large measure of licensing reform based upon the Majority Report of the Royal Commission. That, of course, at once raised the question which originally led to the abandonment by the Government of which I was a member of their licensing proposals of 1888 and 1890. Having regard to the difficulties we encountered then, I was most unwilling to give the deputation any encouragement to believe that we would attempt to deal with this matter in the manner suggested by the deputation; and, although it is true that one or two other reforms which have been included in those alluded to in this debate were referred to by some speakers at the deputation, the main object of the deputation was to ask for legislation on the basis of the Majority Report—the extinction of licences together with compensation, as recommended by the Majority—and my reply was directed entirely to that particular proposal. But though I said nothing, I think, in reference to the other recommendations, I should be sorry were the House or the country to imagine that by my silence I meant it to be inferred that the Government were to shut their eyes to those recommendations and were not in any circumstances to make proposals to the House in regard to them.

The hon. Member who moved this Amendment accused the Government, in the first part of his speech, which I think was much more aggressive than the latter part, of indifference and inaction. The Government, as at present constituted, has not had very much opportunity for action in the matter. The hon. Gentleman chose to assume that the words in the King's Speech, in reference to the matter, were words which implied that nothing was to be done of the smallest value or importance. I think that was the opinion also expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I said it pointed to some police measure.

*MR. RITCHIE: The right hon. Gentleman with a wave of his hand said he presumed it was some small police measure.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That was my impression.

*MR. RITCHIE: At any rate, the course pursued by the hon. Gentleman in moving this Amendment and accusing us of in. action is a somewhat exceptional mode of dealing with a question referred to in the Gracious Speech from the Throne. I can quite understand that if no reference was made in the Speech to action on our part it would have been right to find fault with it; but I think we have some right to ask the House, before judging us, to allow us to make our proposals; and I would point out that if the Amendment were carried we should be deprived of the opportunity which we seek of putting our proposals before the House.

Upon what basis does the hon. Gentleman go when he speaks of our indifference in this matter? The party to which I belong, and myself in particular, have always shown in past years some anxiety to deal, and deal in a large way, with this question of intemperance. The hon. Gentleman referred to our proposals in 1888 and 1890, and I do not think I am doing him an injustice when I say that he treated them with contempt. I am very sorry to have to trouble the House with particulars of past proposals for legislation, but as I am sure that there are many hon. Gentlemen, and perhaps some hon. Gentlemen who are interested in temperance reform, who are not acquainted with these proposals, I am not disposed to allow the matter to rest in the position to which the hon. Member relegated it, and therefore I should like to indicate briefly some of the points of our proposals in 1888 with the view of showing what the position would have been had we succeeded in carrying them out. We first proposed to constitute an entirely new licensing authority. The proposals in both the Minority and Majority Reports of the Commission do not go nearly so far as our proposals in 1888. The Minority proposal is that a certain number of the licensing authority should consist of local representatives; the Majority proposal is that a smaller number should be local representatives. But in our Bill of 1888 we proposed that the whole licensing authority should be composed of local representatives; and we further proposed, in order to bring local opinion to bear upon the granting of licences, that there should be licensing areas marked out in the various counties, and that the members who were returned on the county councils for those areas should constitute at least one-half of the authority granting licences in that district, so that local opinion should be brought to judge as to the desirability or otherwise of the licences which were applied for. We also proposed to give the licensing authority full power with regard to Sunday closing. They could have closed for the whole of Sunday if they chose or have altered the hours of opening at their discretion. We gave to the new licensing authorities full power of diminishing licences on payment of compensation, which was to be raised out of the trade itself by extra licence duty upon licence holders. It has been said that this would have destroyed the power which it is alleged the justices now possess of refusing to renew licences. Every power the justices had was carefully preserved by the words of the Bill, and I expressed my willingness to make these words still stronger if it was thought by temperance reformers that they were not sufficiently strong. If our Bill had been carried and any person had applied to the justices that a particular licence should not be renewed, and if they said it ought not to be renewed, that would be practically an instruction to the licensing authority.

These were our proposals, and I venture to say that, looking back upon them now, many of those who at that time were most strenuous in opposition to our proposals——

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Not to those proposals, but to compensation.

*MR. RITCHIE: I beg pardon; that compensation was to have been paid out of a fund provided by the licensing duties.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What I mean is that there was no desire to oppose those proposals; on the contrary, there was a great desire that the Government should go on with them, but they would not do so unless their compensation proposals were carried also. These things had nothing to do with compensation.

*MR. RITCHIE: What! Now, let us see. It is alleged that the justices have power to refuse licences without any reason given. As a matter of fact, that is well known by the case of Sharp v. Wakefield in the appeal to the House of Lords. It was then laid down that the justices must exercise their discretion with regard to the particular case which came before them. By altering the licensing authority, by taking from the justices and giving the power to the local representatives, we entirely altered the whole position; and in giving full and explicit powers to the new licensing authorities to refuse whatever licences they chose, it would have been monstrous unless we also provided that the holders of valuable licences should be compensated if they were taken away without good reason. I tell the right hon. Gentleman and licensing reformers generally that I do not believe myself that there is the smallest chance of getting the public of this country to commit such an act of gross injustice as would be entailed by carrying out these extinctions of the existing licences without taking into consideration the question of compensation. What has been done by the refusal to adopt our proposals of 1888? Millions of money have been left in the pockets of licence-holders which would have been available for the extinction of licences;

and so, in 1890, when we again attempted to deal with this question, we proposed to give to the liquor authorities £750,000 (I think) annually without raising any question of compensation at all, for the purpose of enabling them if they chose to do what is done by every local authority every year for public improvement and other matters of that kind—to buy up public-houses if they thought they were not required and ought to be extinguished. We proposed to give them that money out of the revenues derived from the liquors sold, and that proposal was also rejected by the House.

We have thus made two clear and distinct proposals, one of which, the right hon. Gentleman acknowledges, would have been a broad and liberal and well-thought-out plan, and that was rejected because of the refusal of temperance reformers to accept the principle of compensation, though they must now acknowledge that it would have effected a most salutary and important reform. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment has stated that the number of public-houses which would have been extinguished by the money which we proposed to raise in 1888 would not have been as many as have as a matter of fact been extinguished without it. Does the hon. Member mean that the number that have been extinguished in the ordinary course of things would not have been extinguished in addition to those which our money would have bought out?

*MR. WHITTAKER (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley): Certainly they would not.

*MR. RITCHIE: Why, what is the evidence before the Commission as to the reasons why this reduction has taken place? I will undertake to say that the great bulk of the licences have been reduced because of the refusal of the justices to give new licences without the abandonment of old ones. That is the main reason of the reduction. Of course, there have been reductions from other causes — such as faults on the part of licence-holders, which would have occurred in any case; then houses have not succeeded, and the licences have not been renewed, the fees not having been paid, and so on. But a great number of those that have fallen have fallen in consequence of the action of the justices in not giving new licences unless others are surrendered. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] I think that was proved by the evidence before the Commission. Does the hon. Member think that the new authority which we proposed to constitute under the Bill of 1888 would have been more tender to the licence-holders than the justices? On the contrary, I believe the number of licences which would have been reduced from the same cause would have been greater and not less; but, in addition to that, you would have had those other licences extinguished and compensation paid out of the money which is now left in the pockets of the licence-holders. When the hon. Member stigmatises our proposals of 1888 as insufficient and inefficient he admits his ignorance of what the effect of them was likely to be. My opinion is that the country will have to wait a very long time before they have put before them such a complete scheme of licensing reform calculated to do such an amount of good as that which we then proposed.

The hon. Member in his speech also referred to the effect of the reduction of licences. Well, now, it is quite true I told the deputation that I thought they were somewhat exaggerating the effect of the reduction of licences as regards the consumption of liquor. I never denied, however, that a reduction was desirable. There are in point of fact a preposterous number of licences in many districts, and I think that a large reduction in the number of licences is most desirable; but, at the same time, I do not myself believe that it necessarily means less drinking; and that is not my opinion only. In the Report of the Majority of the Commissioners this statement is made, which I repeat now. On page 6 I find the following under chapter IV.—

> "EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF LICENSED HOUSES AND ITS EFFECT.
>
> "If the statement made in vol. v., p. 31, under the heading 'Ratio of all licensed premises to population' . . . is studied in connection with Map iv. here inserted ('Drunkenness:' Judicial Statistics, 1893, signed by Mr. C. Troup of the Home Office, a witness before us), it is seen at a glance that there is apparently no relation between the number of licences and the amount of drunkenness."

On page 7 of the Report they give statistics of two groups of counties marked

A and B. In group A they state the average licences as one to a population of 164, and the average drunkenness as 492 to a population of 100,000. In group B the average licences are one to a population of 276, and the average drunkenness 892 to a population of 100,000.

*MR. WHITTAKER: And yet they recommend a reduction?

*MR. RITCHIE: Certainly. But the statistics cannot be denied; and the figures seem to be as I have stated them.

*MR. WHITTAKER: I deny not the figures, but the inference drawn from them.

*MR. RITCHIE: I am in agreement as to the desirability of diminishing the number of licences, but I say you must not rely upon that reduction of licences as affecting very largely the quantity of liquor consumed.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): Will the right hon. Gentleman give the counties?

*MR. RITCHIE: Certainly. Group A includes Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire. Group B comprises Cheshire, Cornwall, Devonshire, Durham, Northumberland, Lancashire, and Glamorgan. I would make one further quotation from the addendum to the Report by the hon. Member himself. It is as follows—

> "While there can be no doubt that reductions in the number of public-houses and more stringent regulation of those which remain would be beneficial and would promote sobriety, Mr. Gladstone was giving expression to an important truth when he said, 'Mere reduction in numbers if it pretend to the dignity of a remedy is little better than an imposture.' Reduction in number is not a remedy. It is at best but a palliative."

That is the position I take up. The hon. Member dealt with some figures of the consumption of drink which I gave to the deputation, and quite unintentionally, I think, misunderstood or misquoted what I said. He gave some statistics which seemed to be antagonistic to those which I gave. The hon. Member says I tried to draw a comparison between the amount of liquor consumed twenty-five years ago and the amount consumed now. The hon. Member says that I was wrong in the comparison I made. Now he took thirty years, and I took twenty-five.

*MR. WHITTAKER: I took from 1874 to 1899.

*MR. RITCHIE: I beg pardon; I have by mistake transposed the figures; it was I who took thirty years and the hon. Member who took twenty-five years; and in order to draw his comparison he began with 1874—a year of great inflation. There can be no doubt that the comparison from 1874 to 1899 established the hon. Gentleman's contention; but if we take the period since that time what do we find? We find that (reducing the quantities to a basis of proof spirit) there has been an increase from 3·87 gallons of proof spirit consumed per head on an average, in the five years 1886–1890 to 4·35 in 1898, an increase of about 10 per cent. in the consumption of liquor, although the number of licensed houses has been greatly reduced. That is another proof of my contention that the reduction in licences does not necessarily mean reduction in the consumption of drink.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Then why advocate a reduction?

*MR. RITCHIE: Because I consider there are far more than are required for the convenience of the public. I am not dogmatising, and I am not expressing my own view as to the result. I am quoting actual figures which cannot be contested, and they show clearly that, notwithstanding the large reduction which has taken place in licences during the last few years, the consumption per head of liquor has increased. The hon. Member in his Amendment asks the House to say that our proposals are inadequate. Of course I know the hon. Member's view of inadequacy, because he has expressed it more than once. He addressed an Alliance meeting at the end of last year at which a resolution was proposed stating that the only adequate means of dealing with this drink question was the total suppression of licences—absolute prohibition. That is the hon. Member's position, and when he speaks about our proposals not being adequate it is well that the House should understand what in the opinion of the hon. Member is adequacy. His proposal as defined by himself was "our aim and object are to suppress the liquor trade."

*MR. WHITTAKER: I am not putting that forward now in connection with this Amendment.

*MR. RITCHIE: No; but the hon. Member goes to a public meeting called for the purpose of considering temperance legislation, and he proposes a resolution stating that the aim and object of the Alliance and of himself are to suppress the liquor trade. That is what he wants to impose on the country; and although he is now proposing more moderate measures, we also know that he is not proposing anything like a settlement of this question, but that he is putting forward a stepping-stone to obtain that which he desires—namely, total prohibition.

*MR. WHITTAKER: Am I to understand that the right hon. Gentleman condemns me for being willing to go by stages?

*MR. RITCHIE: No, not at all; I am only pointing out to those hon. Members who are likely to be misled by the moderate proposals of the hon. Gentleman that the proposals he makes to them are but a stepping-stone to total prohibition. If it were necessary I should have no difficulty in pointing out to the House that wherever prohibition has been tried, as it has been tried in the United States, it has been a total and absolute failure in all the towns and cities where it has been applied. Let me commend to the hon. Member the study of a most valuable book by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, who have made the most minute inquiries into all the various phases of the temperance question and proposals for legislation, and have done so with an earnest desire to find a solution. They tell us that what the hon. Member proposed has been tried, and it was found to be a gigantic failure in the United States.

*MR. WHITTAKER: And they recommend its adoption here.

*MR. RITCHIE: No, they do nothing of the kind.

*MR. WHITTAKER: They do.

*MR. RITCHIE: They say—

> "It has been established that, judged by the most elementary and practical tests—the tests of drunkenness—prohibition in the towns and cities has conspicuously failed. Not only is there indisputable evidence that drunkenness is widely prevalent, but official statistics show that it is relatively greater in the towns and cities of the prohibition States than in non-prohibition States situated in the same geographical division. . . . The absolute significance of the figures is too serious to be ignored. . . . The law so far from increasing the purity of civic life has been productive of serious and widespread demoralisation."

*MR. WHITTAKER: The authors recommend the adoption in this country of the enactment of Local Veto.

*MR. RITCHIE: I absolutely deny that is so.

*MR. WHITTAKER: You will find it in the book.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Read the whole book.

*MR. RITCHIE: Let us consider the more practical point of the appeal made to the Government as to what they propose to do. It has been suggested by some that we should adopt the recommendations of the Minority, or Lord Peel's, Report. It is a singular thing, I think it is almost unprecedented, that the Government should be asked to legislate on the Minority Report and to ignore the Majority Report. But when we come to the Minority Report what do we find? The Minority Report is signed by nine Commissioners, and seven of them think it necessary to add a memorandum. Five of them say that what they want is not simply what is in the Minority Report, but they want Local Veto; and two of them say they will agree to anything rather than Local Veto; and two of them are utterly opposed to the compensation proposals of the Minority, which they think absolutely indefensible. So that even the Minority Report does not come before the House as the basis of legislation with very much authority. Some reformers desire to legislate on the basis of the Majority Report. I have sufficiently indicated that the Government cannot proceed generally with the proposals in that Report.

But it is said, "Why do you not take those points which are points of agreement?" It is a very plausible statement; and I hope that I shall be able to say something on that subject which may prove more or less satisfactory to hon. Members. The question is—What are the points of so-called agreement? I refer to a circular issued by the National Union for the Suppression of Intemperance. Among the several points which they say are points of agreement they include a demand that the number of licensed houses should be largely reduced. That is a most startling pronouncement. It is not very frank, I think, to state that this is a point of agreement. It is true that both Reports agree—as we all agree—that the number of licensed houses should be reduced, but when one comes to consider terms we find that they are not at all agreed. While one proposes to give a ridiculously inadequate degree of compensation, the other proposes to give much fuller and what I think would probably be a juster measure of compensation. Take again the proposal that the sale of intoxicating liquor to children under sixteen should be forbidden under penalties. Both Reports agree as to the desirableness of doing this; but the Majority Report says it may not be done unless there is a strong force of public opinion in its favour. I frankly admit that, as far as I am personally concerned, I am in favour of the proposal, and I have always expressed that view with regard to it; but I see most enormous difficulties, as the majority of the Commission do, in carrying it into law. I do not think a proposal of this kind introduced in a general Bill dealing with the question of reform would be at all likely to help us to pass the other proposals which had been suggested. Indeed, I think there would be a general consensus of opinion that, so far as that particular recommendation of the Commission is concerned, however desirable it may be to deal with it, the Government perhaps would act wisely if they dealt with some of the other questions rather than attempt to bring such controversial points as these into any measure of general legislation.

Well now, it is feared that the words in His Majesty's Speech are words which imply only a very small and insignificant measure. Of course, the House will understand that it is quite impossible for me to take up one by one the points which have been referred to in the course of the debate, and to say whether they will or will not be included in any Government measure. We must reserve to ourselves the liberty of explaining our proposals when we place them before the House in the shape of a Bill, and it would be impossible for me to deal with them point by point in a discussion on the King's Speech. But those who imagine that it is merely what some Gentlemen call a "chucking-out Bill" are quite mistaken as to the scope of the Bill. The hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire put to me a specific question upon this point. He said that he for one would be delighted to accept the Bill if he thought that it was likely to deal with habitual drunkenness. Well, that is one of the recommendations of the Commission which certainly will be found in the Bill. No one who has had to study the evidence which is given of offences committed against the person can fail to see that a great deal of the evil is caused by people who go about from house to house in a more or less intoxicated state, until they get into a condition almost of frenzy, when they are hardly responsible for what they do. These people may have been convicted half-a-dozen times, and yet they are supplied with drink. I think i is at great offence for a publican to supply a man with more drink if he is in a state of intoxication. I do not think that the law is sufficiently strong against offences of that kind, and I hope we shall make it stronger, and I also hope that we shall be able to provide that where a man has been convicted again and again that man's name shall be put upon a list which shall be sent to the taverns and public-houses which he is known to frequent, and that a licence-holder who supplies him under these circumstances shall be liable to a special penalty. [Some Opposition laughter.] That is one of the recommendations of the Commission, and I do not know why right hon. Gentlemen laugh. Many points have been referred to in connection with the construction of the premises of licence-holders, and with what has been called the "back-door service" of drink. Suggestions have been made by the Commission that the licensing authorities should have special officers to keep them informed of the manner in which houses are conducted. All these matters may fairly be expected to find a place in the measure we propose to introduce; but there are also many other points in addition with which we hope to deal, and which will, I think, have a very considerable influence on drunkenness.

I am afraid that I can only assure the House that it is the intention of the Government not to confine the measure to the mere "chucking-out" proposals which have been suggested, but to deal in a large and liberal manner with many of the proposals which have been made in common by the two Reports. I think I may fairly ask the House to be content with that assurance on my part, and enable the Government to submit to the House in the usual form the proposals they have to make. I am quite aware, and the Government are quite aware, of the keen interest which is taken in the question of temperance on the other side of the House and on our own side; and I realise that it would be impossible for the Government to ignore the feeling which undoubtedly does exist with regard to these matters. We are not asked to deal with the great burning question of compensation; we are not asked to deal with any general reduction of licences; but we are asked to deal with some of those measures which have been agreed to by both Reports. If we were to include all these joint proposals in one Bill, as suggested by hon. Gentlemen opposite, I am afraid that it would assume such dimensions as would make it extremely difficult to pass. I agree with those who have said, on both sides of the House, that it is a mistake to crowd too much into one Bill, that it is best to try to arrive at the goal step by step, and that it is desirable to proceed by stages. Such a proceeding, in my view, is much more likely to lead in the end to satisfactory legislation than for the Government to attempt in one measure to deal with all those numerous and very important proposals which find place in both Reports. I hope I have said enough to show that we do not intend to evade the questions which have been brought before the country in the recommendations of the Commission, and I believe that we shall be able to produce a measure which will command general support, and prove that the Government are quite alive to the responsibility cast upon them in regard to this matter.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The right hon. Gentleman was occupied during his speech with two duties. He had first of all to explain and account for the action of the Government in the past, and then he had to give us some insight into the proposed action of the Government in the future. Let me say just now with regard to the Bill which is mentioned in the King's Speech, that I think the right hon. Gentleman cannot find much fault with us, or with me, for instance, who have been singled out specially, for having concluded that it was a somewhat limited police measure, because what he now represents to us is a Bill which may include a great many objects which are common to the two lines of opinion in the Reports of the Royal Commission—to that large list of thirty or forty subjects of which we have heard so much in the course of the debate. But what is the title of the Bill which is hypothetically promised, if time and circumstances permit its being introduced? It is "A Bill for the prevention of drunkenness in licensed houses and public places." Well, I think the right hon. Gentleman will have some difficulty in reading into a Bill with that limited title many of the reforms which his hon. friends behind him have been impressing upon him.

But the right hon. Gentleman was mainly occupied with explaining why it was the Government have not taken any action on this important subject hitherto. He shares to the full our appreciation of the fruitful evils created by drunkenness in the country; and, no doubt with perfect sincerity, he expresses the greatest desire to see them checked. But the Government have been in power for five or six years and have done nothing to check them. Indeed, in one sentence the right hon. Gentleman drew a little distinction between this Government and that which existed before the General Election. I do not know whether we have heard it often before; but he spoke of the Government "as at present constituted." Are we to treat this Government—the question has been asked before—as the same as the last Government, or as a new Government? But, seeing a certain continuity of faces on that bench, we are obliged to believe that the new Government is practically the same as the Government which we have had in office during the last five years. Well, during the five years nothing was done, although there was abundant opportunity; at any rate, an abundant field for action was provided by the inquiry which has taken place. I venture to say that there is no subject of equal importance on which public opinion is so well instructed as upon this subject of licensing. We have had a Royal Commission, which sat for three years, and which reported in eleven volumes with its evidence; and we have also had other inquiries conducted by private persons from philanthropic motives, such as that to which the right hon. Gentleman referred, by Mr. Rowntree and others. Therefore we are fully instructed and informed; and, while the very largeness and complexity of the subject may make it difficult to deal with comprehensively in one measure, yet there have been exposed to us a large number of subsidiary and contributory causes of the evil with which, surely, it would be possible for us to deal separately or in smaller groups.

But the right hon. Gentleman is not alone in speaking upon this subject and in dealing with it. The right hon. Gentleman, when he met a deputation not long ago, certainly created the impression in all our minds that he was so overwhelmed by the difficulties put in his way by the great problem of compensation and reduction that he shrank from opening the subject at all; and he emphasised that attitude of his by telling the deputation that after all it was not the most important matter, that the question of housing was the key to the condition of the classes of the community with whom we are dealing, and that this question of licensing was comparatively a secondary matter.

*MR. RITCHIE: I did not say that.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Well, that the other was the most important. But the right hon. Gentleman has not been alone. We cannot forget an episode in another place last year of a singular character. The Prime Minister was then assailed with great zeal, but, as I need not say, in a most reasonable manner, by the Bench of Bishops, or by a certain number of the Bench of Bishops, and all that Lord Salisbury could say on that occasion was that it was necessary to proceed with the greatest care and circumspection and to avoid anything like haste and precipitancy. This, too, after three years of inquiry and eleven volumes of evidence and five or six years of delay altogether.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. JESSE COLLINGS, Birmingham, Bordesley): The Report was only issued in 1899.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: But surely the Government were thinking while the Commission was inquiring. I cannot imagine them putting aside the question altogether until they had the Report in their hands. Lord Salisbury, however, would not listen to the persuasions and arguments of the Bishops, "charm they never so wisely." I think it is worth while recalling the remarkable duel that took place between the Prime Minister and the Archbishop—between Church and State. The State taunted the Church with a want of confidence in the Government in bringing forward their very mild and unobtrusive motion. The Church protested that it retained its full confidence. Where-upon the head of the State retorted upon the head of the Church—

> "The most reverend Prelate may most kindly say what he likes; what I care for is what he does."

And this frank declaration was received by the most reverend Prelate with a meekness which we cannot but all admire. We had almost a repetition of the same thing last night, when the hon. Member for North-West Manchester said that he and his friends, who constitute so large a section of the party opposite, were disposed to be perfectly reasonable, but if they were not properly received by the Government they would become unreasonable. For my part, if I compare the two, I have greater faith in the layman than in the Churchman, because, in the case of the Churchman ecclesiastical pride must yield to that doctrine of submission and humility which right reverend Prelates preach in the exercise of their duties, whereas the layman in this House is always stimulated and confirmed in his action by his knowledge of the feelings of the community, and especially of the feeling among the electors. I think, therefore, that on the whole we are likely to have more effect made by remonstrances from Members of this House than by all the Bishops on the Bench. Indeed, I think we have seen in the proceedings of to-day the effect of those remonstrances.

Let me say that, so far as I am concerned, I am one of those who, from the very first time I took any public part in this question either by voice or vote, have always supported giving the control of licensing to the inhabitants of the district. It matters comparatively little what your machinery or what the method may be for ascertaining that opinion; the great object is to have that principle recognised. And on two grounds. First, because the inhabitants are the men who are best acquainted with local circumstances, and are most likely to be either benefited or disadvantaged by the results of the licensing system; and, in the second place, because you get upon a sound and solid basis of principle—namely, popular control—which gives you something to stand upon, and may lead to a final settlement. No one can fail to see that a settlement on that extreme ground will be difficult of accomplishment. I am not going to enter upon the controversy about compensation, which the right hon. Gentleman has been discussing and with which my hon. friend behind me dealt last night with great moderation and in a very reasonable spirit, because that is really beyond the scope of the Amendment. Our object is to leave that question aside, and, while inviting the Government to do nothing which may compromise the future or prejudice future reforms of a more complicated and difficult kind, to urge them at all events now to set themselves to carry out such reforms as may be generally approved of. There may be a subject standing by itself on which all sections of opinion may agree. I can imagine many great questions exercising the public mind where a small step may compromise action in the future. Take for instance the whole course of proceeding in regard to the franchise. It might at any time be said that if some small concession were made, it would not be final, but would point inevitably to greater concessions in the future. But these matters, which have been brought so clearly before the House over and over again by hon. Members on both sides, are succinctly set forth in the recommendations of those two Reports—each one of them standing by itself, each independent of the other, compromising nothing beyond their own scope, each of them at the same time capable of effecting a large amount of good. Take the whole question of the licensing authorities and the checks to the licensing authorities and all these other existing provisions of the law, which, according to the moderate representations made to us last night, amounts to a scandal in the present administration of this branch of public duty.

There is another point, I think, which may be pressed strongly, and that is the necessity of greater strictness in the administration of the law as it stands and greater authority and encouragement being given to the police. We are apt to say that the police do not exercise their powers and do not report occurrences which they ought to report. But the police act according to the spirit with which they are inspired by those who employ them. There is a department of the question, standing entirely by itself, to which, I think, at all events some attention might be paid. If those of us who have larger ideas—perhaps what may be called more extreme ideas, who seek more extreme reforms, are willing not to raise the questions connected with them, but to accept and cordially support more moderate but practical reforms, provided, of course, we are not prejudiced for the future, then I think that spirit ought to be met by a willingness on the part of those who dislike those larger reforms to effect those changes which in no degree compromise them. That those changes which have been advocated during this debate would be beneficial is admitted by all friends, not of temperance merely, but of decency and propriety in the provisions and practice of the law; and I trust the right hon. Gentleman will be able to put a little more into his Bill than he has foreshadowed. If he had been able to say that we had altogether mistaken the scope of his Bill, and that it would be such a Bill as would include a great many of those topics to which reference has been made by friends on both sides of the House, then the object of this Amendment would have been gained. But if the right hon. Gentleman confines his Bill to the one question of "drunkenness in licensed houses or public places," as expressed in the King's Speech, I am afraid that in these circumstances we cannot accept his answer as at all satisfactory; and it will be necessary to protest, therefore, by this Amendment against any further indifference to an evil which eats deeper and closer into the life of our people than any other that Parliament can deal with, and to invite the Government, if possible, to extend their proposed Bill so as to include those reforms which have been advocated by the Royal Commission, by both sides of opinion upon it, and by both sides of the House.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton): I confess that at the beginning of the speech of my right hon. friend we were very much afraid that the Government did not intend to satisfy the wishes of many Members on this side of the House. But as he proceeded I admit that my hopes were raised, although I do not know that they have been very much raised. I believe that there is an open door, but the door is not open very far yet. I must confess that when I saw those words in His Majesty's gracious Speech from the Throne I was very much disappointed. A great number of Unionist Members in the House before the end of the year signified to the Government very strongly, and in a very plain manner, that they thought the time was now ripe for a reform of the licensing laws. The hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire complimented hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House on what he was pleased to call our subserviency to our leaders. If he meant by subserviency discipline and the expediency of giving support in good faith to our leaders, and obedience to their orders, then it exists on this side of the House. But, after all, there is a strong feeling—a very strong feeling—on this side of the House, that although discipline may count for much, and may stand almost for anything, so far as we are concerned, still, to disappoint enthusiastic and faithful followers in the country does not seem to me to be true policy.

I will not go largely into the matter, or weary the House, but I may say that in my opinion there was never a moment more ripe for legislation on a subject that at once is not new and is complicated. The present licensing laws are confusing and contradictory, and the licensing authorities all over the country are beset with the utmost difficulty in the discharge of their duties in the administration of these laws. I do not care at the present time about compensation, but what I do care about is that the licensing authority should have full power over licensing matters — full power over licensed premises wherever alcoholic liquor is sold. When the chairman of a licensing authority comes to discharge his duty he is often placed in the most difficult and absurd position. I recall one instance in particular. From a place close to a fully-licensed public-house, in regard to which the licensing authority have full power, there came an application to the licensing authority for an off-licence. The premises were poor and small; they were within twenty yards of the public-house; but they did not come within that line within which the magistrates could refuse at once to grant it, although they were so near the line as to make it a matter for discussion as to whether the licence could be granted or not. Other public-houses were also near. The licensing authority, of which I was a member, refused the licence. We thought it was a most improper application, and we refused the licence, being of opinion that it was against the public interest. We were threatened by lawyers, who came specially to the court for that purpose, that if we refused to grant the licence they would apply for a mandamus against us to show cause why we should not grant it. Nevertheless, we refused it—we considered it our duty to refuse to grant it. About six weeks or two months afterwards we had to go into court, and by order of the judge we had to grant that licence, and, in my opinion, in that case the law ordered us to do a thing which was wrong. That is a case which shows the absurdity of the position in which the licensing authorities are placed. I think every licence should be under the same authority, and should be granted under the same conditions. Is it fair to the publican, to the trade, that these little bits of places should be able to set themselves up anywhere without the approval of the licensing authority?

Then there are other matters before the House. It appears to me that the two things which His Majesty's Government ought to place in their Bill, and which they will settle by legislation this session, I hope, are the question of the position of all the licences under the licensing authority, and that the licensing authority—so far as I am concerned, I am perfectly content that the present authority should continue—should be enabled to deal properly and thoroughly with all the licences. I don't believe that the Government will ever have a better chance, or that this House will ever have a better chance for many years, to give to the country a very good instalment of licensing reform. Everybody is ready for it, and it only wants putting into a Bill. But I hope the idea of a mere police measure, or a small thing, will be done away with altogether, and the proper placing in possession of the licensing authority of right, reasonable and proper powers, and the reform of the licensing laws, will be the first part of the Government Bill. If any other smaller matter can be put in, by all means let it be done.

MR. BELL (Derby): I rise to make what may be termed my maiden speech in this House. In point of time my speech shall be young, and I hope in point of observation it shall be fair. I did not intend at all to intervene in this debate until it was alleged by the hon. Member for South Leitrim that this reform was not required by the industrial classes. I want to refute that. I think that where hon. Members representing Ireland have not done justice to those who are endeavouring to improve the condition of the workers in this part of the country—the hon. Member certainly did not do so—is that they do not give credit to those of us who advocate some reform on temperance lines in the interest of the working classes. I know something of the workers in this country, and I know something of the workers in Ireland, and just previous to the passing of the new Local Government Act for Ireland I was in several towns in that country, and I am bound to say that, deplorable as was the condition which the hon. Member says he saw in a village in the north of England, I saw some centres in Ireland as bad or worse. So far as the workers of Ireland are concerned, the wages are very far below what they ought to be and what a man ought to receive, and in the interest of the workers of Ireland, as well as of England, some reform should be inaugurated, that this evil might be done away with.

I do not think hon. Members have quite appreciated the position of those who have over-indulged in the habit of taking intoxicating liquor; and the curse is that we find that many of our best workmen are the men who have fallen in consequence of over-indulgence of the liquor habit. Employers tell us, and I say also, that the workmen who over-indulge, and who lose most of their time, are the best workmen. There are a large number of workers in this country who are perhaps unable to control themselves in this respect, and there are men who have told me time after time that they cannot resist the temptation, and that they wish that something might be done to remove the evil out of their way. Therefore I claim that it is the duty of this House, irrespective of party, to pass legislation to reform this evil, and make things better. I have been to the large provincial towns in this country, and what do I find? In Manchester, for instance, they have common urinals open to the street—and I hope the Home Secretary will not overlook this in his Bill—and it does not tend to improve the morality of a town to find men half intoxicated and half exposed at these places owing to their over-indulgence in drink.

In many of the constituencies sending representatives to this House we find a large proportion of working men electors, and for working men not actually temperance men the possibility of any reform that might remove from them entirely the opportunity of their getting their glass of beer would be unwelcome, but I do not think that any man would be so extreme as to desire to deprive a man of the opportunity of having a glass of beer if he requires it. What I desire to see is some Bill introduced by the right hon. Gentleman which will, without being extreme, not be in any way too moderate. I hope he will introduce a Bill containing more clauses than those he foreshadows. Then we can call the Bill a moderate one. It is in that hope that I have approached the House with these few observations, and now, as the voice of the workers has been joined with that of the employers, all classes, all sections of the community are almost unanimously of opinion that we want legislation which is likely to advance the temperance cause. I do not know what may be the opinion of hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, but I do not see how we could advance the cause in any way by bringing the House to a division on this matter, but having had the promise of the Home Secretary, I think we may trust to him on this occasion and may be content to wait and see whether the Bill he proposes to introduce will be one worthy of consideration.

I do not wish to detain the House with any further observations. I merely wished to associate myself with the Amendment in order that it might not be said in the future that it was simply the employers who desired to see temperance reform.

MR. J. W. WILSON (Worcestershire, N.): I am one of a great many upon this side of the House who have been trying to make our voices heard to strengthen the hands of the Home Secretary in his contemplation of the proposed Bill, and I must admit I am disappointed at the very vague and shadowy promises which he has made. Not only is the proposed measure very much what we were afraid it would be from the King's Speech, but we find we cannot draw from the right hon. Gentleman's remarks any assurance that the Bill will be introduced at all. I am ready to believe that the right hon. Gentleman desires to introduce it, and I hope I do not misjudge him when I say he hopes to bring in an extended Bill, but his defence this morning was very weak. The only part of his address that was not was when he tackled local veto and compensation, which we do not ask the Government to deal with. We represent the great and growing moderate feeling in the country. It does not really matter what resolutions were passed at the conference at Manchester last week, because we know what line temperance societies take, and I for one have never had any sympathy with the line taken by them when the licensing question is before the House. But we find there is a growing opinion among moderate men that something requires to be done, and we would much sooner that what is necessary should be done by our own party than that it should be left to the other side; or, at all events, we would rather have the legislation taken in hand by the Government at the time in power.

What does the man in the street think of this position? During the last five years we saw a Commission appointed with great promise and, if I might say so, a grand flourish of trumpets; we saw also a most impartial man elected to the chairmanship of the Commission; we saw him laboriously and conscientiously proceeding through the inquiry with an immense mass of evidence before him; and, finally, we saw him produce a more drastic Report than anybody expected, based on his judgment and the facts and circumstances brought before him. We saw at the same time a Report signed by two of the most intelligent representatives of the trade, agreeing in many particulars with Lord Peel's Report. Surely the recommendations which are embodied in both Reports should be given effect to, and the Government would be safe in proceeding on those lines. I am not an old Member of Parliament, but I have sat here five years now, and I am perfectly satisfied that if things had been otherwise last autumn, and the attention of the country had not been diverted to other subjects, or if, at any rate, by the chances of the late election the Government of the country had been placed in the hands of hon. Gentlemen opposite, there would be many on this side of the House quite ready to throw the Reports of the Commission at the heads of the new administration; and as it is admitted that we have been the consistent supporters of the Government we have a right to expect more than the shadowy and indefinite promises which have been given to us this afternoon.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.), who rose amid loud cries of "Divide" and who in consequence was somewhat indistinctly heard, disclaimed any intention of talking the Amendment out. He merely desired to make one remark on the subject before the House, which he hoped might influence the Irish party, with whom he had always been glad to act, in not throwing their weight into the scale against temperance reform. In that part of Ireland in which he resided he was perhaps better acquainted with the country districts than the hon. Gentleman who directly represented it, and he ventured to declare that no reform was so much required in Ireland as the reform of the licensing laws. That conclusion he arrived at many years ago from a knowledge of the towns and villages in his immediate neighbourhood, and he did not believe there was any rural village in the world where such bad drink was sold from such bad houses, and in which so many licensed houses existed as in the villages of Ireland. In a village near where he lived, with a population of 500, there were 20 licensed houses, and in the county town, with a population of only 3,000, there were 60 licensed houses. That was the way in which Ireland suffered, and he would like to see Irish Members assist the party to get some kind of reform. There was one figure taken from the evidence before the Commission which he desired to recall to the attention of the House, which confirmed his view. In 1842, when the population of Ireland was 8¼ millions, there were only 13,000 licensed houses; in 1887, with a population of 4½ millions, the licensed houses had increased to 18,500. That was a most extraordinary figure. In a country where the population had decreased 50 per cent., licensed houses had increased by 40 per cent. All Members of the House were eager to see some wide measure of reform introduced.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 146; Noes, 272. (Division List No. 4.)

AYES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, Chas. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Asquith, Rt Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.

Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles

Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.

Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Colville, John
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)

Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William

Edwards, Frank
Ellis, John Edward
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T.

Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. M. (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry

Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir Wm. Brampton

Haldane, Richard Burdon
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir William
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)

Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James

Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael

Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
Kitson, Sir James

Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas

Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Govern, T.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mather, William
Mellor, Rt. Hon. John William
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morton, Edw. J. C. (Devonport)
Moulton, John Flether
Murphy, J.

Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans

Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay

Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Pickard, Benjamin
Price, Robert John
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries

Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.

Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt Hn C. R. (Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Edward
Sullivan, Donal

Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alfd. (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips

Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
White, George (Norfolk)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Woodhouse, Sir J T (Huddersf'd

Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. M'Arthur.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edwin Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christchch)
Banbury, Fredk. George
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bartley, George C. T.

Beach, Rt Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, A.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Boyle, James
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George

Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hon. J. (Birm.

Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cox, Irwin Edw. Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cullinan, J.
Cust, Henry John C.

Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Daly, James
Dewar, T. R. (Tower Hamlets)
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Doogan, P. C.

Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. H.

Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton

Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Farrell, James Patrick
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William

Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H (City of Lond.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans- (T'r H'ml'ts
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, Sir E. W. (Bury St. Ed.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guthrie, Walter Murray

Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G. (Mid'x
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nd'y
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords, N. W.
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T.
Hoare, Edw. B. (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Hozier, Hon. J. H. Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth

Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)

Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir J. H.
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. Wm.
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour

Lambton, Hon. Frederick W.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Leamy, Edmund
Lecky, Rt. Hon. Wm. E. H.
Lee, Capt. A. H (Hants, Farehm
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Loder, Gerald W. Erskine
Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. (Kent)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald (Portsmouth)
Lundon, W.

Macartney, Rt. Hn. W. G. E.
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. (Dumfriesshire)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir F. G.
Milton, Viscount
Milward, Colonel Victor
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Mooney, John J.
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, R. J. (Shropshire)
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)

Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdigate, Francis Alex.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)

O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Malley, William

Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert

Quilter, Sir Cuthbert

Radcliffe, R. F.
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reddy, M.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, Samuel F (Bethnal G'n
Ritchie, Rt. Hon Chas. Thomson
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rutherford, John

Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H. C (N'th'mb, Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier

Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Uni.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper

Valentia, Viscount

Walker, Col. William Hall
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Welby, Lt-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn E. R. (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas

Young, Com'nder (Berks, E.)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising; and, it being half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

NEW BILLS.

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND).

Bill for the reinstatement of the Evicted Tenants in Ireland, and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. James O'Kelly.

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND) BILL.

"For the reinstatement of the Evicted Tenants in Ireland, and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 52.]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT (No. 2).

Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Kenna, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Bell, Mr. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Markham, and Mr. Broadhurst.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

"To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th February, and to be printed. [Bill 53.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND).

Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays and Sundays, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Jordan, Colonel Saunderson, and Mr. Kennedy.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays and Sundays," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 54.]

ULSTER CUSTOM.

Bill to provide a further remedy for enforcing the Ulster Tenant-right Custom in the case of sales thereunder, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Moore, Mr. Lonsdale, and Mr. Archdale.

ULSTER CUSTOM BILL.

"To provide a further remedy for enforcing the Ulster Tenant-right Custom in the case of sales thereunder," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th March, and to be printed. [Bill 55.]

TIED HOUSES ABOLITION.

Bill to provide for the abolition of Tied Houses, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Broadhurst, Sir John Brunner, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Levy, and Mr. Thomas Bayley.

TIED HOUSES ABOLITION BILL.

"To provide for the abolition of Tied Houses," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed [Bill 56.]

Adjourned at a quarter before Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 21st February, 1901.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.

Petition of Charles Botolph Joseph, Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton, for leave to lodge his printed case; read, and ordered as prayed.

Petition of Charles Botolph Joseph, Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton, praying that he may be permitted to refer in his printed case, and in any proceedings which may follow in their Lordships' House, to the printed evidence adduced in support of the Petition of Alfred Joseph, then Baron and Lord Stourton, presented on the 11th of May, 1876; read and referred to the Committee for Privileges.

DARCY DE KNAYTH, MEYNILL, AND FAUCONBERG BARONIES.

Petition of (1) Marcia Amelia Mary Countess of Yarborough, and in her own right Baroness Conyers, the wife of Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough, and of (2) Violet Ida Elvyn, the wife of George Charles Earl of Powis; praying that they may be allowed to refer in their printed case and in any proceedings which may follow in their Lordships' House, to the evidence adduced in support of the Petition of George William Frederick Marquess of Carmarthen, claiming the Barony of Conyers, presented on the 25th of April, 1797, and also to the evidence adduced in support of the Petition of Sir Henry Paston Bedingfeld, claiming the Barony of Grandison, presented on the 20th of February, 1854; read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Several Lords took the Oath.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS.

I. Annual Series:

No. 2556. Yucatan.

No. 2557. Thessaly (Trade and Agriculture).

II. Miscellaneous Series:

No. 548. United States (Beet Sugar Industry).

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACTS, 1854-1894.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission; with appendix.

ARMY.

I. Return of Military Forces in South Africa: 1899-1901.

II. Correspondence between Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, Commanding-in-Chief South African Field Force, and Acting Commandant-General Botha, dated 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th June, 1900.

AGRICULTURAL SEEDS.

Report and evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire into the conditions under which agricultural seeds are at present sold; together with appendices and index.

INDIA (ROYAL INDIAN ENGINEERING COLLEGE).

Correspondence relating to the remodelling of the studies and the retirement of certain of the Professors and Lecturers.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SAINT VINCENT.

Amending Prison Rules, 1900.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION SCHEMES, INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETIES, AND TRADE UNIONS.

Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1900.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

I. Court of Common Pleas: Further schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents of His Majesty's late Court of Common Pleas, at Westminster, which are now in the Public Record Office, but are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein;

II. Paymaster General's Department: Second Schedule, containing a list and particulars of classes of documents which have been removed from the Office of His Majesty's Paymaster General, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN (CAMPAIGN).

Return stating the number of sailors and soldiers, giving their names and description, who have been invalided home since the commencement of the South African campaign, and have died from wounds or disease—Address for (*The Marquess of Ailesbury*).

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

BERWICKSHIRE COUNTY TOWN BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to constitute the town of Duns to be the head burgh or county town of Berwickshire—was presented by the Lord Balfour; read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 9.)

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons—

1. That provisions of the Caledonian Electric Power Order, the Caledonian Railway Order, the Cyde Valley Electrical Power Order, the Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Transfer Order, the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order, and the North British Railway Order, are of such a character that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bills and not by Provisional Orders.

2. That the provisions of the Paisley Police Public Health and Tramways Order (other than those relating to Tramways) raise such questions of policy and principle, that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bill, but that the Provisional Order so far as it relates to Tramways may proceed.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

CREMATION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill for the regulation of the burning of human remains, and to enable burial authorities to establish crematoria—was presented by the Lord Monkswell; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 10.)

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894, AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894—was presented by the Lord Muskerry; read 1^a; and to be printed. [No. 11.]

House adjourned during pleasure; and resumed by the Lord Chancellor.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—HOSPITALS COMMISSION.

THE EARL OF KILMOREY: My Lords, I rise to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what steps the Government intend to take with reference to the recommendations contained in the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to consider and report upon the care and treatment of the sick and wounded during the South African campaign; page 69, lines 6, 7, 8, and 9. With the indulgence of the House, and for the benefit of those noble Lords who may possibly not have read the Report of the Royal Commission, I would ask leave to quote the words to which I allude in my question. The Commission say:—

> "We recommend the appointment at some early convenient time of a departmental or other committee of experts to inquire into and report upon the steps needed to effect the following objects."

I will not attempt to occupy your Lordships' time by going into those objects in detail. I may say that I have no wish or desire to embarrass His Majesty's Government by putting any inconvenient questions. Of the numerous points included in the question of Army reform this is the only one upon which a Royal Commission has reported, and I hope that the Government will take action upon it within a reasonable time.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord RAGLAN): My Lords, I am afraid I cannot give the noble

Earl the information he desires as to the exact manner in which the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Hospitals are to be carried out by the Government. The noble Earl is aware that the Report is a very important and a lengthy document, and that it has only just been issued. The Government therefore have had hardly time as yet thoroughly to digest the suggestions. But I can assure the noble Earl that we are fully alive to the great importance of the question of a thorough reorganisation of the medical system of the Army, and that in any reorganisation that will be undertaken we shall avail ourselves to the utmost of any advice or assistance which we can obtain either from the heads of the medical profession or from any other source whatever.

EARL SPENCER: I do not think the noble Lord has answered the question put to him by the noble Earl on the Cross Benches—namely, whether the Government intend to appoint a departmental committee or other committee of experts to examine into the matter as recommended by the Hospitals Commission. I can quite understand that the noble Lord may not wish to go in any great detail into the steps the Government are going to take. All I say is this, that this matter is of great importance to the Army, and particularly to the unfortunate wounded and sick, and therefore it is necessary to ascertain whether the Government intend to take the matter in hand at once themselves, or whether they are going to act upon the Report of the Hospitals Commission, at the close of which there is a very specific recommendation.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): I think the noble Lord who spoke for the War Office made it perfectly clear that that Department is fully alive to the great importance of the recommendations embodied in the Report of the Hospitals Commissions. As the noble Lord has said, the Report has only been a very few days in our hands, and it is rather too soon to make an announcement as to the particular action which we should take in order to give effect to its recommendations. The Commission suggested that there should be appointed at an early or convenient time a departmental or other committee of experts. Well, my Lords, I am able to say that it is the intention of the Secretary for War to have recourse to the best expert advice he can obtain from the medical profession or from other sources; but whether that advice is to be taken by the appointment of a Committee or Commission, and whether the inquiry should be departmental or not departmental—these are matters of detail which we may fairly ask for a little time to consider. Your Lordships may rest assured that the investigation promised in another place by the Secretary for War will take place, and that it will be, as he said, a very thorough one indeed.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I think we have a right to complain also of the supplementary answer given by the noble Marquess. Those who have read the Report and recommendations of the Hospitals Commission will agree that they felt their inquiry was by no means complete; that they had not the powers necessary to enable them to carry out their duties efficiently; and that they thought it was absolutely necessary, in order to come to a fair conclusion on the subject, that a supplementary inquiry should be held, for they say—

> "We recommend the appointment at some early convenient time of a departmental or other committee of experts."

All the noble Marquess suggests is that the Government are going to take the best advice they can get from medical experts. Well, my Lords, I do not think the advice of medical experts alone is at all sufficient.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I said experts generally.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Then I withdraw my remark. I do not think the plea of the noble Marquess with regard to the want of time is altogether sufficient. This is the 21st of February; the Report was delivered in January, and the Government have had a month to consider whether they should not at once adopt some of its recommendations. I am afraid that the Government take somewhat too optimistic a view of the matter, as they have done on other occasions. I would venture to quote a sentence taken from a newspaper which is certainly not unfavourable to the Government—I mean *The Times.* This is what that newspaper said on Saturday last—

> "The Report needs no criticism, though it may be none the worse for a little elucidation by men who, like Mr. Burdett-Coutts and Mr. Murray Guthrie, were on the spot, and saw for themselves what was going on Remembering the limited powers of the Commission, its composition, and the general considerations by which it was no doubt governed, no one can regard the Report as other than a severe condemnation of the medical arrangements hitherto thought adequate."

The Times also adopts as its own a further description of the Commission given in the House of Commons—

> "It is not incorrect to refer to the Report of the Hospitals Commission as a Whitewashing Report, yet the thinness of the wash and the obtrusiveness of the dirt which it covers are apparent to all."

If that is the opinion largely held throughout the country, I do think it is most desirable that the Government should, as early as possible, meet the views of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches. I do not think the methods of taking evidence adopted by this Commission are such as to commend themselves to those who have this subject most dearly at heart. As to the arrangements, I can quote a case within my own knowledge which seems to be condemnatory in the greatest degree of the system adopted in South Africa. A leading surgeon in the Yeomanry wrote home in the autumn stating that there was a great deal of avoidable death from enteric going on, because with the exception of that one hospital and another—the Portland Hospital, I think—there were no hospitals out there, military or otherwise, which had any machinery at all for the purpose of sterilising milk. That is bad enough, but I should like to give the case of a neighbour of mine who went out to South Africa with a Militia regiment, and was placed in command of a post on the line of communications twenty or thirty miles from Kimberley. He fell ill, and was sent to the military hospital in Kimberley. The medical officer in charge was unable to see him when he entered the hospital, but fortunately he found a friend, an officer in the Welsh Fusiliers, in one of the beds, who said to him—

> "Take my bed; I am only shot in the leg; it is clear that you are ill from some dangerous disease, and if you do not take this bed you will not be able to get another."

He was induced to take the bed, and for three days he lay in it in his clothes without having been examined. Fortunately for him he was removed to a civil hospital, and in due course recovered. He made no complaint of the treatment he had received. He said that, after all, it could not be helped. The medical officer of the hospital had too many cases to attend to; there were no nurses and no orderlies, and the hospital work was done by convalescents. If that could happen at a place where there was no pressure—I may say my friend told me he came back from South Africa without having heard a shot fired—it is difficult to realise what must have happened at places where there was pressure on the hospital accommodation from the wounded in battles and from the sick of fever. I do not wish to use anything like exaggerated language. This is a matter of the highest importance, and I venture most earnestly and strongly to impress upon the Government that they should not delay the issue of a thorough searching inquiry additional to the one which has already taken place.

THE EARL OF KILMOREY: I am not quite satisfied with the answer given by the noble Lord. I can well understand that the Government are extremely busy, and therefore the request for further time is not an unreasonable one. Under the circumstances, and in view of the extreme interest felt by the whole country in hospital reform, I will reserve to myself the right to call further attention to the matter on some early day.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 21st February, 1901.

Several other Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PETITIONS.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).

Petition from Newchurch, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Woking; Northwich; Torquay; and Paignton; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACTS, 1854 TO 1894.

Copy presented, of Twelfth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission, with Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

AGRICULTURAL SEEDS.

Copy presented, of Report and Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire into the conditions under which Agricultural Seeds are at present sold, together with Appendices and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

Account presented, showing the gross Amount received and expended on account of the Telegraph Service during the year ended 31st March, 1900, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 34.]

EAST INDIA (ROYAL INDIAN ENGINEERING COLLEGE).

Copy presented, of Correspondence relating to the re-modelling of the Studies, and the retirement of certain of the Professors and Lecturers [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2556 and 2557 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 548 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Friendly Societies, Workmen's Compensation Schemes, Industrial and Provident Societies, and Trade Unions.—Reports of the Chief Registrar for the year ending 31st December, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 35.]

2. Irish Land Commission (Account).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission for the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 36.]

3. Public Records (Court of Common Pleas).—Copy of Further Schedule of Documents (of the Court of Common Pleas) which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].

4. Public Records (Paymaster Generral's Department.)—Copy of Second Schedule of Documents (of the Paymaster General's Department) which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].

5. Charitable Endowments (West Riding of the County of York), Charitable Endowments (Bradford), Inquiry into Charities (Parish of Halifax, including County Borough of Halifax), Inquiry into Charities (City of Sheffield), Leeds (Inquiry into Charities), Huddersfield County Borough (Charities).—Further Returns relative thereto [ordered 10th August, 1894, 13th May, 1896; 8th February, 1897; 8th April, 1897; 29th July, 1897; *Mr. Francis Stevenson* and *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 37.]

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

Copy ordered, "of account showing the gross amount received and the gross amount expended in respect of the Telegraph Service from the date of the transfer of the Telegraphs to the State to the 31st day of March, 1900 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 61, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 38.]

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—PROPOSED IMPERIAL MEMORIAL TO THE TROOPS.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER (Walsall): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government are prepared to consider favourably the erection at the proper moment of an Imperial memorial, which shall record the first co-operation of British and Colonial troops in war, by the preservation in London of the names of the fallen; and whether the Government are prepared to receive a deputation of Members of Parliament and others interested in this matter, in order to take advantage, in any commemoration of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, of the funds promised and the support already given to this proposal, and not only in the United Kingdom but also in the Colonies.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): At the present stage, at all events, of the proceedings in connection with the memorial to Queen Victoria, the Government have no responsibility, and therefore it would be impossible for them to receive a deputation upon the subject the hon. Gentleman is interested in.

ALLEGED OUTRAGES BY BRITISH TROOPS — LIEUT. MORRISON'S LETTER.

Major RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether His Majesty's Government will take any steps publicly to contradict a statement alleged to have been made by Lieutenant Morrison, Canadian Artillery, serving under General Smith-Dorrien, to the effect that outrages of a gross character were perpetrated by His Majesty's troops in the Steilpoort Valley, South Africa, and, having assured themselves of the genuineness or otherwise of the report, deal with the author of the statement accordingly.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Inquiries are being made both at home and in South Africa on the subject.

Mr. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): Will the report when received be published?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I must defer my answer to that question.

COMMISSION ON EMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can say when he will lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Commission upon Emigration and Settlement in South Africa presided over by the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: On Tuesday last I informed the hon. Member I could not say when the Report in question would be issued. The evidence has not yet reached me.

MONEY GRANTS TO BRITISH GENERALS.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government intend to propose any votes of money to Lord Roberts, Sir Redvers Buller, and Lord Kitchener during the present session.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I can make no statement on this subject, but full notice will be given of any proceedings of the kind to which the hon. Gentleman refers.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANNEXATION PROCLAMATIONS AND PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Lord Roberts, in proclaiming the annexation of the two Boer Republics, acted on his own initiative or on instructions from the Colonial Office; whether, in declining to agree to the terms of surrender of General Botha's forces, suggested by Sir Redvers Buller, Lord Roberts was acting on his own initiative or carrying out instructions previously communicated to him by the Colonial Office; and whether, if so, he will lay upon the Table of the House these instructions, together with all other despatches exchanged between Sir Alfred Milner and the Colonial Office, and between that Office and the War Office, in regard to the terms of accommodation which might be offered to the burghers of the two Republics; whether he can say what is the legal status of the inhabitants of the Transvaal Colony and of the Orange River Colony; and whether those in arms against His Majesty's forces are belligerents or rebels.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, *Birmingham, W.*): (1) Lord Roberts proclaimed the annexations under Commissions empowering him to do so at the time he thought proper, as is shown by reference to page 136 of Cd. 261 and page 9 of Cd .420. (2) The terms of Lord Roberts's telegram to Sir Redvers Buller of 3rd June were founded upon the instructions of Her Majesty's Government. I refer the hon. Member to Cd. 35 and Cd. 426, page 3 and page 7. I also refer the hon. Member to Cd. 458, pages 86, 87, and 88, from which he will see that the offer of General Buller to allow Commandant Botha's commando to return to their farms and take their rifles with them, subject to Lord Roberts's decision as to their ultimate disarmament, was refused by Commandant Botha. I believe that Lord Roberts's telegram was not communicated to Commandant Botha, and did not therefore influence his decision in any way. (3) The effect of the annexations was to confer upon the inhabitants the legal status of British subjects. (4) I understand that burghers guilty of no acts other than fighting against us have hitherto been treated as belligerents without reference to their legal position as British subjects.

THE REV. A. HOFMEYR'S MISSION.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Reverend Adrian Hofmeyr has been sent to the Transvaal as a Peace Commissioner, and, if so, by whose authority; whether this is the same person who was until lately minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of Wynburg, and, if so, if he is aware that this person was compelled to resign his position in the church for notorious misconduct, for which he was suspended for an unlimited period; and whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the matter.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have no official information upon the subject of the hon. Member's question, but I am inquiring whether Mr. Hofmeyr has been sent to the Transvaal in the capacity mentioned.

SIR A. MILNER'S SALARY.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state what is the salary that is to be paid to Sir Alfred Milner in the post to which he has been recently appointed as High Commissioner of South Africa and Administrator of the annexed Republics.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: He is to receive a salary of £8,000 a year as Administrator of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony, and £3,000 a year as High Commissioner.

ALLEGED MURDER OF A NATIVE BY A BRITISH OFFICER'S ORDERS.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has considered the circumstances under which the Special Court of Three Judges, in October last, acquitted a Cape policeman named Smith, on the charge of murdering a native named Dollery, on 22nd November, 1899; whether the defendant was acquitted on the expressly stated ground that he was merely obeying the orders of his superior officer, Captain Cox; whether Captain Cox has since this decision of the Court been arrested and put on his trial; whether the Cape Colony Attorney General has made any report to the Colonial Office or to the High Commissioner giving reasons for not placing Captain Cox on trial; and whether he will take steps to secure the trial of Captain Cox for a murder admittedly done at his order.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The answer to the first question is that I have received the report of the trial published in the *Cape Times* in October last. The answer to the second is in the affirmative, and to the third in the negative. In reply to the fourth and fifth, I have to say that under Cape law absolute discretion with regard to all criminal prosecutions is vested in the Attorney General of the Cape Colony, who is responsible to the Cape Parliament. I am informed by Sir A. Milner, to whom I telegraphed on the subject, that the Attorney General has made no report on the case, but states that after careful consideration he has decided not to prosecute.

MR. CHANNING: I shall take an early opportunity of drawing attention to this case.

ALLEGED ESCAPES OF BOER PRISONERS.

SIR H. MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Staffordshire, Handsworth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether some Boer prisoners have escaped from one of our ships; and, if so, whether he will tell the House the name of the ship, and the name of the person responsible for the safe custody of the prisoners.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): No report of any escape of Boer prisoners from men-of-war has yet been received by the Admiralty, with the exception of the case of C. K. de Meillon, a prisoner who escaped from H.M.S. "Penelope" in December, 1899. The captain of the ship was responsible for the safety of the prisoners. The court of inquiry which was held did not blame the captain for the occurrence. No intelligence has been received as to the escape of prisoners from transports.

AWARDS OF VICTORIA CROSSES.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say how many Victoria Crosses have been bestowed since the beginning of the South African War.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Thirty-nine Victoria Crosses have been granted up to date.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: What number of these crosses have been awarded to the Boers?

REWARDS FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN THE FIELD.

LT.-COL. LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that dissatisfaction exists in the Army over the protracted delay in announcing the rewards to officers and men who have rendered distinguished services in South Africa, and that several of the officers and men who were recommended for reward in despatches written nearly a year ago have since died unrewarded, or have left the service; and whether it would be possible in future to adopt the Continental custom of conferring rewards promptly upon troops whilst in the field, or at any rate to issue such rewards before the services for which they are granted are forgotten both by the renderers thereof and by the general public.

MR. BRODRICK: I have no doubt that the publication of the rewards for services rendered in the South African War is being anxiously awaited, and I regret that it is the case that some officers mentioned in despatches have died. But I do not think there has been any avoidable delay in dealing with the subject; the work entailed in connection with it is very great, and many of the recommendations have only recently been received. Some are still awaited. The consideration of the names to be recommended is receiving the most constant attention by the Commander-in-Chief and myself, but some thousands of names have been mentioned, and the House will understand that the labour at present falling on the heads of the War Office is exceptionally arduous. I have already considered with the Commander-in-Chief the desirability of empowering the General in the field to give certain rewards promptly as I believe that such recognition is very valuable.

LT.-COL. LEE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in our last great war—the Crimea—awards were distributed within three months of the battles of Alma and Inkermann? Why should not that example be followed now?

MR. BRODRICK said rewards could not be given before despatches were published, and Lord Roberts's most recent despatches had not yet been fully considered.

PAARDEBERG DESPATCHES.

*THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Midlothian): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Divisional Commanders at Paardeberg addressed despatches to the Commander-in-Chief in the battle; and, if so, whether, in view of the casualty list in the Highland Brigade, these despatches will be published.

Mr. BRODRICK: The only report addressed to the Commander in-Chief respecting the battle of Paardeberg was one from General Kelly-Kenny, the main points of which were incorporated by Lord Roberts in his despatch recently published. Although it is not customary to publish such reports, there will be no objection to giving this report, and I will lay it on the Table. Perhaps I might mention at the same time that, by an accident due to the rapid movements in the field in March last, a despatch of Sir Redvers Buller relating to the action at Vaal Krantz was not transmitted by Lord Roberts to the War Office. As the Commander-in-Chief in arranging his papers after the campaign has come upon this despatch in the last few days, I will lay it on the Table.

Mr. DILLON: Did Lord Kitchener make any report on this battle?

Mr. BRODRICK: No, Sir.

SOLDIERS JOINING THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether a soldier serving in the Regular Army in South Africa, with less than six years service, and being desirous of joining the South African Constabulary, is obliged to purchase his discharge before doing so; and whether it would be desirable to allow men, with the sanction of their commanding officer, to be transferred from the Army to the Constabulary without payment.

Mr. BRODRICK: Soldiers serving in the Regular Army who have not less than three years colour service will, if accepted for the South African Constabulary, be passed to the Reserve to complete their term of engagement. They will, therefore, not be required to purchase discharge.

ALLEGATIONS OF BOER BRUTALITY —CASE OF ESAU, ETC.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has received any official confirmation of the alleged flogging of a coloured man, at Calvinia, named Esau, until his bowels protruded and his subsequently being shot, by the orders or with the approval of General De Wet; and if so, whether he will communicate it to the House; whether he has received any official confirmation of General De Wet flogging and shooting members of the Peace Committee, or of his flogging his own men who desire to surrender; whether the members of the Peace Committee who entered the lines of the forces of General De Wet carried the terms on which the Boers were urged to surrender to General De Wet, or whether they addressed themselves to his soldiers with a view to induce them to surrender, or to withdraw from his forces; and whether this latter action was taken with the sanction of General Kitchener.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for War what was his authority for the statement he made on Thursday with respect to the alleged ill-treatment of a coloured man named Esau by the Boer leaders.

Mr. BRODRICK: The authority for the statement of the flogging by the Boers of a coloured man named Esau at Calvinia was a Reuter's telegram, confirmed subsequently by the report made to Cape Town by the district surgeon of Calvinia. As regards the Peace Committee, Lord Kitchener reported in a telegram of 13th January, published in the morning papers of 14th January, that three agents of the Peace Committee were taken prisoners to De Wet's laager on the 10th, and that one British subject had been flogged and then shot, and two burghers flogged by De Wet's orders. We have no information as to the third and fourth paragraphs of the hon. Member for Northampton's question.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether the agency to which he now refers is the same agency which he repudiated the other day?

MR. BRODRICK: The telegrams followed each other on separate days, and we have every reason to believe they are accurate.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Has the right hon. Gentleman any information with regard to the district surgeon beyond what he read in Reuter's telegram?

MR. BRODRICK: Reuter's telegram contained not merely a general but a specific statement, and it was corroborated.

MR. DILLON: May I ask whether we are to understand that the other day the right hon. Gentleman in his capacity as a Minister of the Crown made a statement in the House of Commons without any official information?

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that it is out of order to discuss the answer to a previous question.

M. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Is there any truth in the report?

MR. PIRIE: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the name of the district surgeon?

MR. BRODRICK: I cannot give the name now, but I will ascertain it.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, when acting as Under Secretary for War, refused over and over again to answer questions based on newspaper reports and telegrams?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the question.

SUPPRESSION OF ENGLISH PAPERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the circulation of certain newspapers published in this country has been prohibited in districts of the Cape Colony under martial law; what is the reason for this prohibition; whether the prohibition is by his directions or by the directions of Lord Kitchener, or by those of the local military authorities in those districts; and whether any communication has been made to the head of the Post Office at Cape Town by the military authorities in regard to the circulation of any newspapers published in this country, with a view to such papers not being transmitted through the post.

MR. BRODRICK: No report on this subject has reached the War Office. If such a prohibition has been issued, it has been issued by the local military authorities in the exercise of their discretion. It appears to His Majesty's Government highly desirable that such discretion should be exercised.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Does the restriction apply to *Punch?*

FARM BURNING.

MR. M'GOVERN (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state what orders have been issued by the General Commanding His Majesty's troops in South Africa regulating the burning of Boer farmhouses, and what General was in charge of the Klopskil, Jagersfontein, and Potchefstroom districts during the month of December, 1900; whether the farmhouses in these districts were all burned and the cattle and horses belonging to the inhabitants all taken away, although no resistance was offered to the British forces; and if any steps have been taken to put a stop to the practice of house-burning in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

MR. BRODRICK: The information promised in regard to farm-burning is in course of transit from South Africa, and I am not prepared to reply to the question without it.

PURSUIT OF DE WET—ABANDONED HORSES.

SIR H. MEYSEY-THOMPSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the abandoned horses passed by our column which is pursuing De Wet are being systematically collected or destroyed, to ensure that they may not when rested furnish the Boers with much needed remounts.

MR. BRODRICK: I have had no special report to this effect, but I think Lord Kitchener may be trusted to take all possible steps to prevent the Boers obtaining remounts.

BRABANT'S HORSE—TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the terms of the original engagement of Brabant's Horse differed in point of duration from the terms of the original engagement of the British Imperial Yeomanry; and, if so, to what extent.

MR. BRODRICK: Brabant's Horse were enrolled for six months or as much longer as required. The Imperial Yeomanry were enlisted for a year or for the duration of the war.

THE WELSH HOSPITAL AT THE FRONT.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Lord Roberts expressed a wish that the Welsh Military Hospital in South Africa should be maintained there for three months longer than the term fixed for its continuance, and that the executive committee of the hospital agreed to maintain it for a further period of three months; whether Lord Lansdowne, on 5th November, 1900, accepted the offer of the committee; and whether the hospital was broken up or disbanded on 15th November, 1900; and, if so, why.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The reply to the first two paragraphs of the question is in the affirmative. As regards paragraph 3, the hospital was absorbed in No. 2 General Hospital on the 15th November for convenience of administration.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES: Does the word "absorbed" mean that the staff of the hospital was continued on the same terms? And are the funds collected for this hospital now being used for an ordinary military hospital?

LORD STANLEY: I am afraid I cannot answer without notice. If the hon. Gentleman will put the question down I will inquire.

RATE OF PAY FOR NEW RECRUITS.

MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, in view of the fact that the Government is now offering 5s. per day to the recruits for the Imperial Yeomanry, can he state if any increase of pay is being offered, and, if so, how much, to recruits for other mounted infantry and cavalry regiments in His Majesty's service; and what rate per day is being offered to the infantry and engineer volunteers who are invited to join the Volunteer service companies now being organised for active service in South Africa.

MR. BRODRICK: The recruits for the mounted infantry and the cavalry of the Regular forces, and the volunteers for the Volunteer service companies are being offered and paid the ordinary Army rates of pay.

RATES OF PAY FOR VARIOUS FORCES.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state how many men of the rank and file in South Africa are receiving in pay or in pay and allowances as much as 5s. a day, and to what regiments they belong.

LORD STANLEY: I am unable to give the details asked for. I may state that the Imperial Yeomanry, Imperial Bushmen, and the majority of the colonial corps are paid at this rate. In cases in which a lower rate of pay has been issued to colonials it has been supplemented by the different Colonial Governments.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Will the noble Lord state the reason why the colonial troops are paid at this rate—so much higher than the Regular Army?

[No answer was given.]

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: They would not go otherwise.

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES OF IRISH HORSES.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he can state how many Irish horses were bought from dealers in the year 1900, and how many from farmers or non-dealers, and what was the average price paid to the dealers and what was the average paid to the farmers.

LORD STANLEY: The figures are as follows:—From dealers, 5,907 horses and cobs; from persons other than dealers, 207 horses and cobs. It would not be in the public interest to disclose the prices paid while purchases are still in progress.

MR. FLAVIN: Can the noble Lord say if orders were issued by the War Office not to purchase horses in Ireland?

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir, I believe such is not the case.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Chief Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can explain why, during a portion of the past year, the Army Department ceased to buy horses in Ireland; and whether he has any official information showing which are the best and most suitable horses for Army purposes.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member has been misinformed. The War Department has not ceased buying horses in Ireland during the past year. Irish and English horses have proved the best of those imported into the Cape for Army purposes, and considerable purchases are contemplated in the immediate future.

MR. CULLINAN: Is it not the fact that orders were given to cease buying horses in Ireland because of the opposition of the Irish people to the war?

MR. BRODRICK: No, Sir.

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES OF HUNGARIAN HORSES.

*MR. BEAUMONT (Northumberland, Hexham): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether the horses purchased in Hungary as remounts for South Africa included a number of young unseasoned horses, and mares too old even for breeding purposes; and whether the officer responsible for the purchase of these animals is still employed in buying remounts for the British Army.

LORD STANLEY: The answer to the first paragraph of the hon. Member's question is in the negative. Two officers of the Department have been employed in Hungary; one of these is still there.

TREATMENT OF YEOMANRY RECRUITS AT ALDERSHOT.

MR HERBERT LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that many of the Yeomanry recruits who recently arrived at Aldershot were kept for several days unprovided with overcoats or boots; that they have been drilled in the snow unprovided with proper clothing or boots; that hundreds of recruits have been obliged to sleep on the floor every night, no beds being provided; and that, notwithstanding the cold and absence of overcoats, they have been compelled to wear thin khaki clothes; and will he cause a full inquiry to be made into the matter.

MR. BRODRICK: I will ask the hon. Member to postpone his question for a few days to enable inquiry to be made.

OFFICERS' PAY.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can tell the House what are the rates of pay and expenses of living for officers in the various regiments of His Majesty's forces.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member will find the rates of pay in the Pay Warrant. It is clearly impossible to state the expenses of living for officers in the various regiments.

GRATUITIES TO MILITIA OFFICERS.

MR. EDWARDS (Radnor): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state whether the Militia regiments which volunteered for service abroad, and have been or are garrisoning the Channel Islands, will receive similar advantages to those Militia regiments which are garrisoning stations in the Mediterranean and elsewhere as laid down in paragraphs 601B and 601C of the Royal Warrant—namely, that each officer not on retired Army pay will on the disembodiment of his regiment receive a gratuity of £100, and after the first twelve months of service a further gratuity of £100 for each year of service; and whether the regiments stationed in the Channel Islands will be given the six months additional service granted to the regiments in South Africa and elsewhere.

LORD STANLEY: The reply to the first paragraph of the hon. Member's question is in the affirmative. The reply to the second is in the negative, as the gratuity referred to therein is specifically limited to battalions serving in South Africa.

MILITIA EMBODIMENT.

MR. BILL (Staffordshire, Leek): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, considering the length of time during which many Militia battalions now serving abroad have already been embodied, the time has arrived when, at the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief, other battalions should be embodied to relieve them.

MR. BRODRICK: As I recently explained to the House, I am not in a position at present to reply to this question.

MR. LAMBERT: Can the hon. Gentleman say when he will be in a position?

MR. BRODRICK: I must take time to consider, as it is a large and important question. Regiments can only be relieved by others volunteering to replace them.

WAR OFFICE REORGANISATION COMMITTEE.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the deliberations of the War Office Reform Committee have reached a stage which enables him to inform the House as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government in respect of the allocation of Army contracts by persons having expert knowledge of commercial pursuits, and the inspection of deliveries under such contracts by officials possessing technical and professional acquaintance with the stores supplied for the service of His Majesty's Army.

MR. BRODRICK: No, Sir. I have not yet received a report, and I must await the opinion of the Committee before taking steps.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS IN DUBLIN.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether his attention has been called to the action of a contractor named Broderick, who is alleged by the Dublin Amalgamated Society of Painters to have employed in executing certain painting work at the Royal Barracks, Dublin, an undue proportion of boys and improvers; and whether he will inquire if the terms of the contract authorised the employment of such a proportion of boys and improvers; and if so, whether such a contract is in accordance with the Fair Wages Resolution of this House.

LORD STANLEY: I am not aware that an undue proportion of boys and improvers were employed on the work in question. The General Officer commanding has reported that the work is completed, and that he therefore cannot verify the contractors' statements. War Office contracts require, in accordance with the Fair Wages Resolution of this House, that the wage current in the district for competent workmen shall be paid by the contractor.

MR. NANNETTI: Is the noble Lord aware it has been acknowledged that this contractor employed only six painters, and eight boys and improvers? Is not that an excessive employment of boy labour, and an invasion of the Fair Wages clause?

Cries of "Answer!"

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must give notice of that question.

ARMY CONTRACT SYSTEM IN IRELAND.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Government still maintain that Ireland gains over £2,000,000 a year by Army expenditure; and he will undertake that, without grave cause, no change is introduced into the Army contract system previously prevailing in Ireland; on what grounds was Colonel Richardson, of the Army Service Corps, allowed four years ago to introduce changes to all canteens in the Dublin District; and was it with the sanction of the War Office that Major King, Director of Canteen Supplies, was brought from London to assist him; will he explain why the Curragh Camp in the following year adopted the new system, with the consequence that not only ale, but Irish porter and Irish whisky are now contracted for by an English firm; and also why was the Cork District subsequently placed under the new system; will he explain why the new system was never enforced in the Belfast District; is there any intention to establish in Ireland what is called the tenant system as regards these Army contracts, and can he state its nature; and will the Government consider the advisability of allowing regiments quartered in Ireland to give local merchants the benefit of their expenditure.

Lord STANLEY: As I have already explained to the House, the discretion of making contracts for canteens rests with the General Officers commanding districts. The necessity of decentralising such matters is obvious. It would be impossible for the War Office to undertake the control of such contracts, and I am not prepared to interfere with the discretion of the General Officers, but I will draw the attention of General Officers commanding to the desirability as far as possible of employing local firms.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked if the officer referred to in the question was connected with the Canteen Co-operative Society.

Lord STANLEY: I cannot say.

ARMY BEER CONTRACTS IN IRELAND

Mr. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he is aware that the beer and porter used by the troops stationed in Ireland are now got from English brewers; whether he can state if the beer for the soldiers in Ireland is from any of the districts in England where poison was found in the beer; whether he is aware that the ordering of beer from England for the troops in Ireland is a loss to Irish brewers as well as to the labouring and farming classes in Ireland, where barley and oats are grown; and whether he will advise the War Office to order from Irish brewers beer for the soldiers stationed in Ireland.

Lord STANLEY: I must refer the hon. Member to my reply to a question by the hon. Member for North Meath on Monday, the 18th instant.* I may add that General and other Commanding Officers are fully alive to the necessity of occasionally having malt liquor analysed.

Mr. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that an order for 1,000 barrels of ale for the use of the troops in South Africa was recently taken from a Dublin firm and handed over to an English brewery company; and whether, in view of the recent revelations as to the dangerous nature of certain British beers, he will direct that the supply in future for the troops in South Africa and Ireland shall be obtained from Dublin brewers.

Lord STANLEY: I must refer the hon. Gentleman to other answers I have given on the same subject. Nothing is known of the matter alluded to.

Mr. NANNETTI: Will the noble Lord answer the last paragraph of the question?

[No answer was given.]

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* See page 297.

IRISH FORAGE FOR ARMY HORSES.

MR. DALY: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether the oats and hay supplied to the Army horses stationed in Ireland are purchased in that country; and, if not, can he say why this is not done.

LORD STANLEY: All forage contracts for the troops in Ireland are made locally and with two exceptions are held by Irish firms.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): Is the noble Lord aware of the fact that Irish farmers do not supply the contractors?

LORD STANLEY: I am not aware of that.

MR. FIELD: Will you inquire?

[No answer was given.]

HONOURS FOR WARRANT OFFICERS OF THE NAVY.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can explain the reason why the warrant officers of the Navy who were landed from their ships on the Cape station, and took an active and distinguished part in the general advance from Enslin, remaining with the Naval Brigade throughout the operations of last year, have had no participation in the promotions and honours awarded, notwithstanding the fact that all of them have been favourably mentioned in despatches, and that almost all the commissioned and subordinate officers have been promoted or noted for promotion.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: A warrant officer who distinguished himself in the defence of Ladysmith has been promoted to commissioned rank, and the names of other officers have been noted for special consideration when the opportunity of recognising their services presents itself. Warrant officers are not eligible for honours which are limited by the Statutes of the Orders to Officers of Commissioned rank, but their position in this respect has been for some time under consideration, and it is hoped that a means of recognising the services of this valuable class of officer may be shortly approved.

SUBMARINE BOATS.

MR. COCHRANE (Ayrshire, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty are making experiments with a view to ascertain whether submarine boats can be successfully utilised for purposes of naval warfare; and, if so, whether the particulars of these experiments can be communicated to Members of this House.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The question of submarine boats has for some time past seriously engaged the attention of the Admiralty, and a statement will shortly be made by the First Lord as to the steps which have been or are to be taken. I would, therefore, ask leave to postpone answering the hon. Member's question more fully pending the publication of that statement, which will be presented to the House in a few days.

WARRANT OFFICERS' WIDOWS' ANNUITIES—CASE OF MRS. BALL.

MR. KEARLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can state the reason why the annuity of £25 per annum usually awarded to the widow of a warrant officer has been denied to the widow of W. Ball, late carpenter, R.N., who died on the 19th July last, and who at the time of his death was in receipt of a warrant officer's pension.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Mrs. Ball was ineligible for the award of a widow's pension, her husband having been placed on the retired list on account of misconduct.

CASE OF THOMAS REYNOLDS—H.M. NAVAL RESERVE.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether his attention has been called to the case of Thomas Reynolds, a fireman belonging to H.M. Naval Reserve, who in August or September of 1899 left Pembroke Dock in charge of time-expired men, and was stabbed by one of them in the eye and in consequence lost his eyesight; and whether, seeing that Reynolds was discharged without any pension or compensation and left destitute, and in view of all the circumstances of the case, he has any power to grant him any compensation or allowance; and, if so, whether he will exercise such power.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, Sir; and Reynolds has been granted 1s. a day for life.

NAVAL CADETS' GREAT COATS.

Mr. NORMAN (Wolverhampton, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether naval cadets, whether on duty or on leave, in inclement weather are debarred by official regulations from wearing great coats; and whether, as a consequence of recent exposure without great coats, several cadets are now suffering from pulmonary disease, and one cadet has already succumbed to it.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have endeavoured to get the information asked for, but the notice was too short. If the hon. Member will postpone the major part of the question, I will answer it another day. But I may say that the cadet who succumbed was not one of those who suffered from the inclemency of the weather on the occasion referred to.

TIME-EXPIRED SOLDIERS IN INDIA.

Mr. COCHRANE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state how many time-expired soldiers are now serving with the colours in India.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing): The Viceroy reported on 20th January, 1901, that the time-expired men in India numbered 15,000.

NEW INDIAN PROVINCE.

Mr. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether His Majesty's Government contemplate the creation of a new frontier province which is to comprise several districts of the Punjab; and, if so, to what kind of administration will the new province be subjected.

Lord G. HAMILTON: His Majesty's Government have approved of the principle of a scheme for the creation of an Agency immediately under the control of the Government of India. The scheme contemplates the detachment of two whole Districts, and parts of two others from the Punjab Government; but the details of the administration are not yet settled. I hope to present to the House Papers on the subject at an early date.

CHINA—COUNT VON WALDERSEE'S EXPEDITION.

Mr. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the Government have now any information of Count Von Waldersee's reported further expedition into China; whether British commanders have asked for instructions as to co-operation; if so, what instructions have been given them.

The following questions also appeared on the Paper:—

Mr. YERBURGH (Chester): To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government have now received information regarding the proposed expedition of Count Waldersee; if so, when the information arrived, and whether he can explain the delay in its transmission; and whether the British troops could take part or prepare to take part in such an expedition without the direct authorisation of the Government.

Mr. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether His Majesty's Government will issue orders to the General commanding the British forces in China instructing him not to take part in any further military expeditions without specific orders from the Home Government.

*Lord G. HAMILTON: We have been informed that Field Marshal Count von Waldersee has issued an Army Order in which the Field Marshal announces that in his judgment, owing to the unsatisfactory progress of the peace negotiations, a resumption of larger operations may become shortly necessary. We have asked to be supplied with full information as to the scope and purpose of these movements, and upon receipt of this information His Majesty's Government will consider whether any instructions different from those already given should be sent to Sir A. Gaselee.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): Will precautions be taken that no military movements by British troops shall be carried out until the Government has taken this information into consideration?

*LORD G. HAMILTON: As my right hon. friend is aware, a state of war prevails in certain parts of North China, and under such conditions it is hardly reasonable to put to me such a question without notice.

RUSSO-CHINESE AGREEMENT REGARDING MANCHURIA.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government have received notice of the supplementary provisions which M. de Witte is reported to desire to add to the agreement between China and Russia with regard to Manchuria; and, if so, whether such provisions conflict with his statement that the guarantee which the Russians expected from China with regard to Manchuria would not take the form of an acquisition of territory or of a virtual or actual protectorate; and whether it is the intention of the Government to secure for this country the full enjoyment of the rights which are guaranteed to it in Manchuria, as well as in other portions of the Chinese Empire, by its treaties with China.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): The answer to the first question is in the negative. No agreement in respect of Manchuria has been communicated by the Russian Government to His Majesty's Government. The statement which I made on Monday was based on a report furnished by His Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and upon the authority of the Russian Government. The arrangement to which the hon. Member refers is, I assume, that made between the Russian and the Chinese local authorities for temporary and provisional purposes, and such an arrangement cannot affect the rights enjoyed by this country under our treaties with the Chinese Empire.

PUNISHMENT OF CHINESE OFFICIALS.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the British Minister in Peking has been a consenting party to any communication to the Government of China indicating that the Foreign Ministers would approve of an edict requiring a number of Chinese officials to commit suicide.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: The reply is in the negative.

ITALY AND BRITISH PROPERTY AT PEKING.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the property occupied for twenty-two years by Sir Robert Hart and his staff in Peking has been annexed by the Italian Legation.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: We have no information on the specific point alluded to. The question is, however, involved in that of the defence of the Legation quarter, which is now under consideration by a military Commission appointed by the foreign representatives at Peking. No decision has yet been arrived at. In this connection I may perhaps be allowed to refer the hon. Gentleman to my answer on Tuesday last.†

LOOT FROM PEKING.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether since the relief of the Legations at Peking any cases have been transmitted by British officials in China on His Majesty's vessels either to Hong Kong or to any other port; and whether, if so, he is in a position to say that none of these cases contained loot acquired from the Chinese.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No information in respect of any such occurrence as that described by the hon. Member has reached the Admiralty.

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† See page 476.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Will the hon. Gentleman ask the Admirals on the station if anything of the kind has occurred?

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, Sir.

SUGAR BOUNTIES CONFERENCE.

Colonel MILWARD (Warwickshire, Stratford-upon-Avon): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give the House any information as to the proposed Sugar Conference; whether formal or informal invitations have been issued, and by and to what Power or Powers; when and where it is proposed to meet, together with any further information he can, consistently with the public interest, give to the House.

***Viscount CRANBORNE**: Suggestions have recently been received from the Belgian Government for the reassembling of the Brussels Conference upon certain bases. These suggestions are at present under the consideration of His Majesty's Government, but at the present stage it would not be desirable to indicate their exact nature. The Powers represented at the last Conference were Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, France, Holland, Russia, Sweden. It is presumed the above-mentioned suggestions have been made to these Powers.

WEST INDIAN PRISONS—PENAL LABOUR.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can see his way to order the abolition of penal labour, and especially shot drill, in Grenada and other West Indian prisons; and whether, seeing remunerative labour has already been substituted in many of these institutions for the treadmill and other forms of punishment, some small proportion of the money earned by these methods might be allocated to the prisoners as a further inducement to their good behaviour.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The prison rules and practice in West Indian prisons are based upon and as far as possible assimilated to the rules and practice in the prisons of the United Kingdom. The hon. Member may be assured that so far as circumstances and resources allow I shall be glad to further the views embodied in his question.

OLD AGE PENSIONS IN THE COLONIES.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return showing the systems of old age pensions adopted in certain colonies, together with a Report as to the cost and working of such systems up to the present time.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The only colonies in which old age pensions systems have been adopted are New Zealand, New South Wales, and Victoria. In the case of the two latter States the Acts were only passed at the end of last year, and I have not yet received a copy of the Victorian Act. The New Zealand Act came into force on 1st November, 1898, and I have received reports on its working up to June, 1900, which I shall be happy to place in the Library, with copies of the three Acts.

THE NEW COINAGE.

Mr. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Master of the Mint, if in the quarterings on any new coinage that may be issued in the reign of His Majesty King Edward he will see that the Principality of Wales is not ignored; and whether he will consider the desirability of marking the value clearly upon the face of every denomination of coin.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bristol, W.): It does not rest with the Master of the Mint to decide what the quarterings of the Royal Arms should be. His duty is only to consider whether they should be represented on the coinage. Unless they are altered, of course they would be represented, if at all, in their present form. Before any new coinage is issued, the question whether any alteration of present designs is advisable will be fully considered, including the point mentioned by the hon. Member.

POLICE PROSECUTIONS FOR PALMISTRY, ETC.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether, in view of the recent conviction and fining of itinerant palmists, he can give an assurance that the law will be put in force against the fashionable palmists, clairvoyants, and phrenologists in London.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I have been asked by my hon. and learned friend to answer this question. The important point to consider in determining whether or not it is desirable to prosecute such persons under the Vagrant Act is whether or not the practice is followed with a view to fraud or other unlawful purpose. The police have instructions to watch suspicious cases, and whenever there is good ground for believing that fraud or imposition is being practised they will be directed to prosecute.

JUSTICES AND THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

MR BROADHURST (Leicester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the present justices of the peace will have to be resworn in their allegiance to the King; and, if so, whether the magistrates' clerks at petty sessions can administer the oath, or whether they will have to attend quarter sessions for this purpose.

*MR. RITCHIE: I am advised that it is not necessary in consequence of the demise of the Crown that justices should take anew the Judicial Oath and the Oath of Allegiance, but that it is desirable that they should do so. If they do, the oaths are required by the Promissory Oaths Act, 1871, to be taken before one of His Majesty's judges in open court, or in open court at general or quarter sessions, except that borough justices may take the oaths before the mayor. It would not, in my opinion, be lawful for county justices to take the oaths in petty sessions.

NATURALISATION OF ALIENS—FEES.

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is possible that a reduction could be made in the fees charged for the naturalisation of aliens which now press hardly on members of the working classes; whether a general reduction could be made; and whether it could be arranged that working men whose incomes are less than £80 a year, and who have lived over ten years in this country, paying rates and taxes and bearing a good character, could have some special exemption made in their favour.

*MR. RITCHIE: I do not propose to make a general reduction in the fee for a naturalisation certificate, and I do not think that the suggestion in the second paragraph is desirable or practicable.

COLLISIONS AT SEA.

*MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state what was the number of collisions at sea in which British ships were engaged during the six months ending 31st December, 1900; and in how many cases of such collisions have the Board of Trade held an inquiry.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The number of collisions at sea in which British ships were involved and which were reported to the Board of Trade during the six months ended 31st December, 1900, was 431. The Board ordered formal inquiry in six of those cases. Three inquiries have been held. Three have been abandoned owing to the cases being taken to the Admiralty Court, and two are pending. In addition to the inquiries ordered by the Board of Trade six were held abroad either by Naval or Colonial Courts. I should like to add that the majority of the 431 cases to which I have referred were trivial, that loss of life occurred in only eighteen of them, and that in many instances the Board of Trade did not order inquiry because the cases were already before the Admiralty Court.

ELECTRIC TRAMS—STANDARD GAUGE.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his Department have considered the desirability of prescribing a standard gauge for electric trams in future Acts, so as to enable towns to be electrically connected in this country, as in America, without break of gauge.

*Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: The Board of Trade are fully aware of the importance of a uniform gauge, and when opportunity offers press their views on the subject upon promoters. I think it would be a mistake, however, to insist on the adoption of the standard gauge as an absolutely invariable rule; in hilly districts and in towns with very narrow streets it is sometimes desirable to adopt a gauge less than the usual 4 feet 8½ inches.

MANNING OF MERCHANT VESSELS—THE "PRIMROSE HILL."

Mr. HOULT (Cheshire, Wirral): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that the captain of the sailing ship "Primrose Hill" stated publicly, before sailing from Liverpool, that his ship had been delayed during fine weather for several days wanting a crew, which could not be supplied by the Board of Trade officials; that other persons could have supplied the crew but doing so would have been contrary to the Act of 1854; and that two days after leaving Liverpool the "Primrose Hill" was driven ashore and became a total wreck, only one of the crew being saved; and whether, under the circumstances, he will cause inquiries to be made with a view to increasing the facilities for captains obtaining crews.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir; I am aware of the circumstances of the case to which my hon. friend refers and of the statements made by the captain. An inquiry into the wreck of the "Primrose Hill" has been ordered, and I am informed that proceedings for libel are being taken in connection with the case. Until the inquiry has been held I can express no opinion on the point referred to in the last paragraph of the question.

An Hon. Member: Can the right hon. Gentleman state what proportion of apprentices was carried by this vessel, and if they were so carried with a view to obtaining a reduction of the light dues?

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot without notice, but probably this is one of the questions being inquired into.

RAILWAY CARRIAGE COMPARTMENTS—CORRIDOR TRAINS.

Mr. TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the recent case of murder and attempted murder in a railway compartment; and whether he has taken or will take steps to discourage the employment of separate compartment railway carriages on express trains.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: The introduction of corridor trains and carriages is a matter within the discretion of the railway companies themselves, and I am not in a position to interfere. Considerable progress in this respect has been made during recent years.

HOLYHEAD PIER.

Mr. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the negotiations for the sale to the London and North Western Railway Company of certain property at Holyhead, and the proposals to erect a new mail pier and extend the Mackenzie Pier at Holyhead, have been abandoned; or whether the Board of Trade intend to proceed, during the next session of Parliament, with the Bill to enable them to carry out those arrangements.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir; the negotiations for the sale to the London and North Western Railway Company of certain property at Holyhead have been abandoned having regard to the great cost which would be entailed by the erection of a new mail pier, a cost largely in excess of what was at one time anticipated.

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT, 1899.

Mr. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can state how many localities have adopted the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899; how much money was advanced by these local authorities last year under that Act; and how many dwellings were purchased under its provisions.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): My information is limited to cases in which the borrowing of money by local authorities in England and Wales has been sanctioned for the purposes of the Act. Three local authorities were authorised to borrow money last year in respect of the purchase of eight houses, the amount sanctioned being £1,830.

DEATHS FROM BEER POISONING IN ENGLAND.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state the number of deaths which have taken place in Great Britain during the past twelve months from the effect of drinking arsenicised beer, and also the number of cases reported during the same period in Great Britain in which people were reported or stated to have been poisoned, or to have suffered from the effects of drinking beer unfit for human use.

MR. WALTER LONG: The amount of exceptional sickness and death in England and Wales attributable to poisoning by arsenic is one of the qestions referred to the Royal Commission recently appointed. The Local Government Board are not in possession of the particulars asked for by the hon. Member. The latest information they have on the subject is contained in the Report made to them by Dr. Buchanan, which was presented to both Houses of Parliament last week.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST SMALL-POX.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board what steps are being taken to preserve London from the danger of an outbreak of the small-pox epidemic so prevalent in Glasgow.

MR. WALTER LONG: I am happy to say that according to the latest Returns there is at present practically no small-pox in London. It is by the vaccination of unvaccinated persons and the revaccination of adults that effective steps can best be taken to prevent an outbreak of this disease.

SWINE FEVER.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture how many cases of swine fever occurred in 1898, 1899, and 1900 respectively; what was the total cost in each year in measures for suppressing swine fever; and whether any sums, if so, how much, were deducted each year from the grants in aid of local taxation.

MR. WALTER LONG (for Mr. HANBURY): The number of outbreaks of swine fever which occurred in 1898 was 2,514; in 1899 there were 2,322, and in 1900 1,940. The net expenditure incurred in dealing with the disease was, approximately, £112,000 in 1898–9, £71,500 in 1899–1900, and, according to our latest estimate, it will amount to £52,000 for the current year. The amount drawn from the Local Taxation Accounts was £70,000 in 1898–9, and £38,000 in 1899–1900. We shall probably require £15,000 from the same source from swine fever business during the present year.

POSTMEN CANDIDATES FOR POSTMASTERSHIPS.

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether postmen who offer themselves as candidates for postmaster and sub-postmaster vacancies that are advertised in the Official Circular are required to have a knowledge of telegraph duties.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): It is open to any officer of the Department whatever his rank and whether possessed of telegraph qualifications or not, to apply for any appointment as postmaster or sub-postmaster advertised in the Official Circular. Of course a candidate who possessed such qualifications would have a better chance of success, other things being equal, than one who did not.

Mr. LOUGH: But is a knowledge of telegraphic duties insisted upon?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No. Sir; but, other things being equal, the candidate with the knowledge stands the better chance of success.

OVERTIME IN THE POST OFFICE.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he will grant a Return showing the number of hours overtime, under the various heads in which overtime is claimed, performed at the Central Telegraph Office, London, and in the telegraph department of all the offices in Schedule A, during the twelve months ending 31st December, 1900.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: A general Return for the offices in question would involve a good deal of labour in compilation, and would not in the opinion of the Postmaster General be of any general interest. But if the hon. Member desires to have the figures for any particular office the Postmaster General will endeavour to supply him with the information.

SPORTING RIGHTS ON GOVERNMENT LANDS IN WALES.

Mr. EDWARDS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the sporting rights mentioned in the last Report of His Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests and Land Revenues as having been leased in the counties of Radnor and Merioneth to certain persons for terms of 10 and 20 years were duly advertised so that the public had an opportunity of applying for them; and whether a valuation was made by a responsible agent of the sporting right in the county of Radnor which is now leased at a less rent than was previously obtained.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The leases referred to in the question are three in number, two being of sporting in Merionethshire, and one of sporting in Radnorshire; they were not advertised. The first Merionethshire lease was to the old tenant who agreed to pay its full value as estimated by the Crown valuer; the second Merionethshire lease comprised the shooting over three farms recently bought by the Crown, and over some Crown waste adjoining them. It was part of the bargain with the vendor of the farms that he should have such a lease. The Radnorshire lease was granted to the only person who could be got to make an offer for it. The previous tenant refused to renew, and all likely persons were invited to tender, but it was not thought worth while to incur the expense of advertising or getting a valuation in such a small case.

MAIDSTONE ELECTION PETITION.

Mr. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Public Prosecutor will take proceedings against the persons scheduled in the Report of the judges who tried the Maidstone Petition, or whether other steps will be taken locally or by His Majesty's Government to bring these persons to justice; and whether the persons so scheduled will in any case be disqualified from voting in the election of a member to fill the vacancy created by the decision.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs): Persons scheduled who have received certificates of indemnity cannot be prosecuted. The few cases in which such certificates were not granted are under consideration. The persons so scheduled are in all cases disqualified from voting in the election to fill the vacancy.

Mr. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General if his attention has been directed to the judgment given in the Maidstone Election Petition case, when Mr. Justice Kennedy stated that there seemed to have been a more or less systematic provision made for the corrupt wants of the lower class voters, but that the total number of cases of bribery proved was only 25, and that there was no evidence which enabled the court to form a satisfactory opinion as to the proportion of the bribable class of voters; whether the representatives of the Director of Prosecutions who attended the trial called any witnesses able to give material evidence, as directed by Section

43 (3) of the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883, or took any steps, by applying for an adjournment or otherwise, to assist the election judges to form a satisfactory opinion as to the extent to which corrupt practices prevailed in the borough; and what further steps the Government propose to take to ascertain the truth before assenting to the issue of a new writ.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: My attention has been called to the judgment in this case. The representative of the Director of Public Prosecutions was not in possession of any material evidence, and had no grounds on which he could properly have applied for an adjournment. I am informed by him that the court stated that they had no reason to doubt that all cases in support of which satisfactory evidence could be produced had been brought before them, and that he has no ground to suppose that this is not correct. It is extremely difficult to obtain legal proof in such cases. Under these circumstances it does not appear that any good would result from further delay.

REFORM OF THE CIRCUIT SYSTEM.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether, in view of the fact that the business of the King's Bench Division is at present much delayed through the absence of its Judges on circuit, he can promise any reform of the present circuit system.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: The fact that two judges have been of late required for Election Petitions, and that one judge has been ill, has caused some interruption in the normal despatch of business in the King's Bench Division. Any proposal to deprive any counties of Assizes is attended with great practical difficulties. The whole question of improving the conduct of business in the King's Bench Division is being carefully considered.

LEGAL PROCEDURE — SUPPRESSION OF WITNESSES' NAMES.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether he can state on what grounds the names of witnesses in the recent case of Cory-Thomas *v.* Spink were suppressed.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: The names of some of the witnesses in the case referred to were, in pursuance of an arrangement made by the counsel in the case, not mentioned, with the very proper object of avoiding the infliction of unnecessary pain and annoyance.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I should like to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he thinks the practice should be extended.

*MR. SPEAKER: It is not in order when a question on the Paper has been answered for an hon. Member to ask another on a matter of opinion.

EDUCATION—REGINA v. COCKERTON.

MR. KENYON (Lancashire, Bury): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether, pending the decision in the Court of Appeal in the case of Regina *v.* Cockerton, he will advise the Board to continue the grants to such Schools as may be affected by the judgment of Justices Wills and Kennedy, and whether any legislation is in contemplation on the subject should their judgment be confirmed.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir J. GORST, Cambridge University): The Board has already informed the schools affected that the *status quo* will be maintained until final judgment. The Board will want to see what that judgment is before deciding what action should be taken upon it.

ALLEGED ORANGE OUTRAGES IN LONDONDERRY.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether a bomb was discharged some months ago from the city walls of Londonderry into the yard of a house in Wellington Street in the said city; whether complaint about this matter was made by the occupier of the said house to the justices sitting in petty sessions, and if they directed the police authorities to investigate the occurrence; can he state whether any investigation was made as so directed; and, if so, with what result; and, will he see that the police authorities take steps to have the law at present in force in the said city carried out, and thereby prevent the discharge of firearms and explosives at future Orange anniversaries.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The occurrence referred to in the first paragraph took place on the 6th June last. A rocket of a dangerous character was discharged on the occasion. The reply to the second paragraph is in the affirmative. The matter was very carefully investigated by the police, and the police communicated with the organiser of the demonstration, who was aware that rockets of the character referred to had been used and expressed his regret that they had been discharged. The police are alive to the importance of enforcing the law as regards the use of firearms and explosives, and will use their best endeavours to prevent a breach of the law in this respect in future.

MR. O'DOHERTY: And is a mere expression of regret from a leader of the Orange party sufficient to satisfy the Constabulary?

[No answer was given.]

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION IN IRELAND.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the amount of money granted by Parliament for the construction of railways in Ireland which is yet unexpended; under what account and to what fund these unexpended sums are credited; and, in cases where original plans have fallen through, can these sums or any of them be devoted to the construction or extension of other lines.

MR. WYNDHAM: The amount of the grant referred to so far unexpended is £270,286. This sum is not held in a Suspense Account, as the money is lent when required to the Treasury by the National Debt Commissioners, on the application of the Board of Public Works. The whole of the money made available under the Act of 1896, except a small balance to meet possible excess expenditure in carrying out the schemes already undertaken, has been hypothecated.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Have any schemes had to be abandoned?

MR. WYNDHAM: A sufficient number have not been abandoned to make it necessary to retain the money in hand.

OWENMORE RIVER (CO. SLIGO) DRAINAGE.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware of the fact that the drainage of the Owenmore river in South Sligo would be the means of converting hundreds of acres of marsh now practically useless into good arable land; and whether, as this river passes through a congested district, he will favourably consider the question of a grant by the Board of Agriculture in aid of a scheme for having it drained.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have no information respecting the first paragraph. No application with reference to a scheme for the drainage of the river mentioned has been made to the Department of Agriculture, and I am unable to say that the Department would favourably entertain any such application if made to them. The matter appears to me to be one in which application should be made to the Commissioners of Public Works, who are invested with statutory powers in reference to the formation and maintenance of drainage districts.

MR. O'DOWD: Seeing that this is a matter of great importance locally, will the right hon. Gentleman further consider it?

MR. WYNDHAM: I am willing to consider any matter laid before me, but there is not enough money available to take up every project, however much it may be desired locally.

LAND JUDGES' COURT RETURN.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is prepared to grant the Return in regard to the Land Judges Court on the Order Paper for this day.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am not prepared to grant the Return in the form asked for. Its compilation would impose a great deal of labour on a Department which is barely able to cope with its work. Moreover, the Return would prove misleading, since it would embrace many particulars which have no bearing on the question of Land Purchase.

MR. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will lay a Return upon the Table showing the number of estates in the Land Judges' Court in Ireland; the number of officials (including local receivers) employed in their management; the gross total of the rents collected in respect of such estates by the receivers during the year 1899; and the net total available in respect of that year for those beneficially interested after deduction of all charges for administration and collection.

MR. WYNDHAM: I regret I am unable to grant this Return, for reasons similar to those given by me in answer to a previous question standing in the name of the hon. Member for South Tyrone.

Mr. CULLINAN put a supplementary question, which could not be heard, and Mr. WYNDHAM promised to speak to him privately.

IRISH POLICE—SICK REGULATIONS.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1) whether he is aware that members of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police suffering from illness or injury contracted while discharging their duty are sent to hospital at their own expense; (2) whether the sum deducted from their pay is equivalent in the case of sergeants to about half their pay; (3) whether a Dublin policeman, if nursed by his wife, suffers a stoppage of a shilling a day, and if it is expected that he can support his family and pay for medical requisites in these circumstances; (4) whether members of the Royal Irish Constabulary are obliged, in case of sickness requiring hospital treatment, to go to a hospital selected by the authorities, which provides for the religious comfort of no patients except those belonging to the Irish Protestant Church; and (5) whether the Government will inquire into the whole question of treating members of the two forces when ill, and either provide a hospital or else allow the men to select their own hospital and arrange their own terms of payment.

MR. WYNDHAM: Members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and Royal Irish Constabulary who are sent to hospital are required to defray the hospital charges. In the case of the former force, these charges amount to 2s. a day for single men, and 1s. 6d. for married men. The rates charged to men of the Constabulary treated at Steevens' Hospital are 2s. 3d. for single men and 1s. 4d. for married men. Men of this force treated in the depôt are charged 1s. 1d. a day. The stoppage of a shilling, to which reference is made in the third question, is not enforced in all cases. If the man's officer and the doctor concur in recommending him for exemption, no such stoppage is made. In reply to the fourth question, Steevens' Hospital has been selected by the Constabulary authorities for the treatment of men from that force, except in cases of fever. I understand that clergymen of all denominations have free access to this hospital. It is not proposed to make any alteration in the existing hospital arrangements in either of the two forces.

IRISH CONSTABULARY FORCE FUND.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state what amount of money was paid to the late Inspector General of Constabulary from the Constabulary Force Fund on the occasion of his retirement; whether unmarried members of the Royal Irish Constabulary are forced to pay an annual subscription to this fund against their will, and whether there is any provision for their reaping any benefit except their travelling expenses home on retirement; and whether he can state what amount of money has been paid into the Constabulary Force Fund by unmarried policemen since it was subsidised by the Government, and what amount was disbursed in respect of unmarried policemen during the same period.

MR. WYNDHAM: At the request of my right hon. friend I will reply to this question. The late Inspector General received a sum of £171 from the Constabulary Force Fund. Unmarried members of the force who joined before the 18th June, 1883, are subject to a statutory deduction of 30s. per cent. from their pay for the fund, and should they marry, their wives and children would be entitled, subject to the rules governing the fund, to participate in the benefits of the fund in addition to the grants on retirement, referred to in the question as "travelling expenses." As regards the second paragraph, I am informed that the books and accounts do not distinguish between payments made by married and unmarried members, respectively.

THE RECENT "DAY OF GENERAL MOURNING"—IRISH POLICE AND SHOPKEEPERS.

MR. M'FADDEN (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the sergeant of police at Ballybofey, county Donegal, on 1st February last, called upon the publicans of Ballybofey and Stranorlar, county Donegal, and peremptorily ordered them to close their places of business during the next day, being the occasion of the late Queen's funeral, and by whose authority and under what Act of Parliament the sergeant acted.

MR. WYNDHAM: The facts are not correctly stated in the question. It appears that some publicans asked the sergeant of police whether they were required to close their places of business. The sergeant replied in the affirmative, but subsequently he saw his error and at once informed the publicans it was unnecessary to close. They opened their places of business as usual on the 2nd instant.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by what authority policemen in Edgeworthstown and Ballymahon informed publicans that the day of the Queen's funeral was a holiday on which they should not open their business places; will he give the names of the policemen who made these statements; and will they be reprimanded for their interference with the trades of these towns.

MR. WYNDHAM: I think the hon. Member is under a misapprehension. No intimation of the nature mentioned was given by the police in either Edgeworthstown or Ballymahon.

STEAM TRAWLING IN GALWAY BAY.

MR. MORRIS (Galway): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware of the injury done by steam trawlers fishing in Galway Bay and other coast waters in Ireland, and that the prevalence of this illegal fishing is largely due to the smallness of the fine which the authorities are empowered by law to inflict on these poaching steamers when caught; whether he is aware that the highest fine possible to impose in Ireland is one-twentieth of that in Scotland; and whether he will see that measures are immediately taken to have Galway Bay more vigilantly protected, and to have the fine possible to impose in such cases raised.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have no doubt that the prevalence of illegal trawling in Irish waters is due, to some extent, to the smallness of the fine that can be imposed under the existing law. I am aware of the fact stated in the second paragraph. If an opportunity arises I hope to assimilate the Irish law to that in force in Scotland in this respect. The special cruiser "Helga," in the service of the Department of Agriculture, is now engaged in policing Irish waters, and the steamer in the service of the Congested Districts Board has also been made available for the same purpose. Every possible effort will be made to suppress illegal trawling in Galway Bay and elsewhere in Ireland.

ARTERIAL DRAINAGE AND REAFFORESTATION, IRELAND.

MR. M'GOVERN (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the county council of the county of Cavan has called the attention of the Local Government

Board and the Board of Agriculture for Ireland to the necessity of amending the Local Government (Ireland) Act so as to enable county councils to execute arterial drainage works and to re-afforest waste lands, subject to the usual procedure which has to be adopted in making new roads and other similar public works; and whether it is the intention of the Government to take any steps in the present session to amend the Local Government Act in this and other respects.

MR. WYNDHAM: The answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. As at present advised, I do not propose to amend the Act of 1899 in the direction suggested. The question of arterial drainage is at present one that comes more directly within the province of the Board of Works, who have considerable statutory powers in regard thereto. The Department of Agriculture are fully alive to the importance of including provision for tree planting operations and the expert advice necessary for carrying them out effectively in the schemes which the county councils are engaged in promoting under the Act of 1899, and will be prepared to take the requisite measures for this purpose at the proper opportunity.

BEER POISONING IN IRELAND.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of deaths, if any, which have taken place in Ireland during the past twelve months from the effects of drinking arsenicised beer; and whether he can give the number of cases reported, if any, during the same period in Ireland in which people were reported, or stated to have been poisoned, or suffered from the effects of drinking beer unfit for human use.

MR. WYNDHAM: No deaths, or cases of injury, from the cause referred to have been reported to the Registrar General in Ireland during the past twelve months.

DONEGAL LAND APPEALS.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the number of appeals from the Sub-Commission Court at present pending from the Innishowen Union of the county of Donegal; and whether, as some of these appeals are pending for the past three or four years, he can say when the tenants concerned may expect the Appeal Court to dispose of the cases.

MR. WYNDHAM: Appeals are pending in fifty-two cases from the Innishowen Union. A large number of these cases will appear on the next List of Appeals for hearing at Londonderry, but no arrangements have yet been made by the Commissioners for the next sitting at that place.

MR. O'DOHERTY: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman make arrangements for hearing these appeals in the Union, seeing that Londonderry is forty miles distant?

MR. WYNDHAM: I will lay the suggestion before the Land Commission, but, as the hon. Member knows, there are a large number of appeals outstanding.

LETTERKENNY LAND APPEALS.

MR. M'FADDEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the number of appeals pending in the Land Commission Court in the Letterkenny Union, county of Donegal, and, seeing that a great number of the cases are pending for upwards of three years, when the Land Commission Court will hold a sitting to dispose of the appeals; and if the Commission, considering the number of appeals from this Union, will hold a sitting at Letterkenny for the disposal of the cases.

MR. WYNDHAM: Appeals are pending in thirty-seven cases from the Letterkenny Union. In only one of these cases is the appeal pending for upwards of three years, but in several others more than two years have elapsed since the appeal notices were lodged. Cases from this district will be heard at the next sitting of the Court at Londonderry, for which, however, no arrangements have as yet been made. It is not probable that the time at the disposal of the Commissioners will permit of their sitting at Letterkenny.

AGRARIAN DISPUTE IN SOUTH SLIGO.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will explain on whose authority and for what purpose an armed force of the Royal Irish Constabulary, numbering over 200 men, were drafted into the townland of Achonry, South Sligo, on Sunday, 13th January; and whether the costs arising out of such action will have to be borne by the over-burdened ratepayers of that locality.

MR. WYNDHAM: The police force drafted into Achonry on the 13th January consisted of forty-four men, not over 200 as stated. They were assembled by direction of the Government, acting on the advice of the local authorities, to prevent any attempt to intimidate certain persons in the locality who occupy grass farms. The answer to the second paragraph is in the negative.

MR. O'DOWD: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the meeting referred to was one of farmers convened for the purpose of forming a local branch of the United League?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in order in entering into explanations of that kind.

CORK ASSIZES—SUB LAND COMMISSION.

MR. BARRY (Cork County, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that the Cork Assizes will open on Saturday, 16th of March, and continue for several days, and that a Sub-Commission will sit in Skibbereen on the 19th of March, he can state what provision, if any, will be made for enabling jurors whose cases are listed for hearing on that date being present in person or represented by solicitors who shall also be absent at the Assizes; and whether he would make a representation to the Land Commission to change the date of the sitting of the Sub-Commission to some convenient day either before or after the Cork Assizes.

MR. WYNDHAM: Under the circumstances the Land Commission will arrange to postpone the sitting of the Sub-Commission at Skibbereen, fixed for the 19th March, until after the Cork Assizes.

OGILBY ESTATE, CO. TYRONE.

MR. MURNAGHAN (Tyrone, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an order was made by the Land Court in 1891 for the sale of the Ogilby Estate, in the county Tyrone, the tenants at the time being served with final notice and schedule, and that the tenants two years ago made application to the Court to purchase their holdings; and will he state whether the necessary valuation in response to the application has been made, and the cause of the delay in carrying out the sale of this estate to the occupying tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed by the Registrar of the Land Judge's Court that the settlement of the rental of the holdings on this estate will be proceeded with before the Examiner next week, when it is hoped the rental will be finally settled. The case now stands on the list of the Land Judge for the 15th April, but if the rental be settled in the meantime a request will be at once issued to the Land Commissioners under the 40th section of the Act of 1896.

KENNY ESTATE, CO. GALWAY.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of the Kenny Estate, situate at Skehannagh, in the county of Galway, at present under the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery in Ireland, which has been recently offered for purchase to the tenants, the right of game being reserved from the tenants; and whether it is usual in cases of this kind to make such a reservation.

MR. WYNDHAM: So far as can be ascertained no proceedings are pending before the Land Judge for sale of the lands referred to in the question. If fuller particulars are furnished further inquiry will be made.

IRISH DAIRY INDUSTRY.

MR. O'MARA (Kilkenny, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether it has been brought to his notice that the Danish Government have permanently two Commissioners in Great Britain superintending the distribution of Danish dairy products and safeguarding the interests of Danish agriculturists; and whether it is intended to appoint such a Commissioner (under the Agricultural and Technical Act, 1900) to protect the interests of Irish farmers in the English markets.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Department of Agriculture is aware that the Danish Government have an officer or officers in Great Britain for the purpose stated. It is understood that the duties of these officers largely consists in watching the administration of the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, and furnishing to their Government information concerning British markets which is of value to Danish agriculturists. The Department have already taken steps to promote both these objects in the interests of Irish agricultural produce, and, should experience prove it to be necessary to keep a special officer resident in England for the purpose, they will be prepared to take that measure also.

DUAL OWNERSHIP OF IRISH LAND.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to a resolution recently adopted by the Cork County Council condemning the present system of dual ownership of land in Ireland, and advocating compulsory sale upon equitable terms.; whether he is aware that numerous public bodies in Ireland have adopted similar resolutions; and whether it is proposed to give consideration to the views thus expressed.

MR. WYNDHAM: Representations to the effect mentioned have been made by a number of public bodies in Ireland. The policy of the Government will be more conveniently discussed on the Amendment to the Address standing in the name of the hon. Member for Waterford.

IRISH ASSESSMENTS.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the land of Ireland has not been revalued for nearly half a century, that a majority of the buildings are in the same condition as regards rating, and whether new buildings and improved premises have been valued according to their present rental; whether he is aware that on this account the rateable valuations of land and buildings are unequal and frequently inaccurate in Ireland; whether, seeing that the local authorities in England, Scotland, and Wales are empowered to revalue all property at such periods as they may think desirable, he can state upon what grounds a similar right is withheld from Ireland; and whether the Government will consider the desirability of converting the Valuation Office into a popular board on which all classes of Irishmen may be represented.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is true that nearly fifty years have elapsed since the general valuation of Ireland was completed. There is no power to revise that valuation owing to the fact that Bills introduced by the Government in 1865 and 1878, making provision for a general revaluation, were withdrawn, mainly owing to the opposition of the Irish Members. The inequalities referred to in the second paragraph no doubt exist. It is generally admitted that the Irish system, under which a valuation has been carried out by a central body, is more uniform, consistent, and satisfactory than the system existing in this country. The reply to the last paragraph is in the negative.

MR. O'SHEE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether in the revaluation of rateable property in county boroughs about to be made steps will be taken to obtain a separate valuation of buildings and of land in the same way as in rural districts under Griffith's Valuation; and whether in the case of a revaluation of rateable property in urban districts the same distinction will be adopted.

MR. WYNDHAM: In the revaluation of Belfast now being issued to the rating authorities all lands except what may be termed the curtilages surrounding villas are separately valued.

IRISH LABOURERS' COTTAGES—UNEXPENDED GRANTS.

MR. O'SHEE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of

Ireland if he will state what amount remains unexpended in each county of Ulster and Connaught out of the Exchequer contribution of £40,000 per annum granted under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, in aid of the rates leviable in respect of cottages provided since 1891 under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have communicated by letter the figures to the hon. Member; they are too lengthy to read out in the form of an answer to a question.

REPAIR OF IRISH ROADS.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that many of the roads in Ireland are in a bad condition and that the labourers are in need of employment, he will, in pursuance of his interview some weeks ago with the deputation from the Limerick County Council, on the subject of obtaining an Order in Council for repairing and making the public roads of Ireland by direct labour through the county surveyors, and of his communications with the various county surveyors and the various councils connected with that department, now state if he will bring the matter of obtaining such Order before this House.

MR. WYNDHAM: I stated to the deputation that waited upon me that I would direct the Local Government Board to forward to local authorities in Ireland a draft of a Provisional Order which it was proposed to make amending the Local Government (Procedure of Councils) Order of 1899, in regard to the repair and maintenance of roads by direct labour. The Board communicated with the local bodies on the 6th inst., but obviously some little time must elapse before I am in possession of their views on the subject. A number of copies of the draft Provisional Order have been sent to the hon. Member for South Leitrim for the information of his colleagues.

MR. LUNDON: Will the right hon. Gentleman have the Provisional Order published in the local papers, as this matter is of great interest to the labouring classes.

MR. WYNDHAM: I gave orders that that should be done.

ENNISCORTHY ASYLUM—ACCOUNTS AUDIT.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the committee of management of the Enniscorthy Asylum recently passed a resolution complaining of the charge of £30 demanded by sealed order of the Local Government Board for Ireland for auditing the accounts of the asylum, although the previous charge was only £23 per annum for similar work; and whether, as the committee of management is a committee of the county council, the charge for auditing the accounts of the asylum should be included in the charge for auditing the accounts of the county council, which is fixed by the 64th section of the Local Government Act.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): I am not aware of whether the resolution referred to has been received or not, nor can I in such short notice state the nature of the details in respect of which the increased charge of £7 was made. The audit of the asylum accounts has always been separate and distinct from that of the Grand Jury accounts, and was separately charged for; and the Local Government Board are advised that the 64th section of the Local Government Act only alters the former practice to the extent of substituting the County Council for the Grand Jury separate audits, and are properly charged for.

WORKING-CLASS HOUSES IN BOYLE.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the cause of the delay by the Board of Works in issuing to the Boyle Town Commissioners the loan of £1,800 for erecting houses by virtue of the Provisional Order obtained last July under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, this loan having been sanctioned by the Local Government Board; and whether he can state when the first instalment will be placed to the credit of the town commissioners.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: There has been no avoidable delay. No application for a loan was received from the town commissioners till the 24th January. Treasury sanction has now been given, and the first instalment will be issued as soon as the legal formalities are completed.

ST. MEL'S CATHEDRAL.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that his predecessor in office instructed the Board of Works to send Sir Thomas Deane to make an inspection of and report on the ruins of St. Mel's Cathedral at Ardagh, county Longford; whether the Church representative body refused to agree to vest those works as required before repairs could be undertaken, and will he now give a Return of the correspondence on the subject.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The statement in the first paragraph is correct. The central Church representative body is willing to vest the ruins, but it cannot do so without the consent of the local Church body, which has not been given. As I stated on Monday, no correspondence has passed upon the subject.

IRISH SOLICITORS AND SOMERSET HOUSE APPOINTMENTS.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether, seeing that Irish solicitors are eligible as candidates for the position of First Division clerks, Estate and Legacy, Succession Duty Office, and that a number of the selected candidates are engaged in the Estate Duty Office, Custom House, Dublin, he will explain why Irish solicitors who are candidates are examined exclusively in English law, part of which, such as the law relating to searches and registration of title, does not apply to Ireland; and whether immediate steps will be taken to remedy this state of things by examining Irish candidates on the course prescribed by the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland at the final examination for solicitors.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The greater number of Irish solicitors who are successful in the examinations for First Division clerkships in the Estate Duty Office are appointed to London. Only four Irish solicitors are at present engaged at the Dublin office, and none have been appointed to that office since 1897. It is true that the examination for English and Irish solicitors is exclusively in English law; but for purposes of Estate Duty, English and Irish law are substantially the same, and in this connection the difference in the law relating to searches and registration of titles is of little or no importance.

MR. O'DOHERTY: Is it not the case that Irish tenant farmers pay thousands of pounds in these duties?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must remind the hon. Gentleman that he is not entitled to argue.

BALLYBOFEY SUB-POSTMASTERSHIP.

MR. BOYLE (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he can state how long the position of sub-postmaster in the town of Ballybofey, county Donegal, has been vacant; what is the reason for the delay in filling the position; and whether the delay is due to the fact that the person designated for appointment is a minor and a non-resident of the town.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The appointment of sub-postmaster of Ballybofey, Strabane, has been vacant since the 23rd November last. The reason for the delay in filling the vacancy is that there were a large number of candidates respecting whose qualifications inquiry had to be made. The person whom it has been decided to appoint is not a minor, and is a resident in Ballybofey.

AGRICULTURAL RATING AND TITHE RENT-CHARGE BILLS.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of his announcement that it is the intention of the Government to propose the renewal, this session, of the Agricultural Land Rating Act, 1896, and the Tithe Rent-charge (Rates) Act, 1899, the Bills introduced for such purpose will be similar in character to the Acts now in force; and at what period during the session does the Government propose to introduce them.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it probable there will be a single Bill renewing these Acts. I cannot make any statement as regards the time it will be brought forward.

ROYAL ACADEMY—PROPOSED ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the present constitution of the Royal Academy, and the increase in the number of British sculptors, architects, and artists (other than painters) since its foundation, the Government will recommend the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of that body with a view to its reorganisation, and with the object of augmenting the number of corporate members drawn from the sculptors, architects, and artists of the nation.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No information has been brought to my notice, or, so far as I know, to that of any other member of the Government, which would seem to justify or render necessary the appointment of such a Commission as the hon. Gentleman suggests.

THE CIVIL LIST.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in regard to the Civil List to be voted to His Majesty, it is intended to follow the precedent of 1837, and to appoint a Committee to inquire into the amount necessary to support the state and dignity of the Crown, before bringing in a Bill; and whether he will lay upon the Table a Return of the amounts appearing in the Estimates of the present financial year which are expended either in maintaining the state and dignity of the Crown or in administering or maintaining the Crown Lands.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I propose to follow closely the precedent set in 1837. I am not quite sure I fully understand the last paragraph of the hon. Gentleman's question. If he will put it in another form on another day I will do my best to answer it.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government adhere to their intention to ask both Houses to concur in appointing a Committee on municipal trading; and, if so, whether long notice will be given, and the opportunity afforded for debate.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it would be very desirable the Committee should be reappointed, and I should be very sorry if the reappointment should be the occasion of any long debate in this House, especially as the matter was debated at considerable length during the last session of Parliament. Of course it is in the power of hon. Members to prevent the reappointment being made after 12 o'clock at night.

COST OF THE CORONATION.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can say what will be the probable cost of the Coronation.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot give the hon. Gentleman any information.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[SIXTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

IRISH LAND ACTS.

*MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): The Amendment which stands in my name on the Paper, and which I desire to move, raises once more for the consideration of Parliament the Irish land question. The importance and vital urgency of that question I do not think will be challenged by one who has any practical acquaintance with Ireland. And yet it is true to say that for the last two decades there has been no question which has occupied so much of the time of Parliament and upon which the greatest statesmen on both sides of the House have bestowed greater pains in an effort to obtain its settlement. Both political parties have dealt with this question, in my own personal experience in this House, again and and again in turn. All the greatest leaders of your two parties have tried their hands upon its settlement, and as a matter of fact during these twenty years—I might even say thirty years—measure after measure has been passed by Parliament dealing with this question, and yet, at the end of it all, to-day you find yourselves once more confronted by this great problem, upon which depends not merely the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, but I must almost say the very existence of the remnant of the Irish race. Let me ask at the outset what is the reason for this extraordinary failure? Why is it that all the greatest and wisest of your statesmen belonging to both parties have during thirty years failed in their efforts to deal successfully with this question? Is the problem insoluble? Does the fault rest with the Irish representatives or the Irish people? No, Sir. The answer is perfectly simple. It is that upon that Irish land question this Parliament has never allowed itself to be guided or influenced by Irish ideas or Irish opinions. You have insisted time and again in forcing upon Ireland measures dealing with this question which the great majority of the Irish representatives told you were inadequate and unsuitable. The programme of the Land League in the year 1879—namely, the immediate creation of an occupying proprietary—was denounced by both the parties in the State as a scheme of robbery and confiscation; and, instead of it, this Parliament forced upon Ireland a system of dual ownership—a system of State interference, of the State fixing rents—in spite of our protests—a system which Ireland did not ask for and which we warned them could not settle the question—a system which was in itself illogical, absurd, and unsound in principle, and which I assert to-day, by the common consent of all parties and all classes in Ireland, has completely broken down.

I desire at the outset to make it plain that Ireland was in no sense responsible for the Land Act of 1881. I was myself a Member of the House at the time, and I well remember that Mr. Parnell and the Irish representatives of that day refused to vote in favour of the Second Reading of that Bill; and when the Second Reading division was called the entire body of the Irish representatives walked out of the House and took no part in it, and we solemnly warned Mr. Gladstone and this Parliament that that measure could not provide a settlement of this question. Well, Irish opinion was overborne and a measure was in that year forced upon Ireland which we did not want and whose failure we predicted. I say that the history of this Irish land question and the fact that it is once more casting its shadow over Ireland and thundering at the doors of Parliament, constitutes the most striking conceivable proof of the impossibility of governing Ireland, and of the impossibility of dealing successfully with great Irish problems without having some regard to the opinions and advice of the Irish representatives and of the Irish people.

I say that the present land system of Ireland has absolutely and completely broken down. Is there anyone in this House, belonging to any party, either from Ireland or Great Britain, who can controvert that statement? Let me apply to it perhaps the most simple test possible. Every class in Ireland is dissatisfied with the present system. It is not merely the tenantry of Ireland, or even their representatives, who, seeing that under the working of this system the property of the people in the soil is being confiscated, demand its abolition. It is not merely the landlords who come here and also declare that their property is being confiscated and equally demand the abolition of the system. On this question there is an absolute unanimity of opinion between all classes in Ireland—and between landlord and tenant—who join in declaring that the present land land system, forced on Ireland in 1881, has broken down, and are asking for its abolition. The administration of the present system, likewise, does not command the confidence of any class in Ireland. I assert, without fear of contradiction, that the Irish Land Commission has absolutely no friends in Ireland. The landlords on the one side, and the tenants on the other, equally proclaim their want of confidence in the administration.

A more striking example of this could not possibly be found than what occurred in this House last year, when the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh, as representing the landlords, voted in the same lobby with us, as representing the tenants, against the estimates for the administration of this system. Both the landlords and the tenants are united in declaring their want of confidence in the administration of the present system, and both declare that the Land Commission is partial and inefficient. It could not be otherwise; the task committed to the Commission was an impossible one. The system was an inefficient one, and it was utterly impossible that it could end in anything else than the confessed and admitted failure that has overtaken it.

Let me ask the House to consider what the cost of that administration has been. In the debate upon this subject in the last Parliament the Attorney General spoke of the cost of the Land Commission as being about £100,000 a year. I tried to verify those figures, but I have been unable to do so; but I find the estimate for the administration of the Commission in 1891 was £136,000, and that the salaries, which are charged upon the Consolidated Fund, but which must be added to that sum, amount to about £16,000, making the estimate for that one year £152,000. If you deduct from that the amount of £20,000, on account of land purchases, it still leaves the cost at about £132,000. That is to say, the cost of the administration has for the last twenty years been considerably over £2,500,000; but that, after all, has only been a small part of the cost. In the last Official Returns upon this subject it is recorded that there were 328,720 fair rents fixed since 1881 upon first term applications; and upon second term applications, up to last March, 52,396, and there were over 60,000 appeals. Without adding anything for the years that have elapsed since then, and making due allowance for the cases settled out of court, there have been no less than 400,000 law suits tried out in Ireland. Now, making a very modest and moderate estimate of the costs incurred on both sides in each of those cases, and taking the figure, after having consulted some of the best authorities upon the subject—most of whom told me that, if anything, that estimate was too low—taking £4 as the figure for costs incurred on each side, there has been £3,500,000 spent in law costs. That is to say, there has been spent in twenty years over £6,000,000 of money in carrying out this system. For what? The rentals of Ireland have been reduced by a million and a half or two millions, but in its effect upon the country, in its effect upon the prosperity of the classes concerned, what have you gained by the expenditure of over £6,000,000 of money upon this system? Here we are to.day with the admitted fact that both landlord and tenant are both worse off than they were before. After twenty years of this game of beggar-my-neighbour going on in Ireland we have both the landlord and tenant declaring that they have no confidence in the system, and that it must be swept away. But apart from what both sides in Ireland believe, the partial administration of this system—and apart from its ridiculous and ruinous cost—I say the system itself has absolutely broken down.

There are three points of view from which it can be looked at. Let me take first the point of view—my own point of view—of the tenant farmers in Ireland.

I say that this system, which was forced on Ireland in opposition to our advice in 1881, has not alleviated materially the condition of the tenant farmers of Ireland. It is true that the rental of Ireland has been reduced; but everyone knows that during these years the fall in price of agricultural produce has been so great in Ireland—just as it has been in England—that it is true, I believe, to assert at this moment that the tenant farmer of Ireland who has had his rent reduced under the operation of the present land system is no better off than he was twenty years ago, when he was paying a higher rent, but before the fall in the price of agricultural produce. Under the operation of this system we who speak in the name of the tenant farmers assert that, though the rent is reduced, they are still paying rent on their own property and their own improvements, and that during all these years there has been hanging over the head of every tenant farmer in the country the menace of a lawsuit. The periodical revision of rent at comparatively frequent periods must naturally have had the effect of interfering materially with good cultivation of the country. Of course, hon. Gentlemen will say that for the tenant farmer not to put his best efforts into the land for fear that his rent may be raised is very wrong and perhaps dishonest; but, after all, we are dealing with human nature, which in this matter is not very different in Ireland from human nature in other countries, We know perfectly well that when the tenant is coming within a few years of the period when this tribunal in which he has no confidence whatever is to come again to value his land and to assess his rent, we know very well that he will not put his heart into the work of getting as much out of the land as the land is capable of producing, and in that way the result to the country generally must be bad.

From the landlord's point of view how has this system worked? We had the other day a sentence written by an Irish landlord describing what he conceived to be the present condition of one of his class. He said, "I am a nondescript rent-charger hovering about in a state of suspended animation." The real fact of the matter is that under the operation of this land system the landlords of Ireland are being slowly but surely squeezed out of existence. In those cases in which second-term rents have been fixed the reductions have been on the average more than 40 per cent. of the rents as they stood in 1881. Everyone knows the difference in the condition of the Irish and English landlords. Whereas English landlords were able to bear those large reductions of rent which, without the expenditure of six millions of money on a Land Commission, were brought about on their estates, their brethren in Ireland are unable to bear those reductions, and they have brought ruin to many landlords of Ireland. I say that it is beyond doubt or question that the third revision of rents, with the probability—nay, certainty—which we have that, owing to the changed condition of the world and the means of transit in the world, the price of agricultural commodities will not rise, the absolute certainty is, in my opinion, that the third revision of judicial rents will mean for the overwhelming majority of the smaller landlords complete and hopeless ruin. From the point of view of the country generally I believe the working of this system has been absolutely disastrous. Let me ask, What country in the world could possibly prosper which was subject to this system of periodical litigation? What country in the world could prosper when the one great industry which must be the basis, after all, of the national prosperity is subjected to this ordeal of constant litigation and remains insecure and uncertain? The cultivation of Ireland has not been as good as it ought to have been under a proper system, and it is impossible to keep out of one's consideration, in dealing with this question, the horrible and heartbreaking emigration statistics of the last twenty years.

Mr. Gladstone in eloquent words told the Irish representatives in this House that the Land Act of 1881 would end this chapter of Irish history. He told them that it would enable Irishmen to live and prosper on their own land; and after twenty years working of this system what do we find? During these years more than a million and a half of the Irish people have emigrated from the country. That has been a constant and steady drain. I succeeded in getting, the other day, emigration statistics for the year 1900, and it is indeed a disquieting fact that emigration in Ireland has commenced to rise again. For the years 1898, 1899, and 1900 there has been a steady and distinct rise. This one fact alone, that this system, instead of enabling the people to live and prosper in Ireland, has certainly not checked emigration—it has gone on as badly as ever in proportion to the reduced population—is, in my view, sufficient in itself to condemn the system. English Members sometimes take an entirely erroneous view on this question of emigration. There are portions of Ireland in the congested districts where the population has been, owing to the barrenness of the soil, greater than that poor soil could support in comfort. Yes; but it is not from those districts that emigration has gone on. Emigration has gone on from the whole of the country generally; and it is an interesting fact which will interest hon. Members from Ulster and other members of the House, that, while Belfast has increased in population, the population in the agricultural districts of Ireland during the last twenty years has steadily diminished. This emigration has been of the most deadly kind. Those who have emigrated from Ireland have been people in the prime of life, and surely it is a heart-breaking thing for us Irishmen to consider that the proportion of old people and of little children is greater in Ireland to-day than in any country in Europe. The position in Ireland has been all during these twenty years that one class of the population have been flying away from the shores of Ireland, or else remaining not contented, but in many cases in increasing poverty, and that the other class of our countrymen—the landlords—have been all during this time slowly but surely being ruined. Apart altogether from every other consideration affecting this question, in my view the emigration statistics alone are proof conclusive of the absolute failure of the system and of its injurious effects on the condition of the country generally. Therefore from that point of view this system has failed. Its administration possesses the confidence of no party and of no class. Its administration has been absurdly and ruinously costly and extravagant. It has been partial and inefficient according to universal opinion. It has not benefited the tenants. They to-day call out for its abolition. It has admittedly ruined the Irish landlords, and they also cry out against its continued existence. It has kept Ireland all during these years in a state of unrest and poverty, and under its operation immigration has gone on steadily, and for the last three years has commenced once again to rise. Now, surely no prediction was ever so completely justified by experience as that of Mr. Parnell when in 1881 he declared to Mr. Gladstone that the Act of that year could not possibly settle the Irish question, and that it was based upon wrong lines and unsound principle.

In what I have said I have been dealing with matters about which there is no difference of opinion at all. Let me come now to the remedy which we have been advocating for well over twenty years. There, again, I am in the fortunate position that in principle there is no difference between Irish landlords and tenants. All classes in Ireland, landlords and tenants alike, demand abolition of this system of dual ownership and State regulation of rents, and ask for the substitution for it of a system of occupying proprietary. The only portion of the Irish land system which is working any good in Ireland at all is that which is comprised in the Irish Land Purchase Acts. I desire to say that in my opinion in principle, and indeed in intention, these Acts were admirable. But our case is that the operation of these Acts has been partial and so slow that a settlement of the question cannot be looked for from their operation. After fifteen years working under these Voluntary Land Purchase Acts, roughly speaking, about 50,000 sales have been effected, or, in other words, it would take about 150 years by the operation of these Acts to settle the Irish Land question upon the lines which we all desire to see it settled upon. And it is remarkable that the Fry Commission, which sat quite recently, reported that the slowness in the working of the Land Commission in this purchase department increases rather than diminishes as time goes on. Into the precise causes of the delay in the working of these Acts I do not intend at this moment to enter at any length, but I must say this, that in my opinion a large measure of responsibility rests upon the Irish Land Commission. I believe that the spirit in which they proceed to the administration of these Acts is altogether wrong. Instead of regarding their duty as that of carrying out a great national state policy of reconstruction and reconciliation, they act apparently in all these cases in the hard and grinding spirit of the money-lender. They devote all their attention to the safeguarding of the interests of the British Treasury, which was never for a single moment in any jeopardy. I remember that my hon. friend the Member for the St. Patrick's division of Dublin asked a question in this House a couple of years ago on this point, and was told in reply that there were 5,500 cases where actually the landlord and the tenant had agreed as to the price to be paid, but where the sale was blocked by the Land Commission, and they refused to allow it to be carried out.

But while maintaining that the spirit of the Land Commission is probably one of the reasons for the slow administration of these Acts, I must with perfect candour recognise that it is not the real reason. We know perfectly well that the real reason is that there is a large class of Irish landlords who cannot afford to sell under these Irish Land Purchase Acts. They are men who are living on a very small margin of their rents, and although these men know perfectly well that a third revision of judicial rents will sweep that margin away altogether, still they prefer putting off to the last possible moment facing the situation, and they refuse to sell their estates to their tenants.

Therefore I make the point that no Voluntary Land Purchase system can possibly settle the Irish Land question. The success of these Acts where they have been put in operation has been enormous and most gratifying. The price paid by the Irish tenants in those cases of sale has been on the average something like seventeen years and a half purchase. That is the price at which the landlords have sold their estates. They apparently were satisfied with that price, because there was no compulsion to sell if they did not choose to do so. The tenants no doubt have reaped enormous benefits, because at that price the tenants have been called upon to pay, by way of instalments and to pay the interest on the purchase money, some 25 or 30 per cent. less than the reduced judicial rent which they were paying, and the State—and this, after all, is a matter of vital importance in the question—the State has suffered nothing. I believe that the amount of money advanced has been something like eighteen millions, and there have been, speaking broadly, no arrears. The arrears on the eighteen millions are a mere bagatelle—so small that they do not count at all.

But the extraordinary part of the situation is this, that the success of these Acts makes it absolutely impossible for you to stop there. The very success of these Acts makes it essential for you to introduce a general scheme affecting the whole country. It is unnecessary for me to illustrate that statement. For example, take any parish in Ireland. You may find in the centre of that parish an estate where the landlord has consented to sell to his tenants, and under the operation of these Acts he has been changed from a tenant paying a judicial rent into an owning occupier paying instalments for a certain number of years, and the instalment he is paying is 30 per cent. less than the rent, and all around him his next-door neighbours are tenants on other estates where the landlords have refused to sell, and where the tenants must continue to pay 25 or 30 per cent. more. The very existence of that state of things prevents the possibility of tranquillity, rest, and contentment in Ireland; and although it seems paradoxical to say so, it is absolutely true that the greater the success that has attended these Voluntary Acts the greater the necessity that there should be a complete system of land purchase which would spread all over the country.

The Government, I notice, have declared in the King's Speech that they are going to introduce some Bill dealing with these Voluntary Acts. Now let me say at once—and possibly the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant will not be greatly surprised when he hears the statement—in our opinion, the time has absolutely passed for tinkering with this subject. We will not favour or tolerate, so far as we can, any further tinkering with this question. There has been twenty years experience of fixing of fair rents, there has been fifteen years experience of these Land Purchase Acts, and we say that the only solution which can settle, or which can give us any hope of settling the question must be a great, bold, and statesmanlike scheme, such as there are precedents for in many countries in Europe, for the general compulsory sale of the land by the landlords to the tenants upon terms which will not only be just to the tenants, but which, so far as we are concerned, will be absolutely just to the Irish landlords. I know that in proposing to Parliament a scheme of compulsion directed at any class of the community, it is necessary to show that that class will not be unjustly treated. I do not deal with the general principle which is to be found up and down all through the legislation of this country, namely, that the interest of one particular set of men must give way to the general interest of the community. I know that in all cases where that principle has been put in operation the Legislature has most properly been very tender to the interests of the injured class, or the class which might think itself injured, and has taken every precaution to prevent injustice being done to it. But in the case of the Irish landlords the outcry which I hear about the enormity of compulsory sale is ridiculous. Why, the principle has already been applied to the Irish landlords. What did the Act of 1881 do? It took the rents of the Irish landlords and compulsorily reduced them. That is to say, in 1881 the Legislature stepped in and compulsorily regulated and reduced the income of the Irish landlords, and declared what was to be the rent-charge on the land; and it certainly does not seem to me to be a very extravagant or unreasonable extension of that principle to say that, having regulated and decided what a man's income is to be, you should be allowed also to say that the income is to be derived no longer from the rent-charge, but as interest on land stock created by purchase.

The real question I feel that it is necessary to grapple with on this point is, Can this system of compulsion be applied to the Irish landlords without absolutely ruining them? I believe it can, and I know it can; and I know that very many of the wisest and more far-seeing of the Irish landlords not only believe that it can be done, but believe that it is the only way to save their class. I would respectfully submit to the consideration of the Irish landlords this fact—every year that passes the value of their property is going down. In 1879 the "robbers and confiscators" of the Irish Land League offered the landlords twenty years' purchase of Griffith's valuation. In 1886 Mr. Gladstone also made a proposal, which was also denounced as robbery and confiscation, under which the landlords were to get as a minimum twenty years' purchase of the then judicial rents which were lower than the valuation. To-day, when this question comes to be settled Irish landlords themselves in the operation of the Voluntary Purchase Acts admit that they consider a little over seventeen years purchase of the judicial rents quite fair. I respectfully submit to Irish landlords that the longer this question remains unsettled the less property they will have to sell, and from the point of view of their own safety and interest I say to them that they are unwise in not coming in as a body and joining hands with us, and seeking to have a great measure of compulsory purchase passed upon terms just to them as well as to the Irish tenants. The Irish party are constantly taunted with operating on this question not for the purpose of benefitting the tenants or the country, but for the purpose of ruining and exterminating the Irish landlords.

Why, Sir, if we cared nothing for the general interests of the tenant farmers and of Ireland, and wished only to exterminate the Irish landlords, all we would have to do would be to wait for a few years longer for a third-term fixing of the judicial rents, and I believe by that process the class of Irish landlords would be absolutely ruined in Ireland. I repudiate absolutely any such unpatriotic and absurd desire on the part of Irish Members of this House. We look at this question in a broader and a more just spirit from the point of view of the general welfare and prosperity of our own people and country generally. I say that we are not working for the extermination and ruin of the Irish landlords, and I have no hesitation in saying that if in the operation necessary to carry out this great scheme the British Treasury choose out of that accumulation of money due to Ireland over the financial relations to make the operation easy for the Irish landlords, the Irish tenants certainly will not be found to raise any serious objection. We do not desire to exterminate any class of our countrymen, no matter what the history of their forefathers may have been; and I may be allowed personally to express my own belief and hope that, if a great scheme such as I have been indicating is carried into effect, a very large proportion indeed of the Irish landlords who have been expropriated will be glad to retain their houses and homes and continue to live in the country and bear their share in promoting its prosperity in the future.

I feel that it is necessary to show not merely that a scheme such as this will not be unjust to the Irish landlords and that we have no such desire or intention, but I feel that it is necessary also to say something on the question whether a measure of this kind would be just to the British taxpayer. Not that, in view of the past history of the financial relations between the two countries, I am very tender about the interests of the British taxpayer, but because I desire to be practical, and I know that that is a question which I must address myself to if I am to make this scheme acceptable to Parliament. Is it just that the British taxpayer should be called upon to make a fairly large expenditure of public money for this purpose? I will not be guilty of the impropriety of attempting to discuss the war in South Africa on this question, but I may, in passing, be allowed to say that if the British taxpayer is willing to go on paying something like £2,000,000 a week to carry on a work of ruin, devastation and desolation in one country, they ought to be willing to make a far more moderate expenditure of public money in Ireland on a great work of peace, reconstruction and reconciliation. In this matter England is under a deep obligation to Ireland generally, and I will say in a particular way to Irish landlords. I remember very well, in speaking on this question in this House in 1886, Mr. Gladstone used these memorable words which I take the liberty of quoting to the House. He said—

> "We cannot wash ourselves clean and clear of responsibility for the Irish land system. The Irish landlords were our garrisons in Ireland. We planted them there and we replanted them there. In 1641 and 1688 and 1798 we re-conquered the country for them. The landlords were our garrison, our representatives, and we have relied upon them as they have relied upon us We cannot wash our hands of responsibility for their doings or the consequences of their doings."

I believe, Sir, that that is an accurate statement of historical fact, and I believe that it will be impossible for this country, with justice, to complain of her responsibility or of any burden that may be necessary in order to undo the wrongs of the past. And may I take this from another point of view. What risks are we asking the British exchequer to undertake? For my own part I believe absolutely none. The working of the existing Voluntary Acts goes to some extent, at any rate, to prove my point. As I have stated before, of the £18,000,000 advanced under those Acts, many of these tenants have paid up practically to the last farthing, although the price at which they bought is greater than the price they would have to pay now on rents which have again been reduced. This policy of repudiation that we have heard of as likely to come if Ireland was made subject to the operation of a great scheme such as I have indicated is the merest moonshine. Anyone who knows anything at all of the Irish peasant knows that what is true of the peasantry in other countries is true in a particular way of them. The master passion in the life of an Irish peasant is his love for the land. This has driven him often into doing deeds quite foreign to his nature; and it has driven him into kinds of contests which no other possible motives could have urged him to. It is the master passion of a peasant's life to get possession of the land. Once a tenant buys under a system of this kind he ceases to be a tenant and becomes an owner and ceases to pay rent, and every instalment he pays is increasing his property in the land, making it more impossible year by year that he can ever lose it, and making it more certain year by year that he will be able to hand it down to his children afterwards. To anyone who is at all acquainted with the peasantry of Ireland it is the merest moonshine to suppose that if they get this great boon they would belie their history by adopting a policy of repudiation. All that is wanted is a moderate use of Imperial credit, and for the reasons I have shortly given that Imperial credit ought and could be lent to Ireland with the greatest possible safety and security.

Let me draw attention in a few brief sentences to the state of public opinion in Ireland upon this question. I say that, practically speaking, Ireland is unanimous. I am aware it has been stated—I do not know upon what authority—that the hon. Members for the city of Belfast, the Member for the city of Derry, and the Members for Dublin University are not favourable to such a scheme as I have indicated, and I am aware also that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Armagh—while I believe he entirely agrees with me that the present system is wrong, and desires to see it swept away, and occupying proprietors put in its place—does not go the length of saying that there ought to be a compulsory system. But there is no one else. That means that 95 per cent. of the Irish Members constitutionally elected are in favour of this proposal. I believe I am right in saying that the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh is the only Member for an agricultural constituency in Ulster who is opposed to us. All the rest, I understand, pledged themselves in their election addresses in favour of our proposal. I may be allowed to say that Irish Members representing Nationalist constituencies have viewed with the greatest possible gratification and hope that great movement which has sprung up in the province of Ulster, and which is led with such courage and ability by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. The demand made by the whole agricultural province of Ulster is precisely the demand which I desire to put before the House. Let me be precise in this matter. I have here a resolution passed at a meeting of Unionist tenant farmers in the county of Tyrone. It says—

> "Inasmuch as the substitute of single ownership for dual ownership has been declared to be the keystone of Unionist policy in regard to land in Ireland, we hereby appeal to the Unionist Government to carry out that policy in its completeness without further delay, which, in the present state of discontent, may be dangerous, and thus restore tranquillity and contentment in Ireland by passing a scheme of compulsory land purchase, compelling the landlords to transfer the share of the joint property in the soil to the occupiers and tenants—a provision which will enable the landlords to hold their mansions and demesne lands and to reside in Ireland."

That is the demand put forward by the whole province of Ulster, with the exception of the hon. and gallant Gentleman to whom I have already adverted, and supported here to-night by the entire other three provinces. For the first time, since the Union, at any rate, there has been a joining of hands upon a great principle between North and South. I regard that with the utmost satisfaction; for I have always been one of those who hope to live to see the day when for all Irish purposes there might be a union between North and South, and I pray with all earnestness that the fight for this great principle into which we are now going as friends and comrades in arms, and the victory which as comrades we are going to win for this principle may tend to blot out the memories of a bitter past, and may be the harbinger of a happy day when North and South, Catholic and Protestant, and Presbyterian may form one united people working for the prosperity and liberty of their countrymen. And how does this matter stand? By universal consent the present system has broken down. We now make a demand, moderate and reasonable in itself, which has many precedents in the land systems of other countries in Europe. We put forward that demand peaceably, and by the methods provided by the Constitution. We present it to you here to-night with the authority of a united Ireland—North, South, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, Unionist, and Nationalists. What clinches the whole case is this. We put our claim forward in this House on the authority of 95 per cent. of the Irish representatives. In any constitutionally-governed country in the world such a demand, so put forward, would be certain of an easy and an early triumph. What would happen in the case of a demand of a similarly reasonable character put forward in this House in the same way and by the same proportion of English Members? But, unfortunately, in the past constitutional government has been for the mass of the Irish people but an empty name; and the union of Irish Members in this House in favour of any particular policy, and especially of any policy on this land question, has always been a certain forerunner of its defeat. The whole history of your rule in Ireland has been one of concessions made too late, and made to violence after having been denied to constitutional agitation. We now to-night—95 per cent. of the Irish Members—make this demand. What will be the result?

The Prime Minister, in his letter to the Member for South Tyrone, said that the Government were not in favour of this scheme under existing circumstances. Sir, what are the "existing circumstances"? Ireland to-day, beyond all record in recent times, is peaceful and crimeless. Is that one of the existing circumstances? We cannot forget the facts of history. We know that notwithstanding the Report of the Devon Commission, notwithstanding the appeals made decade after decade in this House by Irish representatives, no redress was attempted of the grievance of the Irish tenants until 1870; and the Act of that year was only passed, as Mr. Gladstone said, after the chapel bell had been rung at Clerkenwell. We know that during the ten years which followed—from 1870 to 1880—the demands made here time and time again by the majority of the Irish Members fell upon deaf ears, and that nothing was done till 1881, when the Land Act of that year was passed after what I may justly call the Revolution of the Land League. We make this demand to-night. As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise it will be granted, and in all sincerity I pray of you to grant it now, when it is put forward, as we have put it forward, under the happy circumstances of peace and tranquillity in Ireland, and not to wait until it is wrung from you, as every concession to Ireland has been in the past. This Government and this Parliament have now got the opportunity of closing this chapter of Irish history. And what a blessed thing the closing of it would be! The history of this Irish land question is full of shame for this country and full of heart-break and of maddening memories for Ireland. It is a story of a fair and fertile land depopulated, of a brave and gentle race driven, generation after generation, by an almost inhuman persecution, to deeds of violence absolutely foreign to their nature. It is a story of a people expatriated, scattered through the world, and taking with them into every land and every clime the burning memory of their lost and ruined homes, and the most deadly hatred of your rule. Wise, indeed, in my opinion, will be the statesmanship, aye, and blessed will be the name of the man who puts an end once and for ever to this record of human wrong and human suffering. For the reasons that I have stated to the House, I beg leave to move the Amendment standing in my name.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): All those Members who remember the relations between myself and the party opposite during the ten years of bitter strife and conflict that took place between 1886 and 1895 will doubtless feel surprised that I should rise to second an Amendment to the Address proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. I never rose with a greater sense of responsibility, with a stronger sense of duty, or with a more certain conviction that I was doing what was right, that I was asking the House to do the right thing, and that I am supported by an absolutely united Ireland upon this question. I hope the House will allow me before I proceed with any argument to brush away a matter more or less personal to myself. I notice that some of my friends have taken the trouble to go scavenging in the dust-bin of my old speeches, and have published for the edification of the House five or six speeches that I have made at different times during the last fifteen years to my constituents in South Tyrone. I am one of the few Ulster Members who ever take the trouble to speak to their constituents, and I think it would give anyone a great deal of trouble to find five or six speeches even in fifteen years from any other Ulster Member that would bear publication. I do not seek to conceal from this House, and I have not sought to conceal from the country, that I have been engaged during the last ten or twelve years in trying to hold back my own constituents and those people in Ulster who listen to me. I have not been endeavouring to push them forward on this issue; I have done my best to restrain them, to hold them back. This is a great issue, but I never thought until now that the time had come to press it. I always had great doubts about the magnitude of the proposal and what was involved in it. I am here to-night, if you like, a convert. Ireland has changed, and I have changed with it, and it will do nobody any good to bring up speeches of the past in which I have not so much spoken against this as I have endeavoured to hold the people back and to get them not to press it urgently.

I desire to place before the House a clear record of what has precipitated this question, and made it the dominant issue in Irish politics. My conviction at the moment is that the real reason is the utter and irretrievable breakdown of the present system of dual ownership in the land which was legalised by the Act of 1881, due to the maladministration of the Land Court. That is a grave statement to make, and I have no right, and certainly no desire, to make any such statement without placing the House in possession of the facts upon which I base it.

There are four things which have brought this question irresistibly to the front in Ireland—first, the treatment by the Courts of appeals on value; secondly, the treatment by the Courts of tenants' improvements; thirdly, the conspiracy among landlords and land agents in Ulster absolutely to destroy the Ulster custom under which the Ulster tenant is being robbed of his property every day; and, fourthly, the very success of the Purchase Act itself, to which the hon. and learned Member for Waterford referred, necessitates the House facing this question. I take first of all the treatment of appeals on value. I was a member of the Committee which sat in 1894, and that Committee found that there had been during the fifteen years that had elapsed something like 30,000 appeals on value. Those appeals had cost more than £1,000,000, and the result had been that a quarter per cent. had been added to the rental. All that has now ceased, and the appeals have been made a matter of reality. Let me illustrate the procedure of this Court of Appeal, and I ask the House to try to consider the position of the tenants who go into that Court. I will give two or three concrete cases; I have a score of them here; I have the official records, and I am not going to quote anything which cannot be borne out by the documents I hold in my hand. I give first of all the case of a tenant in county Antrim, named McCluggage. The landlady was Mrs. Deakin. She served the originating notice to have a fair rent fixed. Two Assistant Commissioners, who are paid £800 a year each and are experts in land values, proceeded to inspect and value the holding. These two experts fixed the fair rent at £10 10s. An appeal was taken. Two Court valuers were sent down by the Chief Land Commission to inspect the holding and to value it afresh. They found that the Sub-Commissioners were accurate in their definitions, and they fixed the rent at £10 7s.—3s. less. Now here we have four expert valuers, paid £800 a year each by the votes of this House, agreeing upon a fair rent for this holding. The Chief Land Commission sits and rehears the case. Not a single member of the Commission knew anything about the land; they had not inspected it; they had never seen it; it would have been no service if they had seen it. Without receiving any further evidence over and except the evidence of the landlady's and tenant's valuers, the Court, absolutely ignorant of the value of the land, overruled its four experts and raised the rent by 20 per cent., and it gave the tenant no reason for its decision whatever. That was a final verdict; there can be no further appeal on questions of value. That is a sample case of thousands in which this Court, absolutely ignorant of land values, overrides its own experts and raises the rent by 20, 25, and 30 per cent. without giving the slightest reason for it. I submit that the House cannot expect a free people to consent to be treated in this way. This Court must either give reasons for its decisions or the tenants will have to leave the Court alone. Those of us who advise the tenant farmers will have to tell them plainly that this is not a place where they can get justice; that they had better leave the Chief Court and the Land Commission altogether to the evidence of the landlords, and let them do what they like; they cannot do worse than they are doing. That is one case out of twenty that I have in my possession to-night, and it is typical of hundreds, if not thousands. I ask the House to believe that this is not a procedure to be tolerated in a free country.

Now let me show the House how the question of tenants' improvements is dealt with; and here again I only quote from the actual official documents. The House has heard for very many years of the famous Adams and Dunseath case; everybody has heard of it. I am not going to review the first Adams and Dunseath case, but the second. Let me point out what has taken place on this holding. It is most interesting to show how the best intentions of an Act of Parliament passed by this House are ruined the moment the Act goes over to Ireland to be administered. Here is a small farmer near Ballymena, in the county of Antrim, who had his rent fixed in 1881, and a tremendous fight arose about the title to the improvements. David Adams went on paying for fifteen years the rent fixed in 1881. In due course of time he came up to have his rent fixed a second time—that is, for a second period. In the meantime the Act of 1896 had been passed, and the rent of the house, which he had had to pay for fifteen years under the decision of the Court of Appeal, was at once eliminated, because the Act of 1896 reversed that decision and made a return to honesty possible. David Adams had reclaimed a bog of 16 acres, and the Sub-Commission went on to the holding and after inspection filled in the form under the Act, stating that the original value of the 16 acres of bog land was 3s. per acre, and as reclaimed 12s. per acre. They allowed David Adams five per cent. for his expenditure in capital and labour upon the work of reclamation When that had been allowed there was still a surplus of increased letting value to be disposed of. Now what did the Sub-Commission do? They acted on the hint given in the Morley Committee upstairs by Lord Justice FitzGibbon, and divided that surplus value between the landlord and tenant, and a fair rent was fixed on this basis. That decision was appealed to the Chief Court of the Land Commission, which treated Lord Justice Fitz-Gibbon just as if he were a noisy land agitator. What did the Chief Land Commission Court care for the evidence of Lord Justice Fitz-Gibbon here or anywhere else? They decided that the whole of the increased letting value apart from five per cent. was to go to the landlord, who had never expended a farthing upon it. But David Adams was one of those dour Antrim tenants who are not easily disposed of. He trudged up once more to the Court of Appeal, which reversed the decision of the Chief Court of the Land Commission, and sent it back to the Land Commission to fix the rent and to sit judicially on the surplus. What did the Land Commission Court do? They allowed the tenant 12s., and the landlord 32s. That was bad enough, but there was worse. I make this charge, and I ask the Government of Ireland to meet it. Here was a decision of the highest Court of Appeal, which held whenever a surplus arose the Land Commission Court must sit on it judicially and divide the surplus. I make this charge on the authority of the schedule I hold in my hand—that the Land Commission have so altered the method of filling up the pink schedule that no surplus can ever arise in future. What has the Land Commission done? The Sub-Commission on the form which they filled in gave the original value of the bog as 3s. per acre, and of the value of the bog as reclaimed as 12s. per acre, and the surplus value which arose they divided between the landlord and tenant after allowing 5 per cent. to the tenant for his expenditure on capital and labour. But what does the pink schedule now bear? It simply states that so many acres of bog have been reclaimed; that 5 per cent. is allowed to the tenant for his expenditure in capital and labour—nothing is said about the original value or the new value. The decision of the Court of Appeal has been, in fact, set aside by a trick. These are the things which have driven the Ulster tenants to desperation, and which the Ulster tenants are not going to tolerate; and no cry of trafficking with traitors; no bogey of Home Rule will turn the Ulster tenants from the path they have entered upon to-day; and they will have justice or know the reason why.

Let me go on to the Ulster custom, and let us see how that has been treated by the Land Commission. Now, it is under the Ulster custom that the whole property of the Ulster tenants rests; destroy that custom, and you destroy the basis of their whole property. Why do I say that? You may tell me that it rests under the Land Act; but under the Act of 1870 the presumption of ownership of improvements is given to the tenant, and the Ulster tenant is excluded from it. And why? Because he had this presumption of ownership already by the Ulster custom. I repeat it most solemnly to the House, that, if this custom is destroyed, the Ulster tenant has little further protection under the Land Acts. But the most outrageous state of affairs that has ever happened has followed upon the action of the Land Commission. For the advantage of English Members, I may say that the Ulster custom is the unwritten code which differentiates the tenants in Ulster from the tenants in other parts of Ireland. It has come down from the days of the old Plantation, and was legalised in 1870; and never till within the last few years has any attempt been made to touch it. Indeed, this House has always been so cautious in dealing with it that when passing Acts of Parliament relating to Irish land we have invariably inserted a provision to the effect that nothing in these Acts should interfere with the Ulster custom. What has been done? I am bound to say that a great many of these questions have been settled in the south of Ireland. The landlords dare to do things in Ulster which they have been cured of doing in the south of Ireland. [An HON. MEMBER: Disgraceful.] Disgraceful! What the landlords have done in Ulster is disgraceful, and not my recital of it. Under the Land Act of 1881 the tenant is entitled to sell his holding, and to give notice of his intention to the landlord. The landlord has the right to exercise pre-emption. What has taken place? Does anyone imagine that when Parliament conferred that right of pre-emption on the landlord it intended that he should carry on a traffic in farms? Nothing of the kind. The right of pre-emption was conferred for the specific purpose of guarding the property of the landlord. What is taking place every day? The tenant desires to sell, and he gives notice to the landlord. Notice is at once served on the Land Court by the landlord that he wants to pre-empt. Now what happens? The landlord buys at the pre-emption price, which is one-third less than the price the tenant could get in the open market. Then the landlord sells in the open market, and puts into his pocket that which is morally the tenant's property. But that is not all. What does the landlord further do? The purchaser is declared a future tenant under the Land Act, with no rights whatever, and is entirely shut out from the Land Courts. Now, that is not occurring once a week, but every day, under the Land Act of 1881. Let us go back to the Ulster custom. According to that custom the landlord has no right of pre-emption at all, and he does not assert that he has. We had the other day a very typical case of what is going on. It occurred in the county of Armagh—I am not going into the details, but will state sufficient to show what these landlords are capable of doing. A poor woman has three acres of land, and you can picture what a living she is likely to make of that! The estate upon which she lives is under the Ulster custom. She desires to sell, and gets an offer from a neighbouring tenant of £20 an acre for her interest. She accepts it, and goes to the estate office, where she meets the agent. He takes down a map of the estate and sees how the one farm lies into the other. Then he talks about another offer he has had for her farm; and in the end he tells her to serve notice, whereas under the Ulster custom no notice is necessary. Knowing nothing about the law, this poor woman serves a notice under the Act of 1881, and the moment he receives it the agent gives notice of pre-emption, and attempts to put the difference between £10 an acre under pre-emption and £20 offered to the woman by her neighbour into the pocket of the landlord. [HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!] I will give my authority. One of the greatest Masters of the Rolls Ireland ever had, Sir Edward

Sullivan, one of the ablest lawyers who ever sat on the Irish Bench, said—

> "Speaking for myself, it seems to me that the important essentials of the custom are the right to sell; to have the incoming tenant, if there is no reasonable objection to him, recognised by the landlord; and to have a sum of money handed over for interest and the tenancy transferred."

And Sir Edmund Bewley said before the Commission in 1898 that the two attributes of the unrestricted custom are the right to hold continuously at a fair rent, and the right to sell the holding with its improvements to an unobjectionable purchaser. That is the unwritten code. Very well, this poor woman goes to the office, and says she desires to sell her holding, and had received an offer of £20 an acre from a neighbouring tenant, which she had accepted. The agent took down the map of the estate, and saw how one farm ran into the other, and he spoke about another offer, and finally told her to give notice, although under the Ulster custom no notice is necessary. What does this poor woman know about the law; she is only a poor ignorant peasant woman, so instead of going to a lawyer she goes to a stationer, and obtains a notice under the Act of 1881, which she serves. What happens? The moment the notice is served the agent pre-empts, and he attempts to put the difference between the pre-emption price of £10 an acre and the £20 per acre which this woman has been offered into the pockets of the landlord. But, happily, the county court was too much for him. The county court judge cancelled all these transactions, and characterised the conduct of this man as grossly unjust. Now this man is not the agent of an outcast like Lord Clanricarde. He is the agent of Lord Gosford, the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Armagh; and if a man like Lord Gosford will allow his agent to do things like that, what can we expect from the ruck and run of Irish landlords? These are the things that in Ulster have produced a feeling that will not very easily be allayed, and the feeling that has been roused and the temper to which the people have been brought is entirely justified. You cannot set Humpty Dumpty upon his legs again. The whole thing has hopelessly and irretrievably broken down. It is not a disgraceful thing for me to say so, but it is a disgraceful thing to the Irish landlords who have been mean enough to bring it about.

Let me come now to what I am bound to admit is a much brighter aspect of this question. Let me come to the position of the Purchase Acts. My hon. and learned friend opposite said the very success of the Purchase Acts had made further progress essential. I entirely associate myself with those remarks. What has happened? During the last twenty years we have sanctioned £45,000,000 cash and credit for this beneficent work, and no one has done more in regard to that than the Leader of the House. Already £17,000,000 have been expended, and we have created some 50,000 occupying owners out of possibly 350,000 tenants. Let us see what the result of legislation has been. Acts of Parliament for Ireland with regard to the land question have invariably had drawbacks. There has been no drawback in the case of the Land Purchase Acts save in their administration. The whole result has been entirely satisfactory. Commencing with the Church Act in 1869, we have had in thirty years seven statutes dealing with this phase of the land question. One and all have been satisfactory; no one denies that.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet) here made an observation which did not reach the gallery, which was replied to in a similar manner by Mr. T. W. RUSSELL.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): May we be allowed to hear this dialogue.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: My position with regard to the question of the Land Purchase Acts is that, with the exception of the administration, those Acts have been an unqualified success. The people who bought are satisfied, and the landlords who sold are satisfied, and peace has taken the place of turbulence in the districts where these Acts have been applied. England has lost nothing, the Guarantee Fund has not been called upon, and you have made a great experiment which will enable you if you choose to go forward. But, while that is true, there is one result which will certainly cause great difficulty. My hon. friend referred to the differentiation which takes place between the men who have purchased and the tenants paying the judicial rent. Take my own particular constituency, where a large number of farms have been purchased. You find there that men who bought under the Voluntary Purchase Acts at once got 6s. in the £ reduction, which is the same thing as if they paid 6s. less than the judicial rent which they had been paying—that is a very great boon in itself; but the Act of 1896, passed by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, enabled those purchasers to extend the term from forty-nine to seventy-nine years, and they get a 10 per cent. reduction every decade. Many purchasers have got the reduction, on their first instalment, of 10 per cent., and therefore they are paying 8s. an acre less than they did under the system of judicial rents, and in a further ten years they will get a reduction of 2s. more. So that in ten years they will be paying 10s. for what the judicial tenant is paying 20s. It is quite impossible to expect peace, progress, and prosperity in Ireland under such conditions as those. You will find that day by day, as your Voluntary Land Purchase Acts proceed successfully, you are creating a difficulty which will overwhelm you. You will not get a man to pay 20s. to a landlord for a thing that another man only pays the State 10s. for. There is only one thing certain in Ireland, and that is bad weather. Seasons will fail to a certainty, crops will be destroyed, and the cry of distress will go up, and then you will find that the next plan of campaign will take the extremely logical form that the judicial rents shall be reduced to the level of the terminable annuities. That is the question you will have to face. Let me put it even more strongly. The purchaser in many cases has been a turbulent tenant to whom the landlord was willing and anxious to sell, in order to get rid of the trouble and annoyance; but to the honest tenant who steadily pays his rent the landlord has no inducement to sell. Imagine a loyal tenant in Ulster looking over his hedge and seeing his turbulent and disloyal neighbour—a loyal constituent of my own, say—who sees his neighbour, who he believes to be a double-dyed traitor, enjoying the reward of turbulence and disloyalty! Such a system as that cannot be allowed to continue. The very success of land purchase invites progress. We cannot stand where we are; we cannot go back; we must go forward.

Mr. T. W. Russell.

I noticed in the gracious Speech from the Throne a paragraph which hints that if there is time a Bill is to be introduced to regulate and develop the system of voluntary purchase—a Bill, that is to say, to further accentuate the situation which I have described. I am too old a Parliamentary hand to say, and I am not going to say, what I shall do with regard to that Bill until I see it; but I feel bound to tell my hon. friend that I fear he is embarking on a rather hopeless enterprise. I believe the intentions of the Government in these measures of land purchase are of the best, and that the House has honestly tried to do right; but what happens is this, that the moment a Bill is passed, and obtains the Royal Assent, it is sent over to Ireland and placed at once into the hands, for administration, of people who hate the whole policy, and who believe it spells robbery in every line, and who therefore do not try to do justice to it with any enthusiasm. That is what will happen to my hon. friend's Bill to a certainty. Take the Bill of 1896—I will give the House a sample of how land Bills are administered in Ireland. I asked for some information with regard to the Land Judges Court. I hope I did not ask for anything against the public interest or it would have been as bad as a supplementary question, but the information was refused me, and I have had to pick my way in the dark as well as I can. That Court was established for the purpose of selling bankrupt estates, but the Court has developed into a huge rent office for the collection of landlords' rents by the State.

In my endeavour to get some information in regard to the working of the Court, I have been driven back on the Fry Commission. The Fry Commission did get some information about this Court. I find in the admirable statement of Mr. Franks, secretary of the Land Commission, one of the ablest and most efficient of the land officials in

Ireland, that this Court, which was appointed to sell bankrupt estates, is drawing a rental of £634,000 per annum, which is being collected by an army of receivers in every part of the country. Now a receiver is either a land agent of great ability or a barnacle who is incapable of doing anything but collect rents. I remember well when the Act of 1896 was passed. I do not think the clause with reference to this matter was in the Bill as introduced, and, if I remember right, the moment my right hon. friend proposed to apply the principle of compulsory sale to these estates the landlords in both Houses of Parliament stood to attention. [Laughter.] Oh, yes, let me say that there was something in it, because I well remember when we moved for a committee to inquire into certain matters the Land Judges' Court was in the reference, and it was struck out because the Secretary of State for War objected to it. My suspicions were aroused at the time. Mr. Franks says the property amounts to £17,000,000. The 40th section of the Act directed the judges to sell these bankrupt estates—or such of them as were subject to the clause for compulsory sale. Here again I am driven back for figures up to the 31st of March last, for the simple reason that I have been refused them up to the present day. What progress do you think they have made since 1896? They have sold the magnificent sum of £269,000. When do you think the bankrupt estates will be disposed of at that rate of progress? I remember forty or fifty years ago hearing of the famous suit of Jarndyce v. Jarndyce, which had come down from remote antiquity. Why, it was nothing compared with the procedure in the Land Court. Here is a letter which I am authorised to read to the House—

> "Baltinglass,
> "14th February, 1901.
>
> "DEAR SIR,—I will mention a case of the agony one undergoes in the Landed Estates Court. In 1877, my wife's uncle (Mr. Young) put the family property at Coravockan, co. Cavan, into Court for sale. The solicitor having the carriage of the sale was the late Dr. William G. Toomey, of Dublin. He carried on the proceedings for twelve or thirteen years, when Mr. Young, senior, died, and his son employed Mr. Henry B. Burton, solicitor, to stir up Dr. Toomey. Attempts to sell were made but fell through, owing to some legal technicalities about schedules not being lodged. Mr. Young, junior, then employed Mr. H. R. E. Disney, solicitor, to go for Toomey and Burton, and after over twenty years the property was sold to the tenants in 1898 for 16½ years purchase, a moderate figure, as the valuation was £200 odd, and the judicial rents £150 a year. But though the bargain was made three years ago, the owners have not yet got one penny. But a bill of costs amounting to £388 was furnished against them off which Mr. Young got £90 taken on taxation. It has taken nearly a generation to effect this sale, at enormous cost, and surely a quicker and more inexpensive procedure should be devised. Hoping these cases may be of use to you,
>
> "I am, dear sir,
> "Yours faithfully,
> "J. R. DAGG."

But, though the bargain was made three years since, they have not got a penny of the money. All they have got is a bill of costs for £388. I am told now that the right hon. Gentleman actually believes that Mr. Justice Ross is so hard-worked that it is impossible for him to get on any quicker. We all know Mr. Justice Ross, who is an old friend of my own. But if he is hard-worked there are plenty of other judges with nothing to do at all; and if it is found that he is unable to carry out the intentions of Parliament in a reasonable time, why is not another of the judges turned on to help? I am not blaming Mr. Justice Ross, but the system. The Land Purchase Commission is not much better. In 1891 my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury passed a Bill placing £33,000,000 of Imperial credit at the disposal of the Irish tenants for the purchase of their holdings. But a great Department of State, fully manned, has in ten years only issued between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 of land stock under that Act. When will the land of Ireland be sold at such a rate of progress? Certainly not in our day.

I say in all earnestness that the Government ought to take instant steps in regard to this Purchase Department. In this country the rule is for Civil servants to retire at the age of sixty-five, and Sir Hugh Owen, with whom I have had the privilege of serving at the Local Government Board, retired at sixty-two, when he was quite fit for his work. But what is the case in Ireland? At the head of the Purchase Department there is a man of over seventy years of age, a man who was a clerk in Sadler's swindling bank in the fifties, and who introduced a system of motions and procedure that has hung round the Land Commission like a clog, and prevented its operation. The other Purchase Commissioner, an able and competent man, is engaged with the Congested District Board, of which he is a member, and has had to take journeys to the West with my right hon. friend in order to show him everything. So the Purchase Department has been left to take care of itself with this old man of over seventy. It is not creditable to the country that a great Department of State should be in such a condition, a Department which requires the attention of the ablest and most vigorous minds that can be got.

I may be asked what right has the House to apply the principle of compulsion to Irish land any more than to any other form of property. My answer is that there is an enormous difference between the English and the Irish landowner. The English landowner is a real owner of property, and lets to a tenant a fully-equipped going concern; he gets rent, but gives much of that rent back to the property. The Irish landlord is only a part owner. The tenant provides the plant, the labour, the capital to work the farm ; the landlord draws the rent, but he gives nothing back. The Irish landlord has never in the history of the land question done much for the land, but since 1881 he has done nothing at all, and his real position at this moment is that of a sleeping partner in this business. He draws out of the partnership money that it cannot afford. He is really a rent-charger and nothing else. In 1881 the House said to the Irish landlord that he should only have what the tribunals chose to give. That was a great step. It was not, after that, a big step to say that the Irish landlord, instead of getting that income in the shape of a precarious judicial rent, should get it by fixed dividend warrant. That is not a great step. The serious step was taken in 1881. But let us face what I venture to call the real difficulty of the situation. If you ask an Irish landlord why he does not sell under the Voluntary Act you will get one of two answers. He will say either that he cannot afford to do it, or that he is afraid of the delays of the Land Commissioners. I submit that they are both excellent reasons. It is not enough to say that Irish landlords have taken seventeen years' purchase on the average and they are satisfied. The Irish landlord's reply would be that it is only those who could afford to sell that have sold at that price, and there are thousands who would be ruined by selling on those terms. We do not get rid of the difficulty by passing it over in that way.

I have made proposals in Ulster. The tenants declare that they have paid for the fee-simple in excessive rents over and over again, but what I have told the Ulster tenants at every meeting I have addressed is, "You must consent to pay the highest market value for the land that may be fixed by a tribunal appointed for the purpose. You have no right to ask for compulsion unless you are prepared to pay a bonus for it." I say—I speak for the Ulster tenants alone—let them give the full market value of the land, plus a bonus of a year's purchase for compulsion, and the tenants will have done all that can be asked of them. But still the landlord says he cannot afford to sell at that rate. His property is mortgaged and charged in every direction, and if he sold even at that price he would be ruined and have nothing to live on. I have never desired to escape the difficulty of a situation like that. What I have respectfully to say to this House and to the Irish landlords is that if they want more than the value of the land plus a bonus for compulsion they must make their case to this House ; it is not for the tenant to make it for them. They have in another place year by year been claiming compensation for fanciful wrongs, and they have been annually defeating the Government as a mere matter of amusement in a House which has not the control of a cent of public money. They must make their case to this House. But let me in all sincerity say this : Englishmen ought never to forget that it was England that introduced this system of land tenure into Ireland. They introduced the principle of landlord and tenant, but they were unable to introduce its conditions as they exist in England. Since the day they performed that act this land system has been the stupendous curse of our country. There has never since been a day's peace, contentment, or hope. And with that system of land tenure you planted the Irish landlord. He came with power; he came in the time of the Tudor, he came with Cromwell and William; but in all cases it was the same. He was sent by England; he has acted as England's garrison; he has done much dirty work for England. Through all the centuries since he came the story has been one of rapine and ruin. Why should England refuse to listen to these gentlemen? Why should England refuse to succour her special friends in their day of evil? We are spending, I suppose, £100,000,000—chucking it away—because we deem it our duty to stand by British citizens in the Transvaal. I do not object, but I do say that, good as the claim of the Uitlanders may be, the claim of the Irish landlord upon England is infinitely stronger and better. What did we see in the year 1898? The Government recognised that claim in a way that cannot be gone beyond. They passed the Local Government Act. The landlords objected, of course; they saw what it meant; they convinced the Government what it meant; and the Government, seeing that the Irish landlords might be hardly dealt with by the new rating authority, relieved them from their share of the poor rate, amounting to between £300,000 and £400,000 a year; or, capitalised at twenty years purchase, they gave the Irish landlords £6,000,000 in order that local government might have a chance in Ireland. They admitted the principle that these gentlemen had a claim. If it were worth the while of England to give £6,000,000 in order to secure the due working of local government, what would it not be worth while to give to put an end to this land trouble? Why are we beaten in our own markets by the foreigner? Why do we hear so much of foreign competition? The farmers of Normandy, Brittany, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland are better educated, if you like; they are more economical; they may have smaller families; but the real truth is that 80 per cent. of them are occupying owners. We simply stand alone in maintaining this antiquated system.

I tell the Government that from this day forward they have a new Ireland to deal with. My hon. and learned friend is quite right. Ireland is unanimous for once, and Ireland will remain unanimous. My hon. and learned friend proceeds with this motion perhaps from a standpoint different from mine. He thinks that this scheme will make Ireland independent and her people better Nationalists. I do not object. I think that by this we should not only buy out the fee-simple of Irish land, but we should also buy out the fee-simple of Irish disaffection; we should end the Irish trouble. [Nationalist cries of dissent.] We should end 80 per cent. of the Irish trouble in achieving this great object. That is the reason I am here to-night. During the last few months I have touched the heart of Ulster. I know how in every hamlet and townland of Ulster the pulse of the Irish tenant is beating on this question. The Ulster farmers to-night are looking to this House, and they are waiting and watching for what the Government are going to say. I know what they are going to say very well. I know the Address must be carried and the Amendment defeated. No one who has been in this House for fifteen years, as I have, has any doubt about that. But this debate and this movement will live after to-night, and the actions of men will be watched and scanned and noted. I have no doubt as to what will be said, simply and solely because I have studied Irish history of the last century. What has that history been? Take it from the start. We destroyed the Irish Parliament. When we did that we promised Catholic Emancipation, if not concurrently, to follow almost immediately. We shamefully broke our pledge, and it was not until the Duke of Wellington bravely told the King that he must either give way or face civil war in Ireland that the Catholic was allowed to cross the Bar of the House and sit on these benches. We gave Catholic Emancipation because we were not prepared to risk civil war in Ireland. Go on a few years more. We had a church in Ireland; it was the church of the rich and well-to-do, but it was supported out of the poverty of the poor. Yet we refused to reform that church; we refused to amend even the procedure under which the tithe was collected, until the soil of large parts of the country was reddened with blood in the tithe war. Nothing could be done until blood was shed. Then take the land system. During the forties Sharman Crawford pleaded on these benches for a Bill of moderation in every line, but Parliament and the landlords scouted it as they have scouted or tried to scout every Bill since. Sir Joseph Napier, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from these very benches tried to get that Parliament of landlords to be reasonable. But no; they had the votes and they threw the measure out. They refused the moderation of a Bill which was milk and water to what has been passed since. You passed the Land Act of 1887 and disestablished the Irish Church—why? Mr. Gladstone himself said that he never faced the Irish problem fairly until an Irishman attempted to blow up a London gaol. Take the Fair Rent Act of 1881. The Duke of Argyll has told us that when he joined the Cabinet in 1880 no further land legislation was intended by the Government. But the bad season came, crops wholly failed, there was distress throughout the whole land. Then a bugle blast was sounded in county Mayo; that bugle blast reverberated throughout the United States; the whole of the country outside Ulster was covered with an organisation, and we had the tale of Land League horrors. It was no easy task for some of us south of the Boyne to try prisoners as I had to do in those days; and then after this murder and outrage had run its course you passed the Land Act of 1881. And coming still later down, to the Land Act of 1887, Parliament at first refused to pass it, and what happened? Bad seasons came along and the crops failed, and the Plan of Campaign compelled the very men who said they would never enfranchise the lease-holders and who declared that they would never touch judicial rents to do both by passing the Act, because of the pressure from Ireland of this illegal action. Aye, and we have got now in Ireland local government, and we have had a Pride's Purge of Irish landlords from local bodies. And why? Simply because of the pressure of the Home Rule agitation.

I have come here to-day to empty my whole soul, and I have a mandate from the people of Ulster to do it. This country has tried to do many things in Ireland, but it has done right things wrongly in almost every case. I know we shall get the same answer to-night that we always get. We shall get a Parliamentary "Never" and a Treasury Bench "No." Have not these Parliamentary "Nevers" and these Treasury Bench "Noes" rung down the centuries? But they have always had to take them back. I second this Amendment to-night with all my heart and with all my soul. I see a new Ireland rising up that will stand together for great public needs and great public purposes. Those Gentlemen opposite may remain Nationalists and I shall continue a Unionist, but that will not prevent me standing behind them in all their constitutional endeavours for the benefit of Ireland. I leave this question to-night telling the House plainly that I know what will happen. I pray to God that what must be passing in some people's minds may not happen. I pray to God that Englishmen will not be deaf to a constitutional demand, and not wait, as they have waited in the past, for those methods and those measures which many of us have gone a long way to combat in the past, and which no one who knows Ireland can look forward to with anything but horror in the future. I ask this great assembly to look at this question and to think it out, and I am certain that the more statesmen consider it and the more politicians look into it they will see that it is the only fair, rational, and reasonable way. Try for once, I beg of you, to get to the heart of the Irish people.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the administration of the Irish Land Acts is not satisfactory to any class of Your Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and that the only permanent solution of the Irish Land Question must be found in a measure providing for the general and immediate creation of an occupying proprietary by the establishment of a system of compulsory sale and purchase.'"—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The duty of replying in this debate, so far as this bench is concerned, will necessarily and properly fall on the Chief Secretary for Ireland; but I suppose the House will expect, after the two long, able, and eloquent speeches to which the House has listened, that somebody should immediately rise and express the views of the Government upon the Amendment before us.

My hon. friend who has just sat down began his speech by making a defence of himself against attacks which, I suppose, he anticipated that we were going to level at him. He seemed to think we should rake up his old speeches to find in his past utterances arguments against his present convictions. My hon. friend need have no fear as far as I am concerned. I am perfectly certain my hon. friend in every word he has said is animated by a perfectly sincere and single-minded desire to benefit his constituents and the country of his adoption; and not a single syllable that may fall from me will impute, directly or indirectly, any motive to my hon. friend of which he need be ashamed. I may be allowed to say, however, that I could have wished my hon. friend had used less of that particular kind of rhetoric which seems almost inseparable, I regret to say, from the discussion of Irish questions by Irishmen. Eloquence we are sure to have; ability is seldom wanting; but I do confess that when I hear history ransacked, and the truth of history violated, in order to press in favour of some course which seems practicable to hon. Gentlemen, and the old bitternesses revived, going back I know not how many centuries to find some charge against this country, I am too much accustomed to the methods of hon. Gentlemen opposite to complain of it, but I am sorry that my hon. friend, while he has conscientiously joined himself with them on this occasion for one particular purpose, has so far followed their familiar style and metaphor.

I would only choose out of the historical or *quasi*-historical tales of my hon. friend two illustrations of my meaning. He talked of the injury inflicted upon Ireland by the introduction of the land system in Ireland. He really spoke as if before the English immigration Ireland was some kind of agricultural and rural paradise, with an admirable system of land tenure, in which landlord never quarrelled with tenant nor tenant with landlord, and which he persuaded himself was a country entirely occupied by a happy peasantry. If my hon. friend will look back on the tribal system which preceded the English invasion and immigration into Ireland I think he will see that whatever romantic colours that system may possess, it was not a system of land tenure of which we may say that it was more perfect than the system which succeeded it. After all, the land system in Ireland has, as everybody admits, been a bad system. Probably it never had a fair chance. A system founded upon confiscation and reconfiscation does not often have a good chance. That, unhappily, has been the Irish system. But do not let us imagine a past which had no existence, or suppose that, before the affairs of Ireland were meddled in by this country Ireland was in a happier condition than she has subsequently been. I skip over the centuries rapidly. The last charge my hon. friend made against this House was that we, his own colleagues, the Government of which he was a member, brought forward a Bill which they subsequently passed for local government in Ireland. Did my hon. friend blame his colleagues for that course? Did he suppose for a moment that we could be animated by any other desire than to fulfil pledges over and over again given by the party to which he and I belong, animated by a desire to see Ireland on an equality with England and Scotland, in an important element in national life? Did he give us credit for that? Not a bit of it. We were animated by fear and by fear alone. I tell him, so far as I am concerned——

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: My right hon. friend has unintentionally misrepresented me. My point was simply this: that the Government of the day during the bitterness of the Home Rule strife did give undertakings on every platform in England with regard to local government that, in my belief, they would not have given but for the extraordinary pressure of the Home Rule movement; and most assuredly that is the ground taken when we explain things in Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the House will recognise that my hon.

friend's explanation shows that the version I gave of his words does not misrepresent him. I say that for my part—I cannot speak with the same absolute assurance for the motives of all my colleagues, but I believe for all my colleagues the one object we had was to introduce, under conditions applicable to the case of Ireland, similar local liberty to that which we had given in the case of England and Scotland. That is my answer to the rhetorical part of my hon. friend's speech.

I confess, too, I listened with the profoundest regret to my hon. friend's attacks on the administration of the courts of law in Ireland. I am sorry my hon. friend lent himself to this method of Parliamentary controversy. He has, by his important example, given strength to a method of attack which I think this House ought to be quick to resent. Those who are entrusted with the difficult, the almost impossible task of adjudicating or umpiring between landlord and tenant in Ireland surely ought not to have that task made more difficult by the violent diatribes indulged in by my hon. friend. My hon. friend mentioned a case in which the verdict of the Sub-Commissioners and the Court valuers had been set aside by the Court of Appeal. I have no doubt there have been such cases. Are there not to be such cases ?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The Morley Committee found that there have been hundreds of cases.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My right hon. friend the Chief Secretary, who of course knows the facts better than I do, believes that the average variations between the rents fixed by the Court of Appeal and those fixed by the Sub-Commissioners may amount to about ½ per cent. I suppose the Court of Appeal exists for the purpose of revising certain findings of the lower Courts. If it does not exist for that purpose I know not for what purpose it exists. Surely it is not a condemnation of the Court of Appeal that they have made this variation of ½ per cent., but a high tribute to the action of the valuers and the Sub-Commissioners that the amount of the variation which the Court of Appeal has made is not more than ½ per cent. But I do not wish to press that part of the case further; it will be dealt with by my right hon. friend. I mention it in order to deprecate a method of controversy which I am sure is not in the public interest, which may do little harm in this House, but which, if carried by my hon. friend into the more inflammable fields of Ulster, will do collateral injury both to Ulster and to the whole community, which I think he may have some cause ultimately to regret.

As I do not wish to detain the House long, I will pass over what I will call the similar rhetoric or parallel rhetoric of the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment. My hon. friend, like him, was not content to argue the question of compulsory purchase in Ireland without a long and animated passage upon the subject of Irish emigration. I confess I see no connection between the two subjects. I know that Irish emigration is a familiar topic with hon. Gentlemen opposite, but I hope that when they use it they will use it fairly. If they put it down to the British Government as a crime that, under the rule of this House and of Parliament, since 1845 the Irish population has very largely diminished, we should get credit for the fact that in the previous fifty years it had very largely increased. [Cries from the Nationalist benches of "No."] Why not ? The truth is the Irish population is now incomparably more prosperous, more wealthy, and better off than it was at the time of the Union. The population is roughly about the same, and the diminution of the population which occurred in the second half of the century just closed has only done away with the effects of the increase of population which took place before 1845; and therefore I would suggest, in the interest of logic if not of rhetoric, that we should be given credit for the increase of population if we are to be saddled with the discredit of the decrease of population. I pass from these subsidiary themes, which occupied a very considerable part of the two speeches to which we have listened, to what I understand to be their fundamental essence. Both hon. Gentlemen said you must have some great scheme of compulsory purchase, because the Land Act of 1881 has proved to be a total and disastrous failure.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The administration.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman opposite went much further than that. He said that the Land Act of 1881 was essentially false in principle, and was forced upon the Irish people against their will by Mr. Gladstone. The hon. Gentleman boasted that he and his friends went out and did not vote for the Bill. I did better, because I stayed in and voted against it. I have never been, and am not now, an advocate of that measure. I believe that in principle it is indefensible, and in practice impossible to carry out effectually; and if you had angels from heaven as Sub-Commissioners, and archangels for your head Commissioners, it is inconceivable that you would be able to satisfy both parties to the suit—tenants who want their rents reduced and landlords who want those rents maintained. It cannot be done. The system, undoubtedly, is a system from which friction is inseparable, and, administer it as you will, it never will lead to a final or satisfactory result—that at least is the opinion I have always held, which I have never concealed, and which I have acted upon whenever the opportunity occurred to me. My hon. friend said that all the Acts which we pass for Ireland are ruined by mal-administration in Ireland. When he brings that forward as a reason for his proposed Land Purchase Bill, how does he propose that his Bill is going to be administered? Is there not going to be Irish administration? Will there not be the same difficulties as surrounded the Land Acts? Will it not be destroyed by the same sinister influences of which he speaks in regard to other Acts? I am afraid that if Irish administration ruins every Irish Act, that is a good argument against us passing any scheme at all; we ought to despair, and abandon all legislation. I do not agree with my hon. friend. It is perfectly true, and it has never been denied, that there is a natural tendency in all Courts of law to fence round their proceedings with very technical and very subtle safeguards; they think more of abstract equity than of rapidity of business and convenience of suitors. My hon. friend was perfectly right when he declined to pass a verdict as to what improvements could be introduced into this Land Commission administration until he saw a scheme brought forward by the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Now what is the next stage of the argument brought forward? It is this—that, just as the Land Act of 1881 has been a total, complete, and disastrous failure, so the very success of the Purchase Acts is a reason for carrying them further by compulsory operation. The failure of the Land Act, and the success of the Purchase Acts, are the two pillars on which the mover and seconder of the Amendment rest the whole of their case. I wonder how far we are to accept that statement. My hon. friend says that at one end of an estate there may be a tenant who has purchased his holding, and one who has got his rent lowered, and at the other end of the estate a tenant who wishes to purchase, but who is not allowed to, and whose rent remains the same. How, he asks, can those men remain side by side without there being discontent? That surely is a reason against this House ever trying to give anything to any class in Ireland. My hon. friend seems to think that all would be put right if you passed a Compulsory Land Purchase Act, because all the tenants would be on an equality. What is going to happen to the labourers? Precisely the same class of argument would be brought forward.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: No; they are not dual owners.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. friend argues that you should spend £140,000,000 to put all the landholders on an equality.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: No; £100,000,000 would do it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We will not quarrel about the sum; we will split the difference and call it £120,000,000. He now proposes to give £120,000,000 of English credit—— [NATIONALIST MEMBERS: Not English credit.] Well, British credit. [HON. MEMBERS: Irish credit.]

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I do not understand the phrase "British credit."

MR. BALFOUR: I do not know how much of the advantages universally admitted to belong to English credit may be due to the contribution of Ireland. That is a point which can hardly be tested until Ireland goes to the market and borrows for itself. I am not sure that the result would be financially satisfactory. But we need not go into that bypath of the argument. What I am trying to point out is that my hon. friend proposes to spend £120,000,000 of British credit for the benefit of a particular class in Ireland. On his own showing other classes will gain nothing from that large expenditure. The labourers will lose heavily by the expropriation of the landlords. [HON. MEMBERS on Irish Benches: No, no:] Well, in my opinion they will lose heavily, and they will come to us and say, "Does British credit exist only for the Irish tenant? Are we to have nothing out of it?" And my hon. friend, for anything I know, when that day comes, may stump Ulster from one end to the other, as he has been recently stumping it, and he may use his great gifts to agitate the passions of another class.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I have not agitated the passions of any class. The right hon. Gentleman has given, in the last twenty years, £45,000,000, and never mentioned the labourers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is the point. We think that it is possible, practicable, that it is not unjust and impolitic, when we can, to benefit certain members of a class without necessarily saying that every member of that class is to have the same benefit. We have not done that in England, but no doubt it is perfectly true that in Ireland the benefits of our land purchase system went to some and not to others of the same class. We think that is fair. We think that all should have these opportunities, and if we cannot give them to all why should we not give them to some rather than none? My hon. friend says that is a wrong system. I say the same argument would be put forward by him or his successors if we were to benefit the whole of Ireland except the labouring class—born of the same parents—if we were to deprive them of all these benefits. But my hon. friend is not consistent in the policy he proposes, for that policy, if logically carried out, would go much farther than he supposes. I ask the House to observe what has taken place in Ireland. Both hon. Gentlemen have admitted that the Land Purchase Acts are working well. That was one of their arguments against the Acts, though it might sound rather paradoxical to say so. But the fact is true. I believe my hon. friend has understated the actual amount which has been expended under those Purchase Acts.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: You would not give me the Return.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not get this information from the Chief Secretary, and he must not be held responsible for it; but I am informed that, roughly speaking, 2½ million acres of land have been transferred from the owners to the occupiers up to the present day—that is, about a tenth of the whole soil of Ireland. I also believe that the value of the owners' interests transferred—which I ought to mention is somewhat different from the amount advanced for land purchase—is somewhere about 24 millions sterling; and that the number of proprietors actually created is between 58,000 and 60,000. I call these very great results, and they are results which have taken place under the system of voluntary purchase. Has anybody thought out in his own mind what would be the result of a compulsory system? Has any country ever tried to expropriate at the cost of £120,000,000 a whole class? [A VOICE: Prussia.] No; Prussia did nothing of the kind. Such an experiment in legislation has never been tried in any part of the world; and I think it would be a most difficult and dangerous experiment for any Government or any country, however powerful or rich, to try, and it would not be the rapid *coup de grâce* to the landlord system which the hon. Gentleman supposes. You cannot take a sponge and wipe out a class like that. Questions of title, questions of value for the whole of Ireland, would have to be settled before the operation would be completed; and I am not aware that there is any ground for supposing that these questions of title or value would be more easily or rapidly settled when we are dealing with compulsory purchase than they are settled when we are dealing with voluntary purchase or the fixing of fair rents.

But that is not all. We have brandished in our faces the fact that for once Ireland is agreed—that righteousness and peace have kissed each other in the persons of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone and the hon. Member for Waterford. But for what object have they joined? They have joined for an object which may be, and in my view land purchase is, a very estimable object so far as Ireland is concerned; and which is, in fact, a demand upon Great Britain by Ireland of a perfectly unexampled magnitude. They are asking us to do that which Ireland herself could not and would not dream of doing. [AN IRISH MEMBER: You have got our money—pay it back.] We are told that, though Britain lends her credit, she gives nothing more; she runs no risk; the money is there to be paid, and the mover of the Amendment said that we might be absolutely confident that no peasant proprietor in any part of the world would be so reckless of his *status* as to risk it by not paying the instalments; and that what was true of peasant proprietors in every part of the world was especially true of peasant proprietors in Ireland. I fully admit that peasant proprietors in Ireland have paid admirably. I had vaguely in my mind the old debates of the Land Purchase Bill which I introduced in 1891; and I asked for *Hansard*, and though I have not been able to look over the three days discussion of the Bill, I have looked through enough of it to see that this view of the Irish tenant is entirely new on the benches opposite. The Front Opposition Bench unanimously opposed even the modest scheme of land purchase which I then introduced. Hon. Members below the gangway also opposed it; and they not only opposed it, but gave their reasons; and among the reasons by which they endeavoured to convert the then House of Commons against land purchase was that practically at the word of their leaders the Irish purchasers would refuse to pay their instalments, and that the task of this country in enforcing these payments would be an absolutely impossible task. There are many extracts which I might quote; but I will read only one. It is from the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo. The hon. Member asked—

> "How can the Government, having made an advance to 100,000 tenants in Ireland, propose to face a plan of campaign against the payment of it, backed by a universal system of boycotting farms; how could you evict 40,000 or 50,000 tenants, and where would you get fresh tenants? The man who would take an evicted farm would have to face the accumulated hatred now divided between the land-grabber and the Irish informer."

And so on; and so on. The whole point of the Member for East Mayo in that speech was that even our humble and moderate proposals, with special securities, nevertheless carried with them so great a danger to the British taxpayer that this House of Commons would be mad if they accepted the Bill. Who has changed since then? Is it the Irish peasant, or the Irish Leader? Somebody must have changed before the hon. Member who moved the Amendment could find it in his heart to say that the idea of repudiation of their obligations by the Irish tenants was an impossible contingency. My own view is this, that the Irish purchaser is essentially and fundamentally anxious to be honest. I fully believe that, and I think experience has shown it to be so. But if this country pledged its credit to the extent of £120,000,000 or £130,000,000 for the Irish tenants all over the country, and if it then suited the Irish Leaders to take up the line suggested by the hon. Member for Mayo eight years ago, the question whether in the face of what would be presented to him as the cause of patriotism and country you could then trust the Irish peasant never to repudiate his engagements, offers a subject for very grave reflection if the time should ever come when a Government in this House contemplated calling upon the people of this country to make so great a sacrifice.

For these and many other reasons, which I will not weary the House by recounting, I think the course which we have embarked upon is the course we ought to pursue. That is to say, purchase ought to be encouraged and facilitated in every way, but it should be voluntary. The trammels and difficulties which undoubtedly exist in the present system we may remove by judicious legislation. But let us not be precipitate—let us not plunge into wild, chimerical schemes unexampled in the history of the world, carrying in their train, it may be, evils which we cannot foresee. I do not suppose, as my hon. friend said, that this debate will close this chapter of the Irish land question, but I think the dangers I have signalised will always rise menacingly before the eyes of any Administration which endeavours to grapple with this great problem on the lines of my hon. friend. We have fresh in our mind the lesson of 1891. We know that then the same Opposition which we have before us now, anxious, I believe, then as they are probably now to promote land purchase, nevertheless could not make up their minds to accept even the humble instalment of £33,000,000 which I then proposed. If they had then the country behind them in opposing such a measure as that, fearing that it would imperil our credit, even in a prosperous time when no great strain existed upon the country's finances—if that be so in ordinary times, what chance has such a proposal at the present time, when a great and costly war is being waged beyond the seas, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer has problems presented to him of far greater difficulty and complexity than, happily, a British Chancellor of the Exchequer in ordinary times has to face? Nay, I cannot imagine a contingency under which the people of this country would willingly use their credit as my hon. friend proposes. I am certain we should be regarded as lunatics at large if we made any such proposal under the existing circumstances; and, that being so, I think I may appeal with confidence to all those on this side of the House who range themselves among the followers of the present Government, on what is equivalent to a vote of confidence at the very beginning of the first session of this Parliament, not to show that they have so little appreciation of the essential and proper conduct of Parliamentary affairs, even at such a time when we are carrying on the gigantic task which we have taken in hand, as that we failed to obtain their confidence. I believe that the support I ask for will be given by the great majority of this House, not simply on the ground that this is a vote of confidence, but because the vast and imaginative schemes advocated by my hon. friend carry with them dangers so great and so obvious that no wise Administration could be conceived as adopting such chimerical legislation. I trust that my hon. friend will feel that, when I say this, I have not a word to say against the general principle of land purchase. I have always believed in it as the true solution of the land question. I believed in it in 1881, in 1885, in 1891, and again in 1896, and I believe in it still as firmly as ever; but let us aim at that great end by means which are in themselves practical and just, and which do not carry in their train the manifold dangers which any alternatives necessarily possess

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I have occupied a seat in this House for close upon fifteen years, and I have never heard the right hon. Gentleman in what is familiarly called worse Parliamentary form, because, in my opinion, he has made no case whatever in reply to the powerful and cogent arguments which came from both sides of the House. If proof were wanting of that allegation, I find it in the almost pathetic manner in which he turned round to the Ulster Members, who ordinarily support the Government, and begged of them to treat this question not upon its merits, and not upon the interests of the Irish tenants, but as a vote of confidence in the Government.

There are but one or two observations with which I will detain the House after the speeches made by the Chairman of the Irish party and the hon. Member for South Tyrone. With regard to the hon. Member for South Tyrone, we have nothing to say, except that we cordially welcome him as a champion of the Irish tenants' cause, and that he has at last realised the insincerity of the landlords for whom he so often pleaded. We have, however, to enter our protest against the utterly uncalled for way in which the hon. Member denounced the tenants of the south and west of Ireland as dishonest. The tenantry there were dishonest because they agitated and forced the landlords of other portions of Ireland to grant those measures of justice and fair play which the Members for Ulster had not the courage or the straightforwardness to go for. This charge of dishonesty, whether it comes now from the hon. Member for South Tyrone, or as it came twelve or fifteen years ago, is uncalled for, unjust, and mendacious. The tenants in those portions of Ireland where there has been agitation have always discharged their obligations as honestly as the tenants the hon. Member took under his patronage. What attitude are the Ulster Members going to take with regard to this important question? That, to my mind, is the crux of the question. Are they going to shelter themselves behind the appeal of the First Lord of the Treasury that this is a vote of want of confidence? They may perfectly well support the motion, if they are in earnest. The Government will still have a sufficient majority. The plea that by doing so they would embarrass the Government will not avail them with their constituents, for the embarrassments and difficulties of Governments are of no concern to the struggling tenant farmer who has been unfairly treated by his landlord.

The hon. Member for South Tyrone made a statement in the course of his excellent speech with regard to the amount of tenant right in Ireland, and with regard to the general conditions of land tenure there, but he did not go quite far enough, for with regard to the question of improvements made on the soil, houses built, lands fenced and drained, and general improvements, beyond all doubt if justice were done the value the landlord would get would be prairie value, as John Bright said in a memorable speech many years ago. I think it is permissible to call attention to a remarkable statement made by a Member of the Unionist Government on the question of the relative share of the property in the soil owned by the landlord and the tenant. Lord Cowper spoke on this question in the other House some years ago, and when defending a measure said that, with one or two exceptions, until recently the landlords did not make improvements on the land, and that when the tenants made them the rents were immediately raised. He attributed the present condition of Ireland to the fact that the landlord class in Ireland, who were in other respects admirable—I have no doubt they are admirable politically—had in many instances been bad landlords. When Lord Cowper made that statement I thought it a remarkable statement. It is one which fully justifies the attitude taken up by the tenants' advocates on these benches, and that is, that, taking the average valuation of Irish land at 11s. 6d. per acre—good, bad, and indifferent—6d. per acre represents the capital sunk by the landlord on the land. I can speak from experience as to what has resulted from land purchase in large portions of Munster and Connaught. Tenants who formerly had a struggle to maintain themselves on rough and sometimes mountainous land had their rents reduced as the result of agitation, and eventually the landlords sold. The tenants bought the land, and when I revisited the districts the other day, after five or six years absence, I found comfortable homesteads, well drained and well fenced land, and every evidence of prosperity and of a desire to improve the land to which the Irish peasant is so much attached. So it would be in other parts. In the south and west of Ireland, as in the north, the tenant farmers will not consent to a condition of things under which, after eight or ten Land Acts, all improvements of the soil can still become the property of the landlords. I was very much struck with the feebleness of the First Lord's argument about tenants and labour. A friend behind me said, "Surely the right hon. Gentleman's talents and great Parliamentary ability are not in their decadence?" "No," I said, "but he is dealing with a feeble case, and he has advanced feeble arguments which are unworthy of his reputation."

I desire to enter my protest against the charges and imputations of dishonesty which have been made against the most honest class of peasantry on the face of the earth. We are anxious to have a truce to this method of controversy. Upon the Government lies the onus of proving that the time is not ripe for this great reform. The most familiar argument of the most malignant of the political enemies of the Irish cause—the right hon. Member for West Birmingham—has been that the Irish cry for Home Rule and other reforms is insincere, and that the one question with regard to which the Irish people are deeply and genuinely concerned is that of the land. Now is the time to prove whether or not that view is correct. The Government and the country generally have a unique opportunity to once for all test the question as between the agitators, as we are called, and the so-called reformers on the other side. The right hon. Gentleman has again and again insisted that if you settle the land question—as you can settle it by land purchase—you can at once dismiss the cry of the agitator, you can pacify the country, and the Irish people will dismiss from their minds all ideas of Home Rule. Here is your opportunity to test it. This is a far more favourable experiment for strengthening your Empire than that of devastating South Africa. We shall press this demand by all legitimate means in our power, but upon those who, with the Ulster Members, pretend to support a Conservative and Unionist policy rests the responsibility as to whether in our day and generation this great reform should be brought about, or whether the Irish people shall once again be disappointed.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid): As an Ulster Member I feel that I should be wanting in my duty to my constituency if I did not take this opportunity of expressing their views and their wishes in regard to this most important question. My constituency is almost entirely an agricultural community—honest, God-fearing farmers who have never wavered in their truth and loyalty to the Throne, and who have always obeyed and respected the laws of their country whatever turmoil and lawlessness may have existed in other parts of the country. At all events, it cannot be said that in the county of Armagh they have had any sympathy with such proceedings, but throughout all this time the farmers, in common with those in other parts of Ireland, have been suffering, and in some respects are actually suffering now from the various causes that have been so fully and ably referred to by the hon. Gentlemen who proposed and seconded this Amendment. The increase of foreign competition, the low prices, the want of proper railway facilities, must always have a disastrous effect upon those who have to live by tilling the soil; but in Ireland all these have been accentuated and have been increased immeasurably by the constant irritation of the almost continuous litigation which has existed between the landlord and tenant. It is true that Land Act after Land Act has been passed by this House with the object of improving the tenants' position, but either through the imperfect construction or the imperfect administration of those Acts the situation has become impossible, and in my opinion there can be no rest, no content, and no genuine prosperity in Ireland until the tenants have become the owners of the soil. It appears to me absolutely certain that in the interests of both landlords and tenants the present system of dual ownership cannot and should not continue. The whole of the farmers of Ireland are unanimous in this regard, that a scheme or Act of compulsory sale and purchase should be granted. We neither ask for nor do we want to give to the landlord opportunities which are not given to the tenant. We wish to treat the landlord and the tenant alike, or, in other words, give them both an opportunity to make an equitable arrangement. I earnestly hope that the Government will see fit to introduce a measure of compulsory sale and purchase on fair terms. From what the First Lord of the Treasury said to-night I fear there is no reason for expecting it during this session, but in the session that will follow, when I hope peace will return and the Government have more time to attend to this matter, I hope they will see their way to introduce a Bill for the compulsory sale of land in Ireland.

*MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I congratulate the hon. Member for South Tyrone on having brought the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down to his present frame of mind. The hon. Gentleman said he represented a constituency of God-fearing farmers, and I must protest against such a line of argument being taken upon this question, because the hon. Gentleman by implication would attribute to the farmers we on these benches represent other qualities than those God-fearing qualities he so ably represents in this House. I think we may take it that the crusade instituted by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, in favour of compulsory land purchase, is having some effect, at least so far as hon. Gentlemen like the last speaker is concerned. It may not apply to all Ulster Members, but the hon. Gentleman has succeeded so far that he has compelled Ulster Members to pay more attention to this question than they have hitherto honoured it with, and for that we thank him.

We cannot regard the speech of the Leader of the House as an answer to the wo speeches delivered from this and the opposite side of the House upon this important subject. In my opinion, the right hon. Gentleman completely broke down in his attempt to make a case against the Amendment. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman, if it means anything at all, means that given sufficient pressure—sufficient stimulus to this movement, the Government will be prepared to deal with compulsory purchase. He has taken up a position which could not be described as a *non possumus.* The Irish land question goes to the root of the whole system of government in Ireland, it is the vital existence of the Irish nation. It is essentially an agricultural country, dependent for its subsistence on the produce of the land, and we who have made representations for Home Rule and the management of our own internal affairs have been told by the Government over and over again that where there is a just cause—a just necessity for a settlement of any question except Home Rule, the Unionist party are quite competent and willing to do all that is necessary for the wants of Ireland.

It would ill become me to occupy the time of the House in further demonstrating what has been so ably demonstrated already by the Leader of the Irish party and the hon. Member for South Tyrone, which is that the Land Commission as at present constituted has hopelessly broken down in its attempts to administer the land laws entrusted to it. Why, it takes two years and more to get a fair rent fixed. There have been suits passing through the land courts for purchase for six or seven years where both parties are united and have done all they could to facilitate the purchase. That shows there is something radically wrong with the constitution of the Commission. In order to arrive at the same end we take a different view to the right hon. Member for South Tyrone and those other Ulster Members who are prepared to support us. For our part we think this Land Commission is to a very large extent rigged by landlords or their agents or people connected with them, and one has only to look at the names of the Commissioners who are sent out to assess the values and fix fair rents to arrive at the conclusion. I could not attempt to argue that it would be altogether right to have people solely representing the tenants on the Commission, or people too much connected with the question of agitating tenants' grievances. But from one end of Ireland to the other there are a number of respectable farmers or well-to-do people who could be selected to discharge the duties of land valuers and lay commissioners, and who would not be under the stigma of having learned their business in a rent office. It is, however, idle to expect that we should get that class of people appointed or that we should be satisfied with those appointed by the Government. The confidence of the people is wanting in the tribunal you have erected. Whilst we gladly accept the support of the hon. Gentleman and welcome his adoption of the views he at present holds, and while we will cordially co-operate with him, we will also claim the right of going to our own people and organising them against the citadel of entrenched landlordism in Ireland. I do not wish in any way to offend the tender susceptibilities of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, but he must, of course, know that the work that has been done for the Irish tenant farmers as a whole has been done mainly by the agitation among the Nationalist farmers, while to a great extent the God-fearing Unionist farmers whom he represents have stood on one side in the course of the trouble, but taken care, when a legislative enactment was effected, to come into court and get the benefit of the law. I do not grudge them that benefit. Why should they not take any advantage of the law in their behalf? But, apart from the attitude that these God-fearing farmers may take, we, the Nationalist members, will pursue a course which may not be quite as palatable to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House as he could wish. He has for ten years had an exceptionally peaceful time, and he has been warned to-night that if the necessity does arise, and if the people of Ireland are to be denied the just claim which has been put forward in a moderate and peaceful manner, he may find his pleasant dreams disturbed, and that he will have helped to evoke a storm among the people of Ireland, who are now better organised and prepared for the fray than they have been during the last ten years, that he may not find it easy to subdue. If this Unionist Government, whose chief doctrine is that if you come to the House of Commons you will get all you need, withstand the constitutional demands made by 95 per cent. of the representatives of the people, on their heads be the responsibility for the results which may ensue.

*MR. JOHN GORDON (Londonderry, S.): I represent what may be described as an agricultural constituency in the north of Ireland. It is largely composed, at all events, of tenant farmers and people who are deeply interested in everything in connection with the occupancy of land, and, therefore, I think it is my duty to say what I believe to be the feelings of the people there, and what I think in this matter.

I regret that this matter has been brought before the House in a manner and on an occasion which makes it impossible for me as a supporter of the Government to go into the lobby and vote for the Amendment. I believe that the true remedy for all the land ills of Ireland is to make the tillers of the soil, the men who occupy the farms, the owners of the farms. If that can be brought about by facilitating the system of voluntary purchase I shall be well pleased; but that process may be a slow one, and everyone who knows anything of the state of feeling in Ireland is anxious that this land question should be settled. I cannot speak for hon. Members on the other side of the House, but I think those on this side would be happy to see a settlement of this question. It is of very great importance, not only for the landlords and tenants of Ireland, but also for the people of England and Scotland, that Ireland should cease to be discontented. I therefore urge upon the Government, and the House, not to cast this matter aside as a mere impossibility, but to give it careful consideration.

I know perfectly well that there are very great difficulties and prejudices in the way of a matter of this kind being accepted. Above all, at the present moment, there is the situation of the country with reference to the war, which naturally is uppermost in the minds of the English people. I think one of the strongest prejudices against this proposal is not well founded. It is based on the idea that compulsory purchase in any form would be the introduction of a new principle of dealing with land in Ireland. I agree with the hon. Member who introduced the Amendment that compulsion has already been introduced. Under the Land Act of 1881 an owner of land is compelled to allow a tenant to remain in possession of his farm, at a rent which the landlord himself cannot fix, and therefore compulsory purchase applied in the suggested way will not mean the introduction of an absolutely novel principle in reference to land in Ireland. It is only a step onward to say that the landlords must sell at a fair and reasonable price. In connection with the fixing and refixing of rents there is great dissatisfaction on both sides. It is hardly to be expected that a landlord would be satisfied with a rent fixed below what he thought he should get, or that a tenant would be satisfied with a rent fixed higher than he thought he should pay. Then there were bills of costs and expenses, and the bitterness engendered between litigants with reference to all these matters.

There are good grounds for trying to get something done to amend this state of affairs. It is a curious thing that one of the most beneficent pieces of legislation, the Voluntary Purchase Act, should have made this matter a burning question in the north of Ireland. These matters have already been dealt with, but I simply call attention to them to say that they show the necessity for something being done, and I am happy to find from the Leader of the House that something—whether exactly what we ask for or not—is going to be done. I know there are difficulties in the way. There is the difficulty of finance. But we do not ask for this money as a gift; we ask it as a loan for which there will be ample security, or rather that the State should, as it were, become a surety for its repayment. I do not fear the general strike against the payment of instalments which the hon. Member for South Tyrone at one time so greatly feared must exist. At the present time voluntary purchase has been going on for fifteen years, and every man who has been paying for that period has acquired a valuable interest in his holding, and every year his interest will become greater. A compulsory Bill if passed to-morrow could not work out for years. It would be a very considerable time before all the tenants became owners of their holdings, and by the time they did those who got in first would have paid off a large proportion of their instalments. You would therefore have spread over the country a large number of farmers who would be not merely deeply interested in preserving their own holdings, but who would be desirous of seeing that their neighbours paid off their instalments also. From the experience of the past, everyone knows that the tenants who purchase their holdings pay their instalments punctually. At the same time I cannot conceal from myself that it is one thing for a private member to express views in reference to a matter of this kind, but it is another thing for a responsible Minister of the Crown to ask the country to advance its money unless he is quite satisfied that what we suggest will be carried out, and that there will be no serious danger of loss. However this may be, I am quite satisfied, dealing with the matter from a logical standpoint, that whatever measures of voluntary purchase we may get, and however well they may work out, the ultimate mode of settling the question will be by some system of compulsory purchase.

Then I come to the matter of the Amendment. I am a supporter of the present Government. The electors who sent me here are supporters of that Government, and they sent me here as their representative to uphold that Government. I know what an Amendment to the Address means. I know that the hon. Member for South Tyrone recently stated that he knew what it involved, but that he had made up his mind to bring the matter forward on the Address. I know that one of the reasons he suggested was that if he did not bring it forward someone else might, and that he also said he knew he would be badly beaten. I hope the hon. Member will not understand me as making any attack upon him; I only wish to make my position clear. The hon. Member was himself returned as a supporter of the Government, of which he was at the time a member. All I can say is that I cannot view my position in the same light that he does his. As a supporter of the Government I cannot support the Amendment. The result of doing so, if it were carried to its logical conclusion, would be that the Government I was sent here to support would lose its position altogether. It may be that there is no chance of the Amendment being carried, but I do not believe in taking up such an attitude. I may know that a friend of mine is strong and vigorous, and that if I gave him a blow in the face it would not do him any harm. But I do not believe that to be any justification for giving him a blow, or that I should do so because if I do not some enemy of his may. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment and his party have always been the opponents of the Government, and we expect such a blow from them, but we do not expect it from friends. When one knows that an attack upon a friend will not merely do him no harm, but may have the effect of causing irritation and annoyance which may lead to something very different from what one expects and wishes and hopes for, I think to make that attack is a very unwise course to adopt. We know that a strong Government like the present, if they set their minds to this question and think it right to do something on the lines we have suggested, are able to do it, and we do not want to do anything which would in any way prevent them doing whatever they can to improve the position of the tenants in Ireland. For the reasons I have named, I think, under the circumstances, I am bound, no matter what my views are, to support the Government on this Amendment.

MR. BARRY (Cork, S.): I think the position taken up by the hon. Member is illogical in the extreme. He is drawn in two directions diametrically opposite. He sympathises with the Amendment, but, as a loyal supporter of the Government, he is bound to vote against it. We in the South of Ireland are not going to take up so illogical a position. We believe in the Amendment, and are going to support it. I am in the position of gentlemen who have preceded me of having nothing to add to the argumentative and exhaustive speeches of the mover and seconder of the Amendment, but as representing a constituency with a deep and abiding interest in this question, I cannot take up a passive attitude in regard to the matter. We who have met our constituents on United Irish League platforms, and also at the two great conventions at Dublin, know the importance which the Irish people attach to this question of compulsory purchase. So great is that importance that the question has been placed second in the national programme, Home Rule, of course, being placed first. As far as I know the feeling of the Irish people, nothing will ever satisfy them but a system of short and compulsory purchase. Everybody in Ireland, landlords and tenants alike, are in favour of the abolition of dual ownership. It ought not to be very difficult to grant a divorce between two parties when each is so anxious to be separated from the other. The only gentlemen in favour of the continuance of the present system are the Land Commissioners, who are drawing such large salaries in their present positions. Perhaps this English Parliament could not have foreseen the failure of their attempts at legislation, but the whole system has been tried and found wanting.

Without going into statistical details I will say as one who has had some experience of the administration of the Land Acts in Ireland that from beginning to end the whole system is defective and rotten. Several attempts have been made from time to time to pass legislation to give the benefit of improvements to the tenants, but I assert, with the practical experience of a farmer myself, that that system is violated in every single Land Commission that has been held all over the country. Take the case of a man whose rent is £20, and take a man in the immediate neighbourhood whose land may have been of the same value originally. My experience is that in the case of tenants who may have been delicate or the tenant may have been a widow there is very often a good and ample reduction in the rent given, and more especially in the case of tenants who have not improved their land of late years. The tenant who has improved his holding by the sweat of himself and children, and who may have gone to the trouble of removing boulders, gets no reduction, whilst the tenant who has not made any improvements gets a substantial reduction. The result is that the improving tenant gets no reduction because the land appears to be worth the money, and the land has been valued after he has improved it himself. That is one of the greatest blots in the administration of the Act. The present rents are impossible rents, and must be reduced. Twenty years ago in my constituency barley and wheat could have been grown successfully, but they cannot be grown at the present time, for the only crop that can be raised now is oats, which is not so profitable. In the case of young stock, on account of the severity of the winter and other causes, they are much more difficult to rear, and the mortality in stock is increasing from year to year in alarming proportion. All these things must be taken into account in fixing the rents of Ireland. I know there are other causes. Foreign competition is very keen, and Texas and Canada are brought within near reach of our markets at the present time, owing to improvements in shipping of late years. In the case of the Land Commissioners I say that, taking their valuations all round, the reductions are ridiculously inadequate. Even the labour question, which must be included as an element in the consideration of rents, is ignored. Labourers have been flocking from our shores, and they cannot be kept in the country unless the farmer has some margin of profit to pay them. It is extremely difficult for the farmer to pay labour, and the land is going out of cultivation in consequence. Taking the whole situation into account, the condition of labour and the manner in which the farmer is robbed of his improvements, and the vicious system under which the Act is applied, I say that it is absolutely necessary that the whole system must be swept away root and branch in order to settle the Irish land question, and I should not regard any system with favour which is calculated to perpetuate the present order of things in Ireland.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I have listened with great attention to the two long speeches which have been made to-night, one by the hon. Member for Waterford and the other by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. Speaking for myself—and I think I can speak for the Irish landlords, whom I more or less represent—I say that if we had to choose one of those two hon. Members to decide our destinies and fix the final arrangements in regard to land in Ireland I and they would unhesitatingly choose the hon. Member for Waterford.

I take it that this is one of the greatest demands which has ever been made upon a legislative assembly. It is proposed to ask this House to advance an uncertain sum of money—perhaps £100,000,000 or £120,000,000—for the purpose of suddenly obliterating one class of landlords in Ireland and replacing them by another class. I believe that has never been attempted before by any other country. But this House is a business-like assembly, and I am sure when it is asked for such a tremendous concession as this to Ireland it will ask what is to be the *quid pro quo.* We are asked to advance this enormous sum of money, and we want to know what we shall gain by it. I acknowledge the great eloquence and ability displayed in the speech of the hon. Member for Waterford, but the great weakness of his position is that he has nothing to offer. Speaking, as he is supposed to do, for many of his colleagues, if he could have said in the House of Commons, "I can answer for my colleagues and for the constituencies which they represent, and say honestly to the best of my belief that if Parliament consents to advance this great sum to the Irish people we shall forget old memories and Ireland will be loyal," then they would be offering something. But the hon. Member for Waterford and his colleagues are perfectly honest and straightforward, both in this House and in their own country, and the hon. Member for Waterford never attempted to say that, speaking for his colleagues and the people he represents, the advance of this £120,000,000 or £150,000,000 would have the slightest effect in altering the present condition of the Irish mind, or would cause Ireland to become what she certainly is not in three out of the four divisions—a loyal community. That is the weakness of his position. I do not think that England or Great Britain or the Parliament of Great Britain would ever consent to this tremendous political manœuvre unless Parliament thought it would be some great gain to the nation if it were carried into effect.

I leave the very able and eloquent speech of the hon. Member for Waterford, and I will now turn to the other speech, delivered by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. When I came to try and forecast the sort of speech I thought my hon. friend would deliver, I must say that I was entirely mistaken. I thought the hon. Member for South Tyrone would have been strictly moderate, and that he would have placed his views before the House without any acerbity and certainly without any venom; but I think both these qualities have characterised his speech. I must compliment my hon. friend on what I look upon as a most dexterous piece of political strategy. Apparently he was determined to go hammer and tongs for the Irish landlords, and in order to do that he has determined to cover his rear and prevent any assault in that direction by pointing out that it was perfectly useless for anyone in this House to quote any speech he made in former times in order to show that he had changed his mind. I have had the honour of the acquaintance of the hon. Member for South Tyrone for many years, and I am certain that he is perfectly conscientious in the stand he has taken. I believe my hon. friend possesses the fatal gift of a dangerous conscience—that is to say, he is a man who can conscientiously believe one day that a thing is black and the next day he can conscientiously believe that it is white. Really, I do not think I should have alluded to this matter at all were it not for the fact that he has brought me into the question. He has changed his mind; but what made him change his mind? Not by suddenly becoming aware of the great necessity for compulsory sale for Ireland; but he was converted by four words that I uttered in the House of Commons.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: No.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: He said so himself. He said that when Colonel Saunderson was cornered in the House of Commons, in answer to a challenge across the floor of the House as to what remedy he could suggest, he replied, "Try the Fry Commission," and that then, knowing that the knell of Irish landlordism had then sounded, he changed his opinion. I am glad to think that these few words of mine had the tremendous effect of converting the hon. Gentleman; but I hope hon. Members opposite will restrain themselves in future and forbear to ask me any questions, for there is no knowing, if my words have such effect, whom I may next convert. The hon. Member for South Tyrone did not quote his views in the immediate past, but as he proposes to convert the House of Commons and the country I would suggest to him that the real difficulty he has to front is the very celebrated gentleman Mr. T. W. Russell. I do not suppose he expects to convert the House of Commons all at once, even if he does expect to excite great enthusiasm in England on this question when he goes down to the country. But how about his speeches in 1890? At Fivemiletown, in 1890, the hon. Member for South Tyrone said—

> "Mr. Chamberlain—and at least I know his views—is not in favour of universal compulsion. Neither is Mr. Balfour. Rant of this kind is more worthy of the platform of a Kerry moonlighter than of a sober Ulster man."

—How could he be sober, being a teetotaller?—

> "But if I liked I could imitate these reckless orators. I could pledge myself to compulsion. I could extol it as a heaven-born principle. I could tell you that, with it passed, the Golden Age would return. I could promise it next year, as O'Connell was wont to promise Repeal, and as the Parnellites now promise Home Rule. I absolutely refuse to adopt this course. Whether it makes for or against my political future, I will not stoop to tell you lies, to tell you that a thing is possible when I know it to be impossible; to tell you that a thing is rising on the horizon of politics when I know that it is outside the scope of all reasonable or practicable politics. This, I hope, is plain speaking."

Very! But then, after his conversion following my unfortunate remark, the hon. Member for South Tyrone said—

> "My view is that every acre of agricultural land in Ireland not in the occupation of the landlord ought to be sold to the tenant. This, of course, excludes all demesne lands and land farmed by the landlord. But, apart from these two exceptions, I should like to see the whole land of Ireland pass from owner to occupier. The rental of the land upon which a fair rental has been fixed amounts to close upon £7,000,000. To this must be added, for my purposes, all land held under future tenancies, and under agreements not subject to the Land Acts. It is not easy to form an estimate of the amount of money that would be required for such a huge transaction; but solely for the purposes of discussion I shall put it at £120,000,000 sterling."

Then the hon. Gentleman eleven years ago said—

> "Irish landlords, if compelled to sell, have certainly a right not only to get the fair value of their property, they are entitled either to be paid out in cash or to get the best security. I say at once that I do not believe the security of the Kerry or Clare County Councils would be such as I could ask them to accept. I believe any such scheme would amount in its working out to simple robbing. I believe payment would in due course be repudiated, and, with this belief, I have no right to profess any faith in its practicability."

Then the hon. Gentleman at the end of last year, in a speech at Clogher, said—

> "We have, happily, now a recognised public authority in each county—the county council. I don't think these bodies ought to be burdened with the duty of carrying out a land purchase scheme. But as Ireland is to all intents and purposes an agricultural country, and as the great mass of the people live by the land, I see no reason why the county council should not guarantee the advance required for each county."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Perhaps I may be allowed to say that by the Act of 1891 the county guarantee was attached.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I do not see how that can affect the case.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: It has this effect: that the Government evidently believed that although the guarantee of the tenant was not sufficient, that of the county was.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Speaking as a landlord, I think we should look to the guarantee of the county council as very poor security indeed; and all I can say is that I hope that I shall never have to prove it. My hon. friend now appears in the House as a tremendous leader in the land agitation. From my knowledge of Ireland, I know that if a man is gifted with oratorical powers there is nothing easier than for him to get up an agitation there in favour of a scheme which consists in the taking property of one class of Irishmen and giving it to another. I am perfectly well aware that all the tenants in all the divisions and counties of Ireland are in favour of the compulsory purchase of land; but they would be still more in favour of a Bill giving them the land for nothing. But what I hope the Government and the House will decide upon is this: whether the proposition is right or just, quite irrespective of these spurious agitations, and quite irrespective of the violent threats which have been uttered on both sides of the House. A man may exaggerate his own importance. I may be wrong, but my hon. friend evidently believes that not only the Ulster tenants, but the whole British public are hungering and thirsting after news of this great agitation. In his speech at Killyleagh, a couple of weeks ago, he said, in his most perfervid style—

> "Gentlemen, I am speaking to a wider audience than is here. This question has caught on. To-morrow morning the people of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork will read our proceedings. In London, in Liverpool, in Glasgow, and in Edinburgh the readers of the great English and Scotch newspapers will learn as they eat their breakfast that this great meeting has been held."

My hon. friend believed that England, Scotland, and Wales would breakfast next morning on muffins and T. W. Russell! I think my hon. friend was wrong. He has great experience in working up an audience to a state of enthusiasm. He has told the people of Ulster that he intended to stump this country and rouse the feeling of the people to boiling point. Fancy rousing the enthusiasm of John Bull by asking him to fork out £120,000,000! Before my hon. friend undertakes that, in order to test his powers of rousing enthusiasm, I advise him to get an audience of brewers and publicans to pass a vote in favour of total abstinence! I think that he has over-rated and over-valued the enthusiasm with which this agitation will be regarded. I have not the slightest doubt that the hon. Gentleman speaks in favour of Ulster, but the mistake he has made, and it is an unfortunate one, is that he has undoubtedly persuaded the Ulster tenants that this is a movement which is bound to rouse England, and that all he had got to do was to come over here and make a great speech, as he has done to-night, and then to go about the country proclaiming in favour of compulsory purchase. He should remember that his scheme differs very much from the gifts given to Ireland in former times, when the gift was the gift of the property of one Irishman to another Irishman.

But this is to be a great gift given by the British people. [Cries from the Nationalist benches: No!] Well, a loan, then. If anyone will give me a loan of £20,000 I should be very glad. It would not be called a gift, but it would be next door to it. As an Irish landlord, I believe that four or five years hence the Ulster tenants will find that neither in the House of Commons nor in the country has this proposal for compulsory purchase made any giant strides, and I am afraid that the grand promises that the hon. Gentleman has made and the magnificent future which he has so brilliantly portrayed before the Irish people will never be realised.

I do not intend to deal with these particular cases; I only want to point out their extreme unfairness. A case occurred the other day on the Gosford Estate, and I do not think there is a man on either side of the House who will attempt to palliate or condone it; but the right hon. Gentleman said that that was the way in which the ruck and run of the Irish landlords deal with tenants. Would it not be unfair, if I had been cheated in an Irish hotel, to say all Irish hotels were kept by swindlers? The county court judge described it as a scandalous shame, and I think every one will agree with that. I say I think my friend was wrong when he said there were hundreds and thousands of these cases.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I do not think the hon. Gentleman has any right to say I dealt with one particular case. I took that one as an instance, but I could have instanced half a dozen other cases in Antrim where a similar thing has occurred.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: That shows what an unfortunate thing it is to make these outrageous and scandalous assertions against a whole class. I remember not so many years ago the hon. Member for South Tyrone used to get up in this House and say it was a scandal and a shame to brand the whole of the Irish landlords because there was such a scoundrel as Lord Clanricarde in Ireland. Now we find, since his conversion, he has adopted exactly the same methods. It is wonderful to think that he has been so strongly converted that he now singles out one case, which no doubt is a disgraceful one, and seeks to saddle it upon the class to which I belong. I leave the matter there to the mind of this House.

The hon. Members for Waterford and South Tyrone advocate compulsory purchase, but it would be a fatal mistake for this House to make to imagine that compulsory purchase would suddenly remove the present garrison, as it is called, from Ireland. No scheme of compulsory purchase that this House is likely to allow to pass would enable the landlords to leave their own land suddenly. And even if it did it would simply replace them with another set of landlords. It is the duty of the country to ask itself what have the landlords done to engender this distrust, for I venture to say whatever is done in the future in the direction of land purchase being still more largely extended to the tenants, will depend on the attitude taken up by the Irish people. What is the attitude now that ought to justify Parliament in removing the present set of landlords and substituting a new set? Outside Ulster, in every constituency represented by hon. Gentlemen opposite meetings have been held over and over again at which the people have openly proclaimed their hostility to this country and desired that the enemies of the Empire might be successful. [Nationalist cheers.] Hon. Members opposite accept that as the present attitude of a large portion of the Irish people. Can we conceive that the House would be so insane as, uninvited, to deliberately wipe out a class which at any rate is loyal, and has always been loyal, and which has been called the British garrison, and put into its place a class which openly professes, after all that has been done for it, an undying hatred of the hand that has fed it? No. The paying of rent is not a popular institution in Ireland, where people are imbued with Nationalist principles, and it requires very little effort to persuade an Irish tenant not to pay. Can anyone conceive what would happen if Parliament became the great absentee landlord of all the land in Ireland? Parliament would place in the hands of the Nationalist party a weapon which they could never effectually combat. The hon. Member for Mayo on the 4th of April, 1890, on the Land Purchase Act, said that there was no analogy between the present condition of things and the conditions that might prevail if the leaders of the future should proclaim to the people that they would be acting justifiably and patriotically in refusing to pay a single penny to the Gnmoverent. Of course that would be the case. That would be the most popular cry ever raised in Ireland. It would make a sort of Irish paradise. It would appeal to the feelings of the Irish race in a manner no language could describe.

I ask the House to consider before granting this compulsory purchase whether a danger of that sort is to be thought of. Now I have been asked if I have a solution. I have always been in favour of a purchase scheme which would gradually place the Irish tenants in the position of being the owners of their land, and that a large amount of money should be set aside for buying out the landlords; that is the best and ultimate solution, which I have advocated not only in this House, but in my constituency. I believe the scheme ought to be a gradual one, and it ought to be of a generous nature, but, above all, if you want a scheme to work you must take away the impediments which undoubtedly stand in its way. It may be against the interests of the class to which I belong, but I believe it would be to the best interests of Ireland and the country at large. I belong to an unpopular and falling class. We have been called the "British garrison." That has been used as a term of reproach, but it is a name of which we are proud. The hon. Member for South Tyrone said in one of his speeches, "the English garrison in Ireland has done its work, and dirty work too." We have been loyal to this country. We have helped to keep the British flag afloat in Ireland, and I think this House and the country should not forget that all the great Irishmen who have helped to build up the Empire, to make it strong, and to preserve its safety on land and sea, came from the British garrison in Ireland. I would remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that we gave you Grattan and Burke; we gave you Wellington and Palmerston, and in later years we have given you Wolseley, Roberts, and a host of others. That is the garrison you propose now to destroy. Like other classes, we may disappear from the country we love as well as hon. Gentlemen opposite, but, at any rate, we will carry away with us the proud memory that all through these past years, through good report and evil report, in fair weather and in foul, we have been loyal to Parliament and to the British Crown.

*DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): I feel sure that the House with its usual indulgence will deal leniently and perhaps a little sympathetically with a new Member when he first attempts to place his views before it. I need not say that I labour under extraordinary difficulty in following as I do one of the best and most capable debaters in the House.

We have listened to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Armagh telling the House and the country that the Gentlemen who sit here are not loyal to the Empire. I say you have a very easy way in which to make all the Members from Ireland loyal to the British Empire, and that is by giving them what they want—Home Rule. I believe that if Parliament gave Irishmen the right to manage their own affairs all this agitation, which is so distracting to England and detrimental to Ireland, would disappear. I was until recently a Unionist, but became a convert to the other side, and, looking to the attitude assumed by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, I believe he will soon come over here too.

There can be no doubt whatever that the people of the north of Ireland are unanimously in favour of land purchase. I have a good many landlord friends, and I would be very sorry indeed to lose one of them. I would also be very sorry to do anything to injure them, but if the present condition of things goes on for ten years, where will their property be? I fully believe that if a great measure of land purchase is to be passed the landlords' and all interests affected must be fairly and generously compensated. Not very long ago the Governments of England and Russia guaranteed a loan to Greece at 2½ per cent. The Government of this country could borrow in the money markets of the world money for land purchase, repaying principle and interest, at 3 per cent. Suppose they charged the tenants 3½ per cent. instead of 4 per cent., that would be a great relief. Suppose the tenant's previous rent had been £20, and that the Government gave a bonus of one year's purchase of the rent to both landlord and tenant, then the sum advanced to the tenant would amount to £380, and this if lent to him at 3½ per cent. would reduce his annual payments from £20 to £13 6s., equal to an immediate reduction of 33½ per cent. The landlord at the same time would get twenty-one years purchase of the rent, and the money the Government would get from the tenant at 3½ per cent. would repay the principle and interest on the sum of £420, so that the Government would be the gainers by 14s. a year—sufficient to pay the cost of collection and any other incidental expenses necessary for the carrying out of a plan of this kind. There can be no question that England is indebted to Ireland in a very large sum of money. If you accept the debt that Great Britain owes to Ireland—and it has not been proved that she does not owe it—as 2¾ millions of money accumulated for the last fifty years, that would be an amount sufficient to buy out the landlords completely, and leave a considerable surplus to apply towards the future development of our country.

I trust the Government when they bring forward their proposals will do something at all events to improve the condition of things which exists as far as concerns the administration of the Land Laws—something to simplify the *law*, and benefit the condition of the

Irish people. As a doctor, knowing the people thoroughly, I can tell the House that the condition of Ireland is not improving. Even if the British people were to lose money they would gain a great deal by settling the Irish land question. There can be no doubt of the serious danger involved in the present state of affairs. We all look with great interest to the Bill which the Government are going to introduce, and we hope it will do a great deal to improve the proceedings of the Land Commission. We urge this great reform with all the strength of a sincere conviction, and feel certain, if satisfactorily arranged, the result cannot fail to be beneficial not only to Ireland, but to the Empire at large.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): I am sorry to intervene between the House and any speaker whom we are anxious to hear, but my apology must be that earlier in the evening the Leader of the House stated that I should reply in some detail to the matters of detail which were advanced by the mover and seconder of the Amendment. I feel that those two eloquent and closely reasoned speeches demand and, indeed, exact a reply. My task is made easier by the fact that they in their speeches followed very closely on the terms of the Amendment.

What is there in the Amendment? It holds up an object—namely, the immediate and general creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland. It advances a reason for that object—namely, the maladministration of the existing Land Acts. It suggests a method for achieving that object—namely, the application of compulsion to the Purchase Acts in Ireland. I think I can economise time by passing quickly over so much of the Amendment and speeches as raises no dispute between those hon. Members and the Government. First of all, as to the object. The words "general and immediate creation of a peasant proprietary" are too wide, I think, to be really practical; but if the object is to extend widely and to accelerate the introduction of the system of peasant proprietary in Ireland, I can discover no point of difference between the mover and seconder on the one hand and the Government on the other. Even the right hon. and gallant Member for Armagh gave to the development of the system of peasant proprietary in Ireland his approbation. The differences begin when the maladministration of the land system is urged. If those who spoke in support of the Amendment merely said that the land system of Ireland in respect of fair rents was unsatisfactory to all parties concerned, I think I should be prepared to agree with them. Indeed, as my right hon. friend said, when the Irish Members walked out of the House in 1881, the Conservative party recorded a unanimous vote against the Land Act of 1881. I therefore distinguish between the Fair Rent Acts and their administration; and upon their administration I should come into sharp collision with the hon. Member for South Tyrone. Of course, the Fair Rent Acts are unsatisfactory. What do they mean? They mean that litigation, which is always expensive, dilatory, and precarious, is in Ireland applied generally and universally to the normal transactions of Ireland's chief industry. The fact that land is Ireland's chief industry is very pertinent to this debate. In Scotland there are but 14 per cent. of the population engaged in agriculture; but in Ireland there are 43 per cent., so that this system of perpetual litigation is applied to almost half the people living out of towns. One precaution has been piled upon another—many of them, I may say, at the instance of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. Are these precautions justifiable? I think so—justifiable and necessary. Of course, the system has been unsatisfactory to all parties. Well, perhaps there is one exception. I believe the solicitors in Ireland—and I have been at pains to ascertain the figures—have increased by 30 per cent. since the Act of 1881 was placed upon the Statute-book. The effect of that Act is even more far-reaching them has been brought out to-night. It ceases to be any landlord's interest to develop or improve his property. And, even if it could be held to be his interest, it is no longer within in his power. Any act which he takes is viewed with suspicion. The hon. Member for South Tyrone admitted that this is not to be a charge against the Irish landlord. It cannot be a charge against the Irish landlord. Before that Act was passed Irish landlords did a great deal to improve the land. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] I beg the hon. Member's pardon. Since 1847 Irish landlords borrowed from the Board of Works over seven millions sterling——

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): And made the tenants pay for it.

MR. WYNDHAM: Besides any moneys of their own which they expended. Supposing the hon. Member's interruption is true—I do not think it is—in Ireland, as in every other country, when a landlord puts capital into the land, he expects some return for his investment, just as an employer of labour expects some return if he puts capital into his industry. Supposing, for the sake of argument, the interruption is quite justifiable, even then it was somebody's interest somehow to get some money to improve and develop Irish land, whereas now, since the Act of 1881, it is nobody's interest. And although I think the interruption unfair and unjustifiable by the history of the century, still, if it were true, I should maintain that the Act of 1881 had paralysed the power of the landlord or the tenant to engage in any large scheme for improving value of the land of Ireland. The Land Acts, it is admitted, are unsatisfactory, and, as regards fair rent, it is admitted that they are expensive. The Land Commission has cost—I cannot arrive at quite the figures which the hon. Member for Waterford gave—according to my own calculation, £2,000,000 sterling. [AN HON. MEMBER: More.] Possibly more. Of that £2,000,000, £1,500,000 may be credited to the operations in respect of fixing fair rents; or, in other words, £1,500,000 to paralyse the chief industry of Ireland. When the Act of 1881 was passed, a prominent member of the Government of that day stated that it was only a *modus vivendi* which was to be observed until purchase could be gradually extended. The Conservative party of that day were intent upon schemes of purchase. If anybody is sufficiently curious to refer to the report of the important Commission which sat in 1879, he will find that the Conservative party was then considering the possibility of extending purchase. But then came the electoral clash of 1880. Although the leader of the Conservative party, Lord Beaconsfield, warned the country that the land question of Ireland was the question of the time, that warning was dismissed as an electoral dodge, and the question was shelved. We were too much concerned in the affairs of the Turkish Empire to pay any heed to the concerns of our own Empire; and a new Government came in, not intending to deal with Irish land, and then they precipitately introduced in a panic-stricken manner this Act of 1881, for which no member of the House has lifted up his voice this evening. I am not concerned to argue that that Act was a worse evil than the evil it was intended to remedy. It may have been a lesser evil; but that it was an evil was felt by both parties. Nobody, however litigious, can be expected to embrace with enthusiastic admiration the necessity of litigation to decide all his ordinary business transactions.

But when it comes to the charges which have been levelled against the administration of the Fair Rent Acts, I take issue with my hon. friend the Member for South Tyrone. It is a very wrong and dangerous thing, after you erect a ladder of litigation and set a whole nation to climb its different rungs, and you find the process is costly and disappointing, to turn round and accuse the judges of neglecting their work and defeating the intentions of Parliament. That is the charge which the hon. Member brought against the judges. I am not going to enter into the hon. Member's past. I think it fair, however, to say that he is almost driven to take up that position. It is only two years ago that he blessed the whole land system of Ireland, and said that after generations of struggle substantial justice has now been done. Then he went on to say: "If things go wrong now the fault is more in the administration of the Act than in the legislation itself." Yes, but that was said in 1898. Is it the contention of the hon. Member for Waterford and the whole of the Irish party that all this disappointment has occurred within two and a half years? No; if the Acts were right in 1898, I think he has himself knocked the ground from under his feet in imputing the whole of the disappointment to those charged with the administration of the Acts. He attacks the judges. He attacks Mr. Justice Meredith. I had intended to quote an attack made by the hon. Member against Mr. Justice Meredith which was published in a letter in the public press, but I have no need to trouble the House with any quotations. I think those who have listened to my hon. friend to-night will agree that he did prefer an attack against that judge in terms which could only be justified if he intends to impute to that judge either moral perversity or mental aberration—charges which, if proved, will blast a man's reputation; charges which are preferred against a man holding a high official position of great importance to the public; charges of such a nature, levelled at such a person which are not supported by adequate proof, can only be properly described as scandalous. It may be that my hon. friend does not himself impute such laches to Mr. Justice Meredith, but he will be held, as he has been held, throughout Ulster to have imputed such laches. Mr. Justice Meredith has the high qualifications of unchallenged integrity and of recognised acumen, and he has applied himself to the colossal task which we have in this House thrown upon him with great knowledge and with an assiduity which has threatened his health; and it is not right that a judge of such standing should be attacked in such a manner, unless ample proof is forthcoming. Apart altogether from any desire of hon. Members to see the charges widely extended, apart from any desire to see compulsion applied to purchase in Ireland, I say that the hon. Member who votes for this Amendment will not only support a want of confidence in the Government, but he will attack the judiciary and will encroach on the first safeguards of civilised society.

I should not be justified in speaking as I have unless I were prepared to attempt, at any rate, an answer to the specific charges which the hon. Member for South Tyrone has levelled against Mr. Justice Meredith. These charges have been reduced to two this evening. Before I argue these two cases I wish to say that it is with great reluctance that I seem to make this House a Court of Appeal above the High Court of Appeal and the other Courts of Ireland. I do not think the hon. Member for South Tyrone is entitled to assist, as he has assisted, in framing this legislation, to set the judges to interpret it, to see their decisions appealed against and affirmed or reversed; and then to come and ask the House of Commons to sit as a higher Court of Appeal above the High Court of Appeal to judge of questions of interpretation without knowledge of law, and questions of fact without any evidence.

The first test applied is the number of appeals. I suppose 3,000 cases in each year come before the Land Commission as appeals from the decision of the Sub-Commissioners. I know that since Judge Meredith was appointed in 1898 he has had to decide over 400 cases in which points of law were involved and in which there might have been an appeal from him to the highest Court. How many appeals have there been? Forty-five. Ten of those appeals were made by landlords who thought that the judge had dealt too hardly by them. In five cases his decision was confirmed and in five cases it was reversed or varied. The balance of thirty-five appeals were at the instance of tenants who thought that he had dealt unfairly by them. In nine cases the decision was reversed and in twenty-six cases it was confirmed by the Court of Appeal. So that out of 3,000 cases which came before Mr. Justice Meredith in over 400 an appeal could have been taken on points of law, but in only forty-five was an appeal taken, and in only nine did the High Court of Appeal declare that he had not rightly interpreted the Act. I submit that this is a complete answer to the only charge which would justify the Amendment or the language used to support it. If you take one case here or one there you may hold a different view from the judge. Any intelligent man is entitled to entertain such an opinion. I read the other day in the newspapers a report of an interesting case which dealt with tapestry—whether tapestry which was nailed to the wall was a fixture or not. Thousands of pounds were involved, but if you agree with one judge you are not entitled to say that the other has a bias which defeats the intention of Parliament. You cannot have it both ways.

I will come now to the particular cases which the hon. Member for South Tyrone has put before us in order to illustrate what I will not call his recklessness but his impetuosity. Only two cases were advanced to-night, but during the campaign which the hon. Member has waged week by week for four months——

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: And still going on.

MR. WYNDHAM: Having all those cases to review he has selected five, Three of those cases have disappeared to-night, and of course I will not trouble the House with them, but I am not surprised that they have disappeared. In one of them, although the hon. Member made Ulster ring with it (the case of Lindsay), Mr. Justice Meredith was following the decision given by Chief Baron Palles, whose name is held in the highest honour and respect. In another case there was no appeal; in the third he was unanimously upheld by the Court of Appeal in Ireland. I am not surprised that these three cases do not appear to-night, and that out of the five which were good enough for Ulster only two are good enough for the House of Commons. What was the first case? The first case was in some senses an old friend—Adams v. Dunseath. On that the hon. Member has declared that the pink schedule has been altered.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: No. What I said was that in the original schedule, which went to the Court of Appeal, the Sub-Commissioners entered the value of the land as bog and the value of the reclaimed land; and that by that way, and by that way alone, the surplus letting value of the land could be discovered. The Court of Appeal decided against Mr. Justice Meredith, and now the schedules are filled up—I have them in my hand, and can produce them—without either the original value of the land as bog or the value of the reclaimed land, so that no surplus value can arise.

MR. WYNDHAM: I think I ought to deal in some detail with this case. It is the last of the old guard. In the first place, the hon. Member says that Mr. Justice Meredith was reversed by the Court of Appeal. He said that to-night, and he has said it many nights. So he was reversed; but does not the hon. Member think it would have been right and proper to say that he was reversed by a majority of one, that four judges in the High Court of Appeal were against him, and that three—the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Justice Holmes—agreed with him in his interpretation of the law? Is it to be said when such men of repute in the law agree with a judge that he is to be attacked in this House as if he were idle and perverse in the discharge of his duty? Then the hon. Member declares that some change has been made in the schedule. The Act lays down that there shall be specified "the annual sum of the improvements made, wholly or partly, by the tenant, and with respect to each such improvement the nature, character, and present capital value thereof, and the increased letting value due thereto." That is all that there is in the Act. Under that Act there is a schedule drawn up. That schedule has not in form been changed, though I understood the hon. Member to say that it had.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Oh, no.

MR. WYNDHAM: It has been changed to meet the requirements of the Local Government Act, but not as far as it relates to this section of the Act of 1891. The hon. Member maintains that that form has been filled in in a different manner. When was the last hearing of this case of Adams *v.* Dunseath? It was in 1899. The hon. Member alleges that after that a change was made; so that this change, if it be a change, is not of sufficient duration to account for all the evils which he has urged against the land system. It is a question only of a few months. In this case of Adams *v.* Dunseath the Court found, as the law directs, that the present capital value of Adams's improvement was £144, and that the increased letting value was £7 4s. Of that they allowed the tenant £6, and they divided the £1 4s. But the case which followed that, and on which the hon. Member rested the whole of his argument, was a case in which the present capital value was £30, and the increased letting value £1 10s., and the whole of that was given to the tenant. Let me tell the House that this is the merest piece of academic logomachy. Anyone who knows Ireland knows that the cases where a tenant can add more than 5 per cent. to the letting value of the holding can be counted on the fingers of one hand. It is an academic case, and the hon. Member admits it. Immediately after the Morley Commission had sat, the hon. Member returned to Ireland, was interviewed, and on this very point of Adams *v.* Dunseath he used words to the effect that the question was purely academic. Mr. Justice Bewley, who appeared before the Morley Commission, used the very same phrase. Even in the richer counties of Ireland the cases are rare where a tenant can add more than 5 per cent. to the letting value of his holding. The hon. Member has said that in Ulster there have been twelve years of wrongdoing, because this academic point has been decided first one way and then the other, and ultimately, by a majority of one, against Mr. Justice Meredith. Well, that was one case that I was bound, dealing with the speech of the hon. Member, to reply to, but in replying to it I fear I have made—I have been driven to make—a great demand on the patience of the House.

Next, the hon. Member—I am taking the cases in reverse order—dealt with a case which, as it seemed to the House, appeared to be the best instance at his disposal; it was the best arrow in his quiver. It was the case of McCluggage. Let me put it plainly to the House in as few words as need be. The case was this: The tenant paid for his farm, before a fair rent was fixed, a rent of £27. After the first fair rent was fixed, that sum of £27 was reduced to £18. When the period of revision came round again, this sum of £18 was further reduced to £10 10s. a year by the Sub-Commissioners. The result of all this was a reduction in the rent of over 61 per cent. On that the landlord appealed—well, after all, we have given him the right to appeal—and the result of the appeal was that the rent was raised to £12 10s. Was it right to say on such a case as this that the whole intention of Parliament has been defeated—that the Land Courts are a delusion and a snare? And all because a man who originally paid £27 a year—

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Being robbed.

MR. WYNDHAM: This man was offered a very large sum for his tenant right, and now we are told because his rent, formerly £27, was raised on appeal from £10 10s. to £12 10s., the whole object of the Act was defeated. Will the hon. Member——

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: That is not my point at all. The hon. Gentleman must not misrepresent me. My point was an entirely different one. I said that four expert land valuers had examined the land, and that their valuation was overridden by people who knew nothing about land, and the rent increased 20 per cent.

MR. WYNDHAM: Then if we follow that argument to its logical conclusion there is no need for a Court of Appeal. We spent £130,000 for the express purpose of dealing with these cases only a few years ago, and we have only succeeded in creating tribunals which have no value. I leave that case on which the hon. Member so much relied to the fair judgment of the House. I ask whether in this country, whether in any country in the world, there are not many men who go to law who would consider themselves very lucky if they gained a reduction of from £27 to £12, the cost of the litigation being paid by the taxpayers at large? The hon. Member spoke of Mr. Justice Ross, but perhaps I ought to pass over his attack on that judge. [AN IRISH MEMBER: Say a few words upon it.] I will accept your invitation. The hon. Member for South Tyrone made an attack upon this judge, but——

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I withdrew that.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes; but I think when a judge is attacked and the attack withdrawn the House should know the facts. Only in December last the hon. Member charged Mr. Justice Ross—— [AN IRISH MEMBER: He withdrew that.] I have said he withdrew it, but I think that the House, who listened to a charge made by the hon. Member on another learned judge this afternoon which has not been withdrawn, should know that he levelled another charge at another judge—a charge levelled by the hon. Member, who claims with a great deal of justice to be well versed in the whole system of land legislation—and that he withdrew it a week afterwards.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I made a mistake.

MR. WYNDHAM: The charge was that the judge had declared a certain section—— [Interruption from the Irish benches.] I hope hon. Members from Ireland will not think I am urging this as a charge against the hon. Member for South Tyrone. I am urging it because I think that an hon. Member who brings a charge against a judge and withdraws it in a week, when he comes to this House and brings a charge against another judge, should have his words discounted to a certain extent. It is clear that his impetuosity in this matter has carried him very far. I know that he is sincere, I know that he wishes to benefit the Ulster tenants and the tenants of Ireland, but in that wish he has been carried a great deal further than perhaps he himself imagines.

I leave that part of the Amendment—the attack on the administration of the Land Acts and the Fair Rent Acts.

What is the plan suggested? With all this experience of what compulsion means—because it has been pointed out that the Fair Rent Acts are compulsory—we are now asked to make purchase compulsory also. Many of the hon. Members who have addressed the House have said that the Fair Rent Acts have worked badly, but that the Purchase Acts have worked well. I wondered that nobody paused to consider that there was a great difference between the Fair Rent Acts and the Purchase Acts—namely, that the one is compulsory and that the other is voluntary. If you make the Purchase Acts compulsory, you will have to safeguard them in the same elaborate way as you have had to safeguard the Fair Rent Acts. If you cannot allow a man's income, or the annual rent which a man has to pay, to be assessed without giving the right of appeal and spending a million and a half of money on seeing that every possible legal point may be raised, what safeguard do you not think you will have to apply when you propose to place the capital value of the whole of Ireland into the Land Court? Knowing how mischievous the Land Act of 1881 was, the Unionist party fifteen years ago adopted purchase as its policy. It did it for two reasons—in order, as the hon. Member who moved the Amendment desires, to create a proprietary peasantry, but also, as I think, to find an exit out of this limbo of litigation into which the land of Ireland had been plunged by the Act of 1881. That Act drove political economy out of the door, and it was very soon found that you had to open a window to let it back. You cannot conduct the chief industry of any country if you do not allow one man to sell for a price which he can afford to accept, and if you do not allow another man to buy for a price which he can afford to pay. If we apply compulsion to purchase, which, so far, has succeeded, we shall exclude that element—each man's willingness or unwillingness to buy or sell, each man's knowledge of his own interest and resources will be eliminated, and, in place of that, we must substitute a system of inspection, of value and of appeal, which will be more costly, more dilatory, and more precarious than the very system which the mover and the seconder of this Amendment challenged to-night.

The hon. Member for South Tyrone objects to the quotation of his earlier speeches, and if I do it now it is only because he has put my argument far better than I could put it myself. He referred to the compulsory purchase, as it is called, which was carried out in Prussia. It was a compulsion far simpler than that we are now invited to undertake, but, as the hon. Member himself pointed out, that system was adopted in 1807, and it was not completed until 1850. The hon. Member then pointed out that we must begin somewhere, and that the claim on the part of the poorer part of Ireland would be urged with such insistence that it would be impossible to deal with richer Ulster until you had dealt with impoverished Mayo and impoverished Connaught. I pass by the rest of the hon. Member's speech, but the end of it I must ask the House to listen to. The hon. Member says:—"We must prove our case; we must not consider its utility; we must prove that it is practicable, that it can be worked out." Has the hon. Member advanced that proof either this evening or during the whole course of his campaign? I pass by the difficulty of the 120, 130, or 150 millions of rent. I pass by the difficulty of the proof of title, and I come down to where the hon. Member says that all land is to be sold except town parks and demesne land. Why is a man not to sell his demesne land if he wishes? Then the hon. Member says that all holdings of 100 acres or under are to be sold to the tenant.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: When did I say that?

MR. WYNDHAM: At Clogher.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: No, I did ont say that. I am perfectly certain I said all tenanted land except demesne land and town parks. And I also exempted the western area, which requires special treatment.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have the hon. Member's speech here. He said, "All holdings over 100 acres were to be sold at prices fixed by the Land Commission at the actual value of the land."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: That is a misquotation.

MR. WYNDHAM: Then I will not pursue that further. He dealt only with tenanted land. He put forward no proposal as to land that was not tenanted. He did not attempt, I think, to deal with this question. In fact, he wished to sell the existing holdings to the existing tenants. Is it worth while hypothecating £120,000,000 for that purpose? There are in Ireland, not only in the congested districts, small holdings, impoverished holdings, and, therefore, squalid holdings, each with a family upon it of five or eight persons, and with not one of which can any of those families hope to rise to an ampler or a higher life. If you are going to risk £120,000,000, if you are going to work compulsion for twenty-five years—and I defy you to do it at a greater pace than £5,000,000 a year—is it worth risking that sum, and the labour involved, in order to leave Ireland in precisely the position she is in at this moment? The hon. Member waved that problem away. He said probably the western area would have to be dealt with by the Congested Districts Board, and might involve special treatment. Yes, Sir, but the hon. Member has not looked too closely into his own problem. Out of 486,000 holdings in Ireland there are 127,000 holdings of an annual value of £4 and under. But they are not all in the congested districts. In the western counties, in Donegal, Mayo, and Galway there are 45,425 of these holdings. But in Ulster itself, excluding Donegal, there are 21,700 holdings of less annual value than £4, and in the rest of Ireland, excluding Ulster and the congested districts, there are 66,900 of these holdings. I ask the House to consider—Is it a question of rent? The average rent of these 127,000 holdings, each, I suppose, supporting some five persons—the average rent of a quarter of a million of people—is £3 a year for a family. That is 1s. 2d. a week, 2d. a day, lodging money paid by a family for a miserable holding, I agree. You cannot neglect this side of the problem. If you are to risk £120,000,000, and to plunge the whole land of Ireland into the limbo of litigation, are you to leave that problem untouched? If you abolish all rent, what becomes of the main plea put forward by the hon. Member in regard to the jealousy of the man on one side of the wall for the man on the other side of the wall? Suppose one of these families succeed in purchasing their holding at fifteen years' purchase, what is the difference? The man over the wall is paying 2d. a day, and they are paying five farthings. It is ludicrous. It is insane to ask this country to undertake such a heavy monetary charge, apart from all precedent, to plunge Ireland into fresh years of litigation, and then not to touch what, in my opinion, is the sore which must be healed if ever we are to settle the Irish land question.

MR. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire): On one point I notice that the Chief Secretary has found himself in entire agreement with the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House. Both of them have felt the difficulty of the situation with which they are face to face. When you have over 90 per cent. of the representatives of a country asking for a remedy for what they allege to be a great grievance you are in a difficult position, and I do not wonder that not only the Chief Secretary but the right hon. Gentleman himself made an almost passionate appeal to the supporters who sit behind them to treat this as a vote of want of confidence.

I admit at once that the problem with which the Government finds itself confronted is a difficult one. I am quite aware of the force there is in what was said by the Chief Secretary, that legislation of this kind must inevitably lead to a sea of litigation and to many difficulties. But these difficulties you will have to face if you are to grapple with the question of Irish land at all. I observed that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House and the Chief Secretary both passed criticisms of a scathing order upon the Land Act of 1881; but what is the record of the right hon. Gentlemen opposite upon this matter? Who was it who brought the leaseholders, whom Mr. Gladstone excluded, within its provisions, and thereby affirmed once more the necessity of referring to some principle such as that to solve the great difficulty with which the administration was confronted?

Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that the Government had been driven by the principle of the Act of 1881 to the further principle of purchase. I am not surprised at that. I do not wonder that they felt that the position established, first by the Act of 1870 and then by the subsequent Act of eleven years later, marked the transition period and inevitably had to lead to something of a more far-reaching character; and to-day we find that hon. Members from Ireland are almost tumbling over each other in their anxiety to vindicate themselves, and the Government which some of them support, from the plea of being indifferent to this question of purchase as an absolute necessity for the situation. When I see 90 per cent. of the Irish Members taking a particular view I cannot avoid the conclusion that there is some deep-seated reason for it. I have always been a strong supporter of land purchase. I have always felt that a system of dual ownership was a system on which you could not rest, and which must inevitably lead you to take a further step. How do we stand at this moment? We are told that it is the decision of a majority of the people who elect this Parliament that you cannot give a system of government to Ireland under which the people of Ireland may settle their own affairs. If that is so, it seems to me you are under a greater obligation to try to mould your Irish legislation to the ideas of the people, and, in particular, that land legislation which perhaps more than any other affects their well-being. If you will not allow the Irish to manage their own concerns, you might at least avoid preferring the interests of the minority to the interests of the majority.

That is the issue at stake. Let us admit frankly that the land legislation of 1881 and the subsequent legislation extending it has not proved wholly a success. Let us admit, what has been proved up to the hilt by the speeches of the hon. and learned Member for Waterford and the hon. Member for South Tyrone, that we must take some step forward. What step? Certainly not a perpetuation of dual ownership; and if you come to the conclusion that dual ownership will not do, then you must look to the principle already adopted by the Government themselves. I do not propose to impugn the conduct of judges. Judge Meredith is no doubt a very able judge, Judge Ross I know personally, and both are high-minded men. But I think the evidence is almost conclusive that the system of administering these dual ownership Acts has practically broken down. Take the Ashbourne Act. What has it done? It has put the power of selling land in the option not of the tenant, but of the landlord. The landlord is preferred, and he is told that if he chooses to sell his land he shall have the assistance of the State. What has been the consequence? The Act has been in operation for many years. There are no arrears worth calling arrears under it, it has practically proved a success, and it has shown that if you govern your conduct carefully you can use the credit of this country to convert dual into single ownership in Ireland. If that were done for the sake of getting rid of the ownership of land in favour of the worst class of tenant, it should also be done for the benefit of the best class of tenant. Let me explain. When you gave the option to the landlord to sell his land, who was he likely to pick out? Of course the tenant that was troublesome, and from whom he had difficulty in getting his rent. You thought it sufficient to protect the people of this country that you should take measures to enable the landlord to sell to the tenant whom he was most ready to be quit of, and yet you now refuse to interpose the credit of this country in the interests of the good tenants. I maintain that the distinction between these two cases is illogical, and cannot be upheld.

I do not advocate land purchase on the footing of any belief that it will involve any considerable sacrifice to this country to bring it about, but if there were to be a sacrifice it would be worth making for the prospect of a more peaceful and contented Ireland. The experience we have had under the Ashbourne Act has proved almost conclusively that if we take proper steps we may interpose the credit of this country without any substantial risk of loss to the Exchequer. It is all very well to talk of liabilities, but what would be said of the banker who refused to increase a loan when he had assets on the other side, and we all know that in this matter the State has a good safe asset. If that be the general principle, it seems to me we ought to do what we can to give effect to it. It is not enough to take up the attitude of the Chief Secretary and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House. I listened to their speeches, and I did not hear from them that anything substantial was to be done to get rid of the impossible condition of things existing in Ireland. I did not hear the Chief Secretary announce any measure.

MR. WYNDHAM: A measure is mentioned in the King's Speech.

MR. HALDANE: The King's Speech is an extremely vague document, and it is singularly barren of promise of legislation for Ireland. We know nothing of the measure to which the Speech referred.

MR. WYNDHAM: When I move for leave to bring in the Bill will be the proper occasion for describing the intentions of the Government.

MR. HALDANE: Then the right hon. Gentleman asks us to act on faith. But what are the prospects? The right hon. Gentleman made no attempt to get rid of this Amendment by telling the Irish Members that he was going to propose something substantial. They cannot be expected to take things on trust. One of their most pressing grievances is the Irish University question, and there was no hint or indication in the King's Speech that the Government are going to follow up the policy which the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House identified himself very warmly with some time ago. How, therefore, can you expect them to accept the promises you give them in the matter of land legislation?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman has made a personal reference to myself which is perfectly astounding. He knows perfectly well that every word I said on the Irish University question, and to which I adhere, was not said by me as a member of the Government at all.

MR. HALDANE: Yes, on the Irish University question the right hon. Gentleman carefully stated that he spoke for himself, but we all hoped until recently that his party were about to accept his opinion, and if that hope had not been entertained a great deal more would have been heard of the question. We are told that the King's Speech contains a promise for the redress of this land grievance, and we are asked to hold our hands. That is too vague. We are face to face in Ireland with a state of affairs which, unless some definite steps are taken, will result in a standstill. It is plain that the machinery provided by the Act of 1881 is not enough. That is shown conclusively.

We have in Ireland two classes diametrically opposed to one another. One class consists of the vast majority of the people; the other is a small class. I have always believed that Irish landlords should not be made scapegoats, but that they should have justice done to them. I am aware that the business of governing Ireland from Westminster must continue to be a very difficult one. Why make it more difficult by refusing to deal with a grievance such as this? There are two obstacles worth considering in the way of a measure of this kind. One is that a large number of the Irish landlords are mortgagors, and it is said that if you reduce their income by giving them Consols they will be in an intolerable position. I think that would be so, but I assume this motion means that you are going to pay out the mortgages, and make a clean sweep of the matter, and if you do that I do not see any difficulty in dealing with the Irish landlords who are mortgagors. They will get the value of the equity of redemption, and they are entitled to claim nothing else. Then it is said that a considerable amount of land in Ireland is untenanted. That is quite true, and I should hope that those landlords who have no tenants would more and more become one, politically and socially, with the people among whom they live, with a view to bringing about contentment in Ireland. I have never been sanguine of the possibility of making Ireland a rich, prosperous, and contented country, because the causes of its present condition are of long standing, but this I do think, that when, short of Home Rule, which this House has elected to decide against, you have a practical proposition upon which a very large number of the people of Ireland are agreed—a larger number than had previously been in agreement—I feel that it is an opportunity that should not be lost. If the Government cannot go further, they can at least take steps towards dealing with a grievance which is felt throughout Ireland, which is protested against by Members from Ulster as well as by Members from the other provinces of Ireland, and which is ripe for solution. I, for my part, while recognising the difficulties of the Government in attempting a solution of this matter, feel that the balance of the merits of the case are with those who have brought forward this proposal.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I should have sought an opportunity of speaking earlier had I not believed that the debate on this most important matter would have gone over more than one night.

Of all the points that have been urged on the House to-night, that which most strikes me as governing the whole situation is one which was very forcibly put in the two brilliant speeches with which the debate opened, but of which we have heard very little since. It is the very simple fact that this represents the desire of 95 per cent. of the Irish Members. Now, I have always been one of those who have supported the desire expressed by the large majority of the Irish Members that they should be endowed with the power of managing their own domestic affairs—I have always put that fact in the very forefront as the strongest reason why their demand should have received greater consideration than it did in the past. If the representation of these people is to be of any value, when we have such a remarkable consensus of opinion, when we find men in the country and Members in this House who have hitherto been accustomed to act in diametrical opposition to each other agreed upon this question, surely that is the very strongest argument for the favourable consideration of this motion by the House. There is one case, and one case only, in which that could be set aside, but I will come to that later.

On the merits of the case, and passing over the administration of previous Acts, and coming to the existing situation in Ireland, a very singular point strikes me. We have already passed several Purchase Bills enabling the tenant to buy from his landlord, if he is willing to sell, on certain terms. Those terms are such that the annual payment that the tenant has to make is less than the fixed rent which he was before paying. So that you have this position. Two tenants are living alongside of each other, and the landlord of one has been able and willing to sell, and after the arrangement has been made this tenant pays, we are told to-night, only 12s. in the pound of the rental that he formerly paid and of the rent that his neighbour pays, and not only so, but he pays it for a definite term of years, and at the end of that term the land becomes his for ever. His neighbour, however, goes on paying the 20s. in the pound of his fixed rent, and no number of years that may pass over his head alters his position. I maintain that that is a position of things which cannot conduce either to the contentment, peace, or prosperity of Ireland. I think that is a better argument than all the technical pleas that have been urged, and having begun with this process of land purchase, therefore, having induced Parliament to pass measures involving stress, no doubt, on the Imperial Exchequer and other sources, to create this anomalous state of things, you must go on with it, and go on with it as rapidly as possible, and in such a way and degree as to put an end to this anomaly. I do not mean to say—the point was raised by the Chief Secretary—in regard to very small holdings, where something is paid in some cases that may be called a rent which is not a rent at all, but rather a sort of fine that is imposed on the attachment of a man and his family to the place where they live, that that class of property might not be dealt with exceptionally; but the great mass of tenants surely are entitled, whatever the position of their landlord, to have the same advantage the one as the other.

That being the policy, and in view of the condition of the Irish people and the contentment of Ireland, what is there to be said against it? There is this to be said against it, and this only: that there may be danger of loss of money to the Imperial Exchequer. There is, I have said, one case in which the ascertained, constitutionally expressed, moderately preferred desire of the Irish people might be set aside. That would be the case where it involved something beyond the limits of Ireland, and something bringing general danger or loss. It be may so here; it is quite possible, as the Leader of the House said, that if a large step forward is taken in this direction there may be no longer the same immunity from loss that we have seen in the past, but if it be so I answer that you are committed to it already. You should have thought of that before. There is nothing now to do except to go through with it and establish something like prosperity among the Irish people. For these reasons—and that is my object, that is the personal view I take of it—I shall for my part vote for the Amendment, because it is only in this way that the great object which we desire can be attained.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I have listened with very great care to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, and I must confess I am entirely in the dark at the present moment as to his position, or whether he means that he himself or his party have made a considerable advance on the question of land purchase in Ireland since the last occasion on which he addressed the House on the subject, in 1892. I think he has left myself and many other hon. Members near me in doubt as to whether his speech was merely a declamatory expression of his views, not to be followed by any action by him or his party if they came into power. What I wish to ask, and what I am sure the House would like to know from some other right hon. Gentleman opposite, is, if the fortune of party turns, has the right hon. Gentleman to-night pledged his party to immediately carry into effect the policy which underlies the Amendment of the hon. Member for Waterford, and which has been expounded in Ulster by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. That policy has been placed with absolute distinctness and clearness by the hon. Member for South Tyrone before the farmers of Ulster and of Ireland. He says that a condition of things exists in Ireland which makes it absolutely necessary that there must be not only purchase but compulsory purchase, and not only compulsory purchase but immediate compulsory purchase. We have heard to-night the answer of the Government. We have heard the speech of the right hon Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, but I do not think that anyone yet understands whether he has pledged himself or his party, if they come into power, to carry out immediately a policy of compulsory purchase in Ireland involving a sum of over one hundred million sterling. The policy which has been propounded in Ulster by the hon. Member for South Tyrone is not merely an enlargement of the Voluntary Purchase Acts, it is that compulsion is necessary. [Several HON. MEMBERS: Divide, divide!] Hon. Members themselves state that this matter is of the greatest possible importance, and I am going to take advantage of this opportunity to express my opinion on it——

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL rose in his place and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 251; Noes, 132. (Division List No. 5.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Ambrose, Robert
Anstruther, H. T.
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Banbury, Fredrick George
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bartley, George C. T.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bell, Richard
Bignold, A.
Bill, Charles
Blake, Edward
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowland, John
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Boyle, James
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick G. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, V. C. W (Derbyshire
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J (Birm.
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cranborne, Viscount
Crean, Eugene
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Dillon, John
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J (Manc'r
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flynn, James Christopher
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Godson, Sir Augustus Fred.
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Green, Walford D. (Wednesb'y)
Greene, Sir E. W. (Bury S Edm
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Ld G. (Midd'x
Hammond, John
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'd
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Heath, James (Staffords, N. W.
Helder, Augustus
Holland, William Henry
Hope, J. F (Sheffield, Brightside
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lawson, John Grant
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Lee, Capt. A H. (Hants, Fareh'm
Leighton, Stanley
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S
Lough, Thomas
Lowe, Francis William
Lucas, Col. F. (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J, (Portsmouth
Lundon, W.
Macdona, John Cumming
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, Wm. (Cornwall)
M'Cann, James
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Minch, Matthew
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants
Mooney, John J.
More, Rbt. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morrell, George Herbert
Mount, William Arthur
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick, (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William

O'Mara, James
O Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Geo. W. (Reading)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Pease, H. Pike (Darlington)
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pretyman, Ernest George
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rasch, Major Frederick Carne
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, Hon. M. W (Stalybridge
Ridley, Samuel F. (Bethnal Gr'n
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T.
Roche, John
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw-Stewart, M H. (Renfrew
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire
Smith, H C (North'mb Tyneside
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Rt. Hn C. R (Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Ox. Univ.
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alfred (Merth'r
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gow'r
Thompson, E. C. (Monaghan, N.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomkinson, Henry James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt Hn. Sir William H.
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, H (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander (Berks, E)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. T. W. Russell and Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Hy. Eden
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Bousfield, William Robert
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Channing, Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cremer, William Randall
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar, T. R. (T'r H'mlets, S Geo.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Evans, Samuel T.
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans- (T'r H'mlet
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Grenfell, William Henry
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hamilton, Marq. of (Londond'y
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynemo'h
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Alexander
Hermon-Hodge, Robt. Trotter
Hoare, Ed. Brodie (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt J (Kent, Faversh.
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawrence, William F.
Lecky, Rt. Hon. William Ed. H.
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lowther, Rt. Hon. James (Kent
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis Edinburgh W
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.
Milton, Viscount
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
Morgan, David J (Walthamst'w
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford
Moulton, John Fletcher
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Nicholson, William Graham
Norman, Henry
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Peel, Hon. William Robert W.
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Sandys, Lieut.-Cl. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Cl. Edw. J.
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shipman, Dr. John
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Lord (Lancs)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Sullivan, Donal
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson-Todd, W. H. (Yorks.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Macartney and Mr. Rentoul.

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there added."

The House divided:—Ayes, 140; Noes, 235. (Division List No. 6.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, Charles P (Glouc., Stroud
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hn Herbert Henry
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Burke, E. Haviland-
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Edwards, Frank
Evans, Samuel T.
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbt. J.
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh'e
Jordon, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kinloch, Sir John G. Smyth
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Cann, James
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Minch, Matthew
Mooney, John J.
Morris, Hon. M. Henry F.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J,
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, Jas. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)
Partington, Oswald,
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roche, John
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan G.)
Thompson, E. C. (Monaghan N.
Tompkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. T. W. Russell and
Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Banbury, Frederick George
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt Hon Sir M. H. (Bristol)
Bignold, A.
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry

Chapman, Edward
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Cranborne, Viscount
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar,T.R.(T'rH'ml'ts,S.Geo.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford,SirWilliam Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. H.
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot,Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden,Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay,Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy,Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Garfit, William
Godson,SirAugustusFrederick
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn
Gordon,J.(Londonderry,South
Gordon,MajEvans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon.Sir John Eldon
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene,SirE.W(B'ryS.Edm'ds
Grenfell, William Henry
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,RtHn.LordG(Mid'x
Hamilton,Marq.of(L'donderry
Hardy,Laurence(KentAshford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Heath,James(Staffords.,N.W.
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hermon-Hodge, Rbt. Trotter
Hoare,EdwBrodie(Hampstead
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse,Henry (Somerset,E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope,J.F.(SheffieldBrightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard,Capt.J.(Kent,Fav'sh.
Hozier,Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel,CaptainHerbertMorton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Kenyon,Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W(Salop)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon.FrederickWm.
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawrence, William F.
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky,Rt.Hn.WilliamEdwH.
Lee,Capt.A.H.(HantsFarehm
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S)
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Lowther,Rt.Hn.James (Kent)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas,Reginald J. (Portsm'th)
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool
M'Calmont,Col.J. (Antrim,E.
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh,W.)
M'Killop, James(Stirlingshire
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring,Hn.W.F
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriessh.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt.Hn.SirFredrick G.
Milton, Viscount
Milward, Colonel Victor
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J.Scott (Hants)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robert J. (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton,ArthurH.A.(Deptford
Moulton, John Fletcher
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, H. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hon. Wm. R. Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Rentoul, James Alexander
Ridley,Hn.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley,SamuelF.(BethnalGr'n
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T.
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler,Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys,Lieut.-Col.Thos.Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hon.Col.E.J.
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shaw-Stewart,M.H.(Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith,HC. (N'th'mb.Tyneside
Smith,JamesParker(Lanarks.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stanley, Lord (Lancs)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,RtHn.JG.(Oxf'dUniv.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm.Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney
Whiteley,H.(Ashton-under-L.
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson,A.Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd,Wm.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon.C.B.Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young,Commander (Berks,E.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising; and, it being after midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at Twenty-five minutes after Twelve of the clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 22nd February, 1901.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—

Aire and Calder Navigation.
Albion Steam Coal Company.
Aldeburgh Corporation (Water).
Aldershot Gas and Water.
Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railways.
Alfreton Gas.
Arlesey Gas.
Aspatria, Silloth, and District Water.
Barrow-in-Furness Corporation.
Bath Gas Light and Coke.
Belfast Harbour.
Bethlem Hospital.
Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment).
Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Extension of Time), etc.
Bingley Urban District Council.
Blackburn Corporation.
Blackpool Improvement.
Bolton Corporation.
Bournemouth Corporation.
Bradford Corporation.
Bridewell Hospital.
Brighton Corporation.
Bristol, Clifton, and West of England Zoological Society.
Bristol Corporation Cemetery.
Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.)
British Gas Light Company (Hull Station).
British Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company.
Broadstairs and St. Peter's Water and Improvement.
Burgess Hill Water.
Burton-upon-Trent Corporation.
Bury Corporation.
Bury Corporation Tramways.
Cardiff Corporation.
Cardiff Railway.
Central London Railway.
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 1).
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 2).
Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and District Electric Railway.
Chester Gas.
Chesterfield Improvement.
Christ's Hospital (London).
City and Brixton Railway.
City and North-East Suburban Electric Railway.
City and South London Railway.
City of London (Spitalfields Market).
Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power.
Colwyn Bay and Colwyn Urban District Gas.
Cork, Blackrock, and Passage Railway.
Crawley Gas.
Cromer Water.
Derby Corporation.
Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power.
Derwent Valley Water Board.
Devonport Corporation (Gas).
Devonport Gas and Coke.
District Messenger and Theatre Ticket Company.
Doncaster Tithe Trust.
Dorking Gas.
Dover Corporation.
Dover Gas.
Dover Harbour.
Dublin Corporation (Markets, etc.).
Dublin (Equalisation of Rates).
Dublin Port and Docks Board.
Dublin St. James' Gate Brewery Tramways.
East Middlesex Electricity (District Councils).
Easton and Church Hope Railway.
Eccles Corporation.
Elland Gas.
Fairford and Cirencester Railway.
Faversham Water.
Folkestone Corporation.
Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway.
Gas Light and Coke Company.
Gateshead and District Tramways.
Golborne Gas.
Gravesend Gas.
Great Central Railway.
Great Eastern Railway.
Great Northern Railway.
Great Southern and Western Railway.
Great Western Railway.
Handsworth Urban District Council.
Harpenden District Gas.
Harrogate Water.
Hartlepools Gas and Water (Transfer).
Heckmondwike Gas (Transfer).

Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants).
Heywood and Middleton Water Board.
Honley Urban District Council (Gas).
Horley District Gas.
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock.
Humber Commercial Railway and Dock.
Ilkeston and Heanor Water Board.
Irish Presbyterian Church.
Islington and Euston Railway.
Kettering Urban District Water.
Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway.
King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways.
King's Road Railway.
Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation.
Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Dearne Valley Junction Railways).
Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers).
Leatherhead Gas.
Leeds Churches.
Leeds Corporation (General Powers).
Leeds Corporation Water.
Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Water.
Llandrindod Wells Water.
Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway.
Llanelly Harbour.
London and India Docks (Lighterage Rates, etc.).
London and India Docks (New Works, etc.).
London and North-Western Railway.
London Bridge Widening.
London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.
London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen.
London County Council (General Powers).
London County Council (Spitalfields Market).
London Riverside Fish Market.
London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway.
London Water (Purchase of Companies).
Long Eaton Gas.
Lowestoft Corporation.
Lynton and Barnstaple Railway.
Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway.
Manchester Corporation.
Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements.
Mansfield Corporation.
Margate Corporation.
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.
Metropolitan District Railway.
Metropolitan Electric Supply.
Metropolitan Railway.
Metropolitan Water Companies (Amendment of Acts).
Midland Railway.
Milford Docks.
Mond Gas.
Neath Harbour.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas.
Newport (Isle of Wight) Gas.
Newry Port and Harbour Trust.
New Swindon Gas.
Nitrate Railways Company.
North-East London Railway.
North-Eastern Railway.
Nottingham Corporation.
Notting Hill Electric Lighting.
Oakham Water.
Omagh Gas.
Otley Gas.
Pembroke Urban District Council (County of Dublin).
Petersfield and Selsey Gas.
Piccadilly and City Railway.
Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway.
Poulton-le-Fylde Gas.
Prestatyn Water.
Rhyl Bridge.
Rhyl Improvement.
Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water.
Richmond Gas.
Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water.
Ripon Corporation.
Royal Exchange Assurance.
Rugby Water and Improvement.
St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
Salford Corporation.
Shannon Water and Electric Power.
Sheffield Corporation.
Sheffield District Railway.
Shields Bridge.
Shipley Improvement.
Shireoaks, Laughton, and Maltby Railway.
Shrewsbury Gas.
Smethwick Corporation.
Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway.
South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.
South Essex Water.
South Metropolitan Gas.
Southport Water (Transfer).

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway.
Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield Tramways and Electricity Board.
Stockport Corporation Water.
Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction, East and West Junction and Evesham, Redditch and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway Companies.
Stratton and Bude Gas.
Stratton and Bude Improvement.
Stroud Gas.
Swanage Gas and Water.
Swansea Harbour.
Taff Vale Railway.
Tees Valley Water Board.
Tendring Hundred Water.
Thames Deep Water Dock.
Thames Lightermen.
Thames Piers and River Service.
Torrington and Okehampton Railway.
Tottenham and Hampstead Junction Railway.
Wallasey Improvement.
Warkworth Harbour.
Wells Corporation Water.
Wells Water.
West Cumberland Electric Tramways.
West Surrey Water.
Weston-super-Mare Gas.
Wisbech Water.
Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway.
Wolverhampton Corporation Water.
Yorkshire Electric Power.

And the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with:—

Birmingham City Tramways.
Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway.
Cambrian Railways.
Cowes Ferry.
Harrogate Corporation.
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.).
Scarborough Electric Tramways.
South Yorkshire Electric Power.
Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water).
Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.
West and South London Junction Railway.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table. The same was ordered to be printed. (No. 12.)

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPHS).

Accounts showing the gross amount received and expended on account of the Telegraph Service during the year ended 31st March, 1900. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

THE ROYAL DECLARATION AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

LORD BRAYE, who had the following question on the Paper—

"To ask the Prime Minister whether he can hold out hope that the Government will speedily introduce into Parliament a measure to wholly abolish the Oath imposed as obligatory on the Sovereign of this country by Statute which was solemnly taken by His Majesty the present King in this Parliament; that is to say, the Oath in which Almighty God is invoked to bear witness that doctrines held by the Catholic Church not only as awful, sacred, and stupendous, but also as vital and fundamental, are false"

said: My Lords, with the leave of the noble Marquess, I wish to postpone this question until such time as the Government have had further opportunity for taking the matter to which it refers into consideration. The matter is no doubt under consideration, owing to a memorial or protest signed by a number of Roman Catholic Peers against the Oath which has been taken in this House by the Sovereign, and I therefore ask leave to postpone the question until the matter has received further consideration by the Government.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I do not know whether there is any object to be gained in delaying the question which the noble Lord wished to ask, excepting bringing him down again unnecessarily. Though I am very anxious to give an answer which would be satisfactory to the noble Lord and his co-religionists, I do not wish to leave on his mind an impression that there are any doubts in the matter. We all of us deplore the language in which that Declaration is couched, and very much wish it could be otherwise expressed; but when it comes to altering an enactment which has now lasted, as far as I know, without serious question, 200 years, and which was originally included in the Bill of Rights, it is a matter which cannot be done without very considerable thought. We must remember that an enactment of that kind represents the passions, feelings, and sensibilities of the people by whom it was originally caused; and that these have not died out. They are not strong within these walls; but there are undoubtedly parts of the country where the controversies which the Declaration represents still flourish, and where the emotions which it indicates have not died out. Before an enactment is proposed, with all the discussion which must precede such an enactment, we shall have to consider how far it is desirable to light again passions which sleep at this moment, for an occasion which is not now urgent, and which we all earnestly hope may not be urgent in our lives. I do not wish to debar the noble Lord from any action which he may think it right to take; but I wish to point out to him the extreme difficulties and anxieties which would accompany any such attempt. With respect to the actual question of legislation, I need hardly observe that it is rather a question for the House of Commons than for us, because here I do not imagine there would be any doubt whatever about the result of such attempted legislation. But I could not be certain that a very strong feeling might not be excited elsewhere; and I notice that, possibly with a view to that consideration, the Leader of the other House, in answer to a question, said that, at all events for the present year, he did not see the possibility of having the requisite opportunity of bringing the question before the House.* I am afraid, therefore, however deeply I sympathise with the feelings of the noble Lord and wish there had been no cause for their being appealed to, that my answer would have to be of a discouraging character.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I certainly should have preferred that the noble Marquess had acceded to the request of my noble friend who had this question on the Paper, and allowed it to be adjourned. The noble Marquess has said certain things with which no doubt I should heartily agree. At the same time I do feel that it is important that, if possible, the words of this Oath should be modified, so as not to give offence, which it does give, and rightly gives, to the consciences of many of our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. The noble Marquess said, and I most heartily agree with him, that he trusts we shall not have the necessity of hearing the Oath taken again in Parliament for a very long time. But if there is anything in the contention of those who say that it is desirable that the form of the Oath should be altered, then I hold it is not right to defer its alteration by statute much beyond the present time. The noble Marquess said it is difficult to alter it on account of its great age, and the great length of time the Oath has been on the Statute-book. But a great many things have to be altered, owing to change of circumstances and change of opinion, without having regard to their origin. I for one do not at all agree with what I understand from the question of my noble friend is his contention—namely, that the Oath should be altogether dispensed with. I think it is essential, considering the very strong feeling on the subject in the country, that there should be some oath or some declaration which would prevent the Throne from being occupied by one of the Roman Catholic faith. While I feel that, I also most strongly feel that the Oath in its present form is unnecessarily offensive to Roman Catholics; and although I am a strong Protestant myself, I do not at all believe in the necessity of the continuation of the offensive words in the Oath. I venture to press upon the noble Marquess the urgent necessity that within a reasonable time the Government, with their large majority and all their power, should look into the matter and endeavour to alter the form of the Oath. It is hardly necessary for me to point to the great change which has taken place within the last century on matters of conscience. I would only refer to one matter. A much greater step than the alteration of the words of this Oath was the passing of an Act in 1867 or 1868 which enabled a Roman Catholic to be Lord Chancellor of

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* See page 320.

Ireland. I was the first and I believe the only Lord Lieutenant of Ireland who had as a colleague a Roman Catholic Lord Chancellor.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE): There has been one since.

EARL SPENCER: The noble and learned Lord is quite right. I very well recollect the feelings that were excited, and I myself was the object of attack on that account. But I venture to say there was not a single act of the Irish Government, of which I was at that time the head, and of which the noble Duke sitting by the side of the Prime Minister was a distinguished Member, which affected injuriously the interests of the country on account of a Roman Catholic being Lord Chancellor of Ireland. That was a greater change than any mere modification of the King's Oath; and while, as I have said, I consider that some form of oath must exist, I hope the Government will refer the question to a Committee, or, as I should prefer, will take action themselves to make the Oath less offensive to Roman Catholics.

LORD HERRIES: My Lords, I am quite sure the Roman Catholics in England will be most grateful to the noble Earl for the manner in which he has spoken to-night. I did not come down to this House prepared to speak, but I had already made up my mind to move, in the course of this Session, that a Committee be appointed consisting, I hope, of Members of both parties, including, perhaps, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to consider what modification it might be possible to introduce into the Declaration which would make it more agreeable to a large portion of His Majesty's subjects. I do not think myself that there can be any objection to that course. I wish your Lordships to remember that the Declaration which was taken by His Majesty at the opening of Parliament is offensive not only to the feelings of His Majesty's own subjects, but also to the feelings of many of his nearest relations. Thus, for example, the Russian Imperial family may equally consider themselves branded as idolatrous and superstitious persons. Indeed, most of the Royal families in Europe are by it branded as idolatrous and superstitious persons. The extraordinary thing is that if any of these Royal personages were to die, and there was a Requiem Mass said in this country, the King would be expected to send his own representative to attend what he has branded as an idolatrous and superstitious ceremony. Surely there is something anomalous in that; and surely it is possible for the British Legislature in this century to make some alteration in the Declaration. We do not ask you to do away with the Declaration altogether. What we ask is that such modification should be introduced into the Oath as to leave out these offensive words. Such an alteration would not in the least endanger the religion of the majority in this country. It must astonish a large number of Colonists and also a great number of people throughout Europe that such a Declaration should exist at this time of day in this home of religious toleration. I have only to add that before the end of the session I shall bring this matter forward unless I can get some other Peer who is likely to have more influence than I have to do so; and I hope the Government, who now know that they will also have the support of the Opposition, will be prepared to assist in the formation of a Committee which will receive the general approval of all classes, and which will, I have no doubt, devise some modification of the Oath which will be satisfactory to the feelings of the Roman Catholics of this country.

LORD BRAYE: My Lords, as the noble Marquess the Prime Minister has thought fit—wisely, perhaps—not to allow me to postpone my question, and as a brief discussion has been initiated, I may, perhaps, venture to ask what is now called, I believe, a supplementary question, of which we have heard so much lately in another place. Why should not this Oath be converted into a Declaration? The noble Earl who spoke after the noble Marquess rather took exception to my wish, as stated in the question, that the Oath should be wholly abolished. I do not suggest the possibility or the likelihood of the Declaration being abolished. What I take exception to is the Oath being imposed by statute. An oath is a very different thing indeed from a Declaration. A Declaration is a thing within the province of politics, whereas an Oath essentially comes within the sphere of religion.

This Oath, imposed by a statute of William and Mary, compels the Sovereign to call God to witness that the worship and belief and creed of an immense majority of Christians are idolatrous, including, as the noble Lord who has just spoken pointed out, the whole Russian Empire. A Declaration would not give offence in the same way as an Oath. It is ridiculous to exact from the Sovereign a specific oath against two of the most precious practices and doctrines of the whole Catholic religion. The Oath was made compulsory to exclude by specific words the descendants of Charles I. from claiming the Throne of England. Does any person out of a lunatic asylum suppose that any descendants of Charles I. have any idea at this time of day of claiming the throne of this kingdom? We know that the descendants of Charles I. were totally excluded, and that our present Sovereign, who is a descendant of James I., required no oath of this kind to establish his right to this kingdom. Therefore I venture to hope that the Oath, which has given so much offence to the feelings of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, will be wholly abolished.

MANNING OF MERCHANT VESSELS—THE LOSS OF THE "PRIMROSE HILL."

Lord MUSKERRY: My Lords, I beg to ask His Majesty's Government whether the Board of Trade inquiry, as ordered, into the loss in December last of the ship "Primrose Hill," of Liverpool, has been deferred owing to pending libel actions between private individuals; whether in view of this vessel sailing without a certificated second officer, and certain other allegations as to her manning, it is the intention of the Board of Trade to proceed with this inquiry; and also whether, as these inquiries are held in the public interest, the Board of Trade will consider the advisability of discontinuing their practice of their being subordinated to cases of purely private concern. For the information of your Lordships, I may say that this ship was over 2,300 tons register, and that she carried a crew of thirty-five. Amongst that crew I am told there were thirteen apprentices, six of whom had never been to sea before. Your Lordships will remember that in December last the ship was lost, and that, with the exception of one man, all hands were drowned.

The SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (the EARL of DUDLEY): My Lords, it is quite true that the inquiry into the loss of the "Primrose Hill" was, according to the usual custom, deferred while the libel action between the owners of the vessel and the proprietors of the *Liverpool Courier* newspaper awaited hearing. That action, however, has now been disposed of, and has resulted in a verdict for the owners with £100 damages. The Board of Trade inquiry will now take place in the usual way. To that inquiry will naturally be referred questions of manning such as those to which my noble friend has called attention, and it is, therefore, perhaps unnecessary for me to refer to them at this time. As regards the last past of the question, I regret that I cannot make any promise that the Board of Trade will depart from the course that it has hitherto followed in cases of this kind. The custom of deferring the inquiry into the circumstances of any particular casualty while a civil action in connection with it is pending either in the High Court or the Admiralty Court seems to me to be based on sound and equitable principles. To act otherwise might have the effect of seriously prejudicing the position of the various litigants, and I do not think therefore that under these circumstances my noble friend will wish to press his suggestion.

House adjourned at five minutes before Five of the clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 22nd February, 1901.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—

Cambrian Railway Bill.
Scarborough Electric Tramways Bill.
South Yorkshire Electric Power Bill.

Ordered, That the Reports be referred

to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

PRIVATE BILLS [Lords].

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz. :—

Aire and Calder Navigation.
Albion Steam Coal Company.
Alfreton Gas.
Arlesey Gas.
Aspatria, Silloth, and District Water.
Barrow-in-Furness Corporation.
Bath Gas Light and Coke.
Belfast Harbour.
Bethlem Hospital.
Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment).
Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Extension of Time, etc.).
Bolton Corporation.
Bournemouth Corporation.
Bridewell Hospital.
Bristol, Clifton, and West of England Zoological Society.
Bristol Corporation Cemetery.
Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.).
Broadstairs and St. Peter's Water and Improvement.
Cardiff Railway.
Central London Railway.
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 1).
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway (No. 2).
Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and District Electric Railway.
Chesterfield Improvement.
Chester Gas.
Christ's Hospital (London).
City and Brixton Railway.
City and North East Suburban Electric Railway.
City and South London Railway.
Cork, Blackrock, and Passage Railway.
Doncaster Tithe Trust.
Dover Corporation.
Dover Gas.
Dover Harbour.
Easton and Church Hope Railway.
Elland Gas.
Faversham Water.
Folkestone Corporation.
Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway.
Great Southern and Western Railway.
Handsworth Urban District Council.
Harpenden District Gas.
Harrogate Water.
Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants).
Heywood and Middleton Water Board.
Islington and Euston Railway
King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways.
King's Road Railway.
Leeds Churches.
Leeds Corporation (General Powers).
Leeds Corporation Water.
Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway.
Llanelly Harbour.
London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.
London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen.
Lowestoft Corporation.
Lynton and Barnstaple Railway.
Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway.
Manchester Corporation.
Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements.
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.
Milford Docks.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas.
Newport (Isle of Wight) Gas.
New Swindon Gas.
Nitrate Railways Company.
North East London Railway.
Nottingham Corporation.
Oakham Water.
Omagh Gas.
Otley Gas.
Piccadilly and City Railway.
Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway.
Poulton-le-Fylde Gas.
Prestaytn Water.
Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water.
Ripon Corporation.
Royal Exchange Assurance.
Rugby Water and Improvement.
St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
Salford Corporation.
Sheffield Corporation.
Sheffield District Railway.
Shields Bridge.
Shrewsbury Gas.
Smethwick Corporation.
South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.

South Essex Water.
Southport Water (Transfer).
South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway.
Stockport Corporation Water.
Stratton and Bude Gas.
Stratton and Bude Improvement.
Warkworth Harbour.
Weston-super-Mare Gas.
Wisbech Water.

And that they have certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following cases, viz.:—

Birmingham (City) Tramways.
Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway.
Cowes Ferry.
Harrogate Corporation.
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.).
Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water).
Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.
West and South London Junction Railway.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [Lords] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—

Birmingham (City) Tramways Bill [Lords].
Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway Bill [Lords].
Cowes Ferry Bill [Lords].
Harrogate Corporation Bill [Lords].
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.) Bill [Lords].
Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water) Bill [Lords].
Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [Lords].
West and South London Junction Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

ALDEBURGH CORPORATION (WATER).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pretyman and Mr. Stevenson.

ALDERSHOT GAS AND WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bramston Beach and Mr. Jeffreys.

ALEXANDRA (NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES) DOCKS AND RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Kenna and Mr. Alfred Thomas.

BINGLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Duncan and Mr. Alfred Hutton.

BLACKBURN CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hornby and Sir William Coddington.

BLACKPOOL IMPROVEMENT.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Helme.

BRADFORD CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Captain Greville, Mr. Wanklyn, and Mr. Flower.

BRIGHTON CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Loder, Mr. Wentworth, and Sir Henry Fletcher.

BRITISH GAS LIGHT COMPANY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Joicey and Mr. Skewes Cox.

BRITISH WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. W. F. D. Smith and Mr. Carvill.

BURGESS HILL WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Henry Fletcher and Mr. Goschen.

BURTON-UPON-TRENT CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Gretton and Mr. Radcliffe.

BURY CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. James Kenyon, Mr. Mather, and Mr. Cawley.

BURY CORPORATION TRAMWAYS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. James Kenyon, Mr. Mather, and Mr. Cawley.

CALEDONIAN ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Renshaw, Mr. Baird, Sir William Arrol, and Mr. Colville.

CALEDONIAN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Renshaw and Mr. Hozier.

CARDIFF CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Edward Reed and Mr. Alfred Thomas.

CITY OF LONDON (SPITALFIELDS MARKET).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Horatio Davies, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale.

CLEVELAND AND DURHAM COUNTY ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pike Pease, Sir Christopher Furness, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), and Mr. Lambton.

CLYDE VALLEY ELECTRICAL POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. Colville, Mr. John Baird, and Mr. Shaw-Stewart.

COLWYN BAY AND COLWYN URBAN DISTRICT GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. George Kenyon and Mr. Herbert Roberts.

CRAWLEY GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Heywood Johnstone, Sir John Brunner, and Mr. Humphreys-Owen.

CROMER WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Gurdon and Mr. Price.

DERBY CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Roe, Mr. Bell, Mr. Victor Cavendish, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Jacoby, and Mr. T. D. Bolton.

DERBYSHIRE AND NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Rolleston and Mr. T. D. Bolton.

DERWENT VALLEY WATER BOARD.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Roe, Mr. Broadhurst, Lord Henry Bentinck, and Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

DEVONPORT CORPORATION (GAS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Kearley and Mr. E. J. C. Morton.

DEVONPORT GAS AND COKE.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. E. J. C. Morton and Mr. Fletcher Moulton.

DISTRICT MESSENGER AND THEATRE TICKET COMPANY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Boulnois, Mr. Channing, Mr. Frederick Wilson, and Sir Thomas Esmonde.

DORKING GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Skewes-Cox and Mr. Leigh-Bennett.

DUBLIN CORPORATION (MARKETS, &c.)

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clancy, Mr. M'Cann, and Mr. Nannetti.

DUBLIN (EQUALISATION OF RATES).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clancy, Mr. Field, Mr. M'Cann, Mr. Mooney, and Mr. Nannetti.

DUBLIN ST. JAMES' GATE BREWERY TRAMWAYS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harrington, Mr. Nannetti, and Mr. M'Cann.

ECCLES CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clare and Mr. Knowles.

FAIRFORD AND CIRENCESTER RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and Sir John Aird.

GAS LIGHT AND COKE COMPANY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Aird and Mr. Boulnois.

GATESHEAD AND DISTRICT TRAMWAYS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Atherley-Jones, and Mr. Lyttleton.

GLASGOW AND RENFREW DISTRICT RAILWAY TRANSFER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Renshaw and Mr. Parker Smith.

GLASGOW AND SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Baird, and Sir William Arrol.

GOLBORNE GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Lord Balcarres and Mr. Tomlinson.

GRAVESEND GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alexander Brown and Captain Howard.

GREAT CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Chapman.

GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Lockwood and Mr. Penn.

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jackson and Mr. Fison.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought by Mr. David M'Iver and Mr. Brassey.

HARTLEPOOLS GAS AND WATER TRANSFER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Christopher Furness and Mr. Lambton.

HECKMONDWIKE GAS (TRANSFER).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Whittaker and Mr. Oldroyd.

HONLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (GAS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Kitson and Sir James Woodhouse.

HORLEY DISTRICT GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs and Sir Joseph Dimsdale.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Seymour King, Mr. Firbank, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Sir James Woodhouse.

HUMBER COMMERCIAL RAILWAY AND DOCK.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Lord Willoughby de Eresby and Mr. Doughty.

ILKESTON AND HEANOR WATER BOARD.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Walter Foster and Mr. Victor Cavendish.

IRISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Haslett, Mr. Wolff, and Mr. John Gordon.

KETTERING URBAN DISTRICT WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Sackville and Mr. Channing.

KINGSCOURT, KEADY, AND ARMAGH RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Haslett and Mr. John Gordon.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Firbank, Sir Henry Seymour King, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Sir James Woodhouse.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY (DEARNE VALLEY JUNCTION RAILWAYS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hornby and Mr. Fielden.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY (VARIOUS POWERS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hornby and Mr. Fielden.

LEATHERHEAD GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. St. John Brodrick, Mr. Keswick, and Mr. Skewes-Cox.

LLANDRINDOD WELLS URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Edwards, Lieutenant Colonel Pryce-Jones, and Mr. Charles Morley.

LLANDRINDOD WELLS WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bull and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree.

LONDON AND INDIA DOCKS (NEW WORKS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Dimsdale and Mr. Keswick.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Houldsworth, Colonel Lockwood, and Mr. Macartney.

LONDON BRIDGE WIDENING.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Horatio Davies, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bond, Mr. Bull, and Colonel Legge.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (SPITALFIELDS MARKET).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough and Mr. John Burns.

LONDON RIVERSIDE FISH MARKET.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir Horatio Davies, and Sir Joseph Dimsdale.

LONDON, TILBURY, AND SOUTHEND RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Round and Mr. Courtenay Warner.

LONDON WATER (PURCHASE).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough and Mr. John Burns.

LONG EATON GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bond and Mr. Gretton.

MANSFIELD CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Markham, Lord Henry Bentinck, Sir Frederick Milner, and Mr. Thomas Bayley.

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Aird and Sir Charles Dalrymple.

METROPOLITAN ELECTRIC SUPPLY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Frederick Harris and Sir Fortescue Flannery.

METROPOLITAN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Nussey and Mr. M'Laren.

METROPOLITAN WATER COMPANIES (AMENDMENT OF ACTS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough and Mr. John Burns.

MIDLAND RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Frederick Mappin and Sir William Coddington.

MOND GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Robinson, Mr. Walford Green, and Colonel Webb.

NEATH HARBOUR.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Brynmor Jones and Mr. Samuel Evans.

NEWRY PORT AND HARBOUR TRUST.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Macartney, Mr. Archdale, Mr. M'Cann, and Mr. Carvill.

NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by the Earl of Dalkeith and Mr. Anstruther.

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Pease, Sir James Kitson, and Mr. Wharton.

NOTTING HILL ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stuart Samuel and Mr. Sinclair.

PAISLEY POLICE AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Dunn, Sir William Arrol, Mr. James M'Killop, and Mr. Wallace.

PEMBROKE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (COUNTY OF DUBLIN).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Gordon and Mr. M'Cann.

PETERSFIELD AND SELSEY GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Leese and Mr. Goulding.

RHYL BRIDGE.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bull, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Skewes-Cox.

RHYL IMPROVEMENT.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Samuel Smith and Mr. Herbert Lewis.

RICHMOND GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Barrington Simeon and Mr. Thornton.

RICKMANSWORTH AND UXBRIDGE VALLEY WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Aird and Mr. Alban Gibbs.

SHANNON WATER AND ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harrington, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. William Johnston, and Mr. John Gordon.

SHIPLEY IMPROVEMENT.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Fortescue Flannery and Mr. Duncan.

SHIREOAKS, LAUGHTON, AND MALTBY RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Holland and Mr. Langley.

SOUTHAMPTON AND WINCHESTER GREAT WESTERN JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Mount and Mr. Arthur Morton.

SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Banbury and Mr. Kimber.

STALYBRIDGE, HYDE, MOSSLEY, AND DUKINFIELD TRAMWAYS AND ELECTRICITY BOARD.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. White Ridley, Mr. Cawley, Sir James Kitson, and Platt-Higgins.

STRATFORD-UPON-AVON, TOWCESTER, AND MIDLAND JUNCTION, EAST AND WEST JUNCTION, AND EVESHAM, REDDITCH, AND STRATFORD-UPON-AVON JUNCTION RAILWAY COMPANIES.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Dimsdale and Colonel Milward.

STROUD GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John Dorington and Mr. Agg-Gardner.

SWANAGE GAS AND WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sturt and Mr. James Bailey.

SWANSEA HARBOUR.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir George Newnes, Mr. Brynmor Jones, and Mr. Aeron Thomas.

TAFF VALE RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Edward Reed and Mr. D. A. Thomas.

TEES VALLEY WATER BOARD.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Sadler and Colonel Ropner.

TENDRING HUNDRED WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Round and Mr. Alexander Brown.

THAMES DEEP WATER DOCK.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Louis Sinclair and Mr. Fletcher Moulton.

THAMES LIGHTERMEN.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs and Mr. Charles Wilson.

THAMES PIERS AND RIVER SERVICE.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Burns, Mr. Lough, and Mr. Whitmore.

TORRINGTON AND OKEHAMPTON RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lambert and Mr. Soares.

TOTTENHAM AND HAMPSTEAD JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Frederick Mappin and Mr. Penn.

WALLASEY IMPROVEMENT.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hoult and Mr. Charles M'Arthur.

WELLS CORPORATION WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Henry Hobhouse and Mr. Dickinson.

WELLS WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Henry Hobhouse.

WEST CUMBERLAND ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Helder, Colonel Bain, and Mr Randles.

WEST SURREY WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Seale-Hayne and Mr. Brassey.

WOLVERHAMPTON AND CANNOCK CHASE RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Charles Shaw and Mr. Walford Green.

WOLVERHAMPTON CORPORATION WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Henry Fowler, Sir Alfred Hickman, and Mr. Norman.

YORKSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Fison, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Beckett.

CAMBRIAN RAILWAYS.

Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

SCARBOROUGH ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS.

Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

SOUTH YORKSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER

Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

STANDING ORDERS.

Ordered, That the Select Committee on Standing Orders do consist of thirteen Members:—Sir John Brunner, Sir William Coddington, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Halsey, Mr. Humphreys-Owen, Mr. James Lowther, Sir James Rankin, Mr. William Redmond, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Wodehouse were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*)

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.

Petition from York, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Weston-super-Mare; Goole; Merthyr Tydfil; Folkestone; and Long Eaton; to ie upon the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Salford; and Folkestone; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petition from Camden Town, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

JOHN ARMSTRONG AND OTHERS v. JOHN SCURRAH RANDLES.

A Petition of Thomas Wootton, Solicitor, for leave to the proper Officer of the House to attend a trial and produce documents and give evidence in the High Court of Justice.

Leave to the proper officer to attend accordingly.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.

Return ordered, "of the Shorthand Writers' Notes of the Evidence which has been or may be taken at the trial of Election Petitions under the Acts relating thereto since the last General Election and during the present Session of Parliament; together with a Copy of the Shorthand Writers' Notes of the Judgments delivered by the Judges selected for the trial of Election Petitions, in pursuance of the said Acts; and Copies of Special Cases Reserved and of all Election Petitions."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

ARMY (MILITARY FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA).

Copy presented, of Return of Military Forces in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (SOUTH AFRICA) (CORRESPONDENCE.)

Copy presented, of Correspondence between Field Marshal Lord Roberts, Commanding-in-Chief South African Field Force, and Acting-Commandant-General Botha, dated 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th June, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ROYAL NIGER COMPANY.

Account presented, of the Money expended and borrowed and the Securities created under the Royal Niger Company Act, 1899, during the year ended 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 39.]

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Copy presented, of Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK ASSISTANT.

Controverted Elections.—Return relative thereto [ordered 22nd February; *Mr. Attorney General*].

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—RECRUITING IN AUSTRALIA FOR SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE FORCES.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has any information to the effect that Mr. Houlder, Premier of South Australia, objects to agents recruiting police for General Baden-Powell's Constabulary, and that he also stated that the other Governments are also unfavourable to agents recruiting for the South African Police Force.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I have no information as to Mr. Houlder raising objection. So far my information is that on 26th December he telegraphed to the Agent General in London inquiring whether men desiring to join could do so at Adelaide. I received a telegram from Sir A. Milner last night stating that he had inquired by telegraph whether an officer might be sent to recruit in Australia and New Zealand. Queensland and Tasmania agreed to recruiting, but New South Wales objected to men being permanently withdrawn from that colony, and New Zealand did not consider recruiting for the Constabulary desirable, as the colony is at present despatching a further contingent of troops to South Africa. I was asked, in reference to that, on a previous occasion whether Sir Alfred Milner's proceedings had my approval. I wish to say that Sir Alfred Milner's proceedings seem to have been confined to sending a confidential inquiry to the Governor of the Commonwealth, and that I entirely approve of that.

AN HON. MEMBER: You always do.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS AT THE CAPE.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of

State for the Colonies whether any communication has been made to Sir Alfred Milner in respect of the appointments mentioned by the hon. Member for the Mansfield Division on 13th December, 1900,* as having been made to certain civil posts in the Transvaal; and whether the persons whose names were then given have discharged any of the duties of their positions or still retain them.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: In reply to the first question, I have to say that no communication was made to Sir A. Milner in consequence of the speech referred to, as he was not responsible for the appointments which had been made by Lord Roberts as a temporary measure, and which I knew that Sir A. Milner intended to consider afresh when he became responsible. As to the second question, I have not the information necessary to enable me to answer the second part of the question, but doubtless Sir A. Millner will report fully upon the question of permanent appointments as soon as circumstances admit of his entering upon his duties as Administrator.

BOER MURDER OF ESAU AT CALVINIA.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can communicate to the House any official information as to the treatment of Esau by the Boers at Calvinia.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Yes, Sir. I have had a telegram from Sir Alfred Milner in confirmation of reports from various quarters which had previously reached me. The High Commissioner states that the name of the district surgeon who reported the maltreatment of the coloured man Esau is Smuts. He has been in the service ten years. Sir A. Milner adds, "There is absolutely no doubt about the murder of Esau."

MR. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay Sir Alfred Milner's telegram on the Table?

MR. BRODRICK: I have read it verbatim. I trust that that is sufficient.

MR. DILLON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has any objection to that? The reason I ask that is because it makes no reference to the lashing of the man and the protruding of the bowels.

MR. BRODRICK: I have read it out word for word.

MR. DILLON: Why not lay it on the Table, then?

MR. BRODRICK: I will lay it on the Table.

GENERAL COLVILE'S RECALL.

*MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether General Colvile was tried twice for the same offence; whether he was exonerated on the first occasion and reinstated in his command at Gibraltar; whether afterwards fresh evidence was adduced; and whether General Colvile was again tried in his absence and without an opportunity being given him of rebutting such new evidence.

MR. BRODRICK: The statements in the question do not accurately represent the facts. General Colvile was sent home from South Africa by Lord Roberts for inefficiency in the field. He was never tried, and, although his case was considered on his return, and he was allowed to resume his command at Gibraltar, he was not exonerated from blame. His case was brought to my notice in December last by the Acting Commander-in-Chief, Sir Evelyn Wood, on receipt of the finding of the Court of Inquiry into the Lindley disaster. I thought it right to consult Lord Roberts, who was cognisant of all the circumstances connected with General Colvile's failure in South Africa, and was in possession of his explanation, as to whether he could properly retain his command at Gibraltar. Lord Roberts advised that he should not retain his command, and, as the Acting Commander-in-Chief concurred in this view, I directed that action should be taken accordingly. I should add that, as I have received notice from two Members of their intention to bring General Colvile's case before the House on the earliest opportunity, I propose to defer making a full statement till that occasion, as the case is not one which can be conveniently discussed by question and answer across the floor of the House.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E): Arising out of the answer, may I inquire if it is not a fact that Lord Roberts specially commended the conduct of General Colvile, who in consequence is about to receive a special pension?

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxviii., page 735.

MR. BRODRICK: It is perfectly true that Lord Roberts specially commended General Colvile, but subsequent events occurred which made it necessary to remove him.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Is he to receive a special pension?

[No answer was given.]

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): Will similar treatment be meted out to more highly placed generals who have made greater blunders?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the question on the Notice Paper.

PROHIBITION OF ENGLISH PAPERS IN CAPE COLONY.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Sir Alfred Milner has prohibited the circulation in Cape Colony of the following publications: *Truth*, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, the *Review of Reviews*, and *Lloyd's*.

MR. DILLON: I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Sir Alfred Milner has prohibited the circulation of the *Dublin Weekly Freeman* in Cape Colony; and, if so, on what ground that action has been taken; whether Sir Alfred Milner claims the right to forbid the circulation of any newspapers or periodicals in South Africa; and whether he claims a similar right as to sale or circulation of books or pamphlets; and, if so, on what law such claim is based.

MR. BRODRICK: The questions, as they refer to the action of the military authorities, should be addressed to me. I have nothing to add to what I said in answer to a question put yesterday by the hon. Member for Northampton. The Government will support Lord Kitchener in prohibiting the circulation of any newspapers in Cape Colony at the present moment which Lord Kitchener considers likely to have a bad effect, and to prejudice the early conclusion of the war.

MR. DILLON: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered my question whether Lord Kitchener or Sir A. Milner —Lord Kitchener, I presume—claims the right to prohibit the circulation of pamphlets and the sale of books. Further, I desire to ask, for the convenience of newspaper proprietors and booksellers in this country, whether the right hon. Gentleman will undertake to publish from week to week a list of publications prohibited from circulation in South Africa—an *Index expurgatorius*, in fact, so that newspaper proprietors and booksellers may be saved the useless expenditure of sending out such publications.

MR. BRODRICK: What I said in regard to newspapers certainly applies to books and pamphlets; and, as to an *Index expurgatorius*, if any communication is made to me by Lord Kitchener with regard to any publication I have no objection to having that communication made known in this country; but I will not trouble Lord Kitchener, occupied as he is, with a variety of questions upon such restrictions as he may think it right to place on the circulation of literature.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Will an Act of Indemnity to provide for this have to be passed by the Imperial or the Colonial Legislature?

MR. FLAVIN: Is this done in order to secure "equal rights" for all in South Africa?

[No answer was returned.]

PAY OF SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether the War Office has considered the desirability of conceding the same terms as to pay and allowance to the regular soldiers who have served in South Africa for more than a year as are now offered to Imperial Yeomanry and Colonial Volunteers.

MR. BRODRICK: There is no intention of conceding to the Regular troops the rates of pay offered to the Imperial Yeomanry and Colonial Volunteers, the conditions being different and the engagement of the latter only temporary.

MR. DILLON: Then are we to understand that the Dublin Fusiliers, who made such a gallant charge at——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

FARM BURNING.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can give any information as to the number of farms of loyalists burned by the Boer forces since they entered Cape Colony two months ago. I wish also to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the policy of farm burning was carried out by the troops under the command of Sir Redvers Buller.

MR. BRODRICK: I am not in a position to give any information about the burning of farms until I receive the information from Lord Kitchener which is now on its way home.

MR. DILLON: My question has reference to the burning of farms in Cape Colony by the Boer forces. Have the Government any reason to believe that the Boers have burnt any number of farms anywhere?

MR. BRODRICK: I have no information on the subject at present, but I have said I will put a further question to Lord Kitchener on the subject.

HOSPITAL COMMISSION—CASE OF CAPTAIN SHIPWITH, R.A.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Captain Shipwith, R.A., has been accused of giving evidence not in accordance with fact before the Hospital Commission; whether this and other charges had been made by the officer responsible for the condition of the camp against which Captain Shipwith gave evidence; whether the evidence given by him was absolutely true; and, if not, has objection been taken to any particular statement; whether he has been ordered to resign his commission on 23rd February; and whether the Secretary of State for War would consider the possibility of suspending the order pending further investigation.

MR. BRODRICK: This officer was requested to resign his commission purely on grounds of discipline, his case having been most carefully considered by the Commander-in-Chief. I thought it my duty to satisfy myself that whatever evidence he gave before the Hospital Commission had nothing to do with the representations made against him; and I can assure the hon. Member that any case in which a witness before the Hospital Commission may be proved to have been in any way prejudiced will be dealt with in an exemplary manner.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster): I had wished before the right hon. Gentleman answered the question on the Paper to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he would not consider the advisability of postponing this case for a few days, in order that certain facts which have been brought to my notice may be brought before the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. BRODRICK: I am afraid it is too late to postpone the case. The case was most carefully considered by the Commander-in-Chief, and the noble Lord's recommendations were made to me about a fortnight ago.

STRENGTH OF THE BOER FORCES—NUMBER OF PRISONERS.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state what are the approximate or estimated number of Boers and colonials and foreigners cooperating with them now bearing arms against His Majesty's forces in South Africa, and what is the total number of Boers, colonials, and foreigners now prisoners of war.

MR. BRODRICK: The number of Boers and others in the field against His Majesty's forces in South Africa cannot be stated with any degree of accuracy. A recent estimate placed the figure at nineteen or twenty thousand. The prisoners amounted to over 16,000 in the middle of January, and this number has been recently increased.

COST OF THE WAR.

MR. HERBERT LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can say what is the total estimated cost up to the present date of the military operations in South Africa, and what is now the estimated average weekly cost of the war.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): It is impossible to give the cost until the accounts are finally made up; but the amount issued up to date to meet the expenditure for the war is about 81½ millions. The current weekly issues may be taken at from one to one and a quarter millions.

ARBITRATION—ALLEGED OFFER OF MEDIATION FROM THE GERMAN EMPEROR.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the German Emperor has offered his services to His Majesty's Government to arbitrate on the question of terminating the South African War.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): No, Sir.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask, arising out of that answer, whether His Majesty's Government will seriously consider the advisability of asking the German Emperor to mediate?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Considering that he sent a telegram encouraging the Boers, and wrote to Mr. Kruger, backing him up——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

PURCHASES OF HORSES.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can give the total number of horses despatched for military purposes to South Africa and purchased there since 1st October, 1899, including the horses of cavalry regiments and mounted infantry that went out with these regiments; whether he can also state how many of the horses came from each of the following countries, namely, Great Britain and Ireland, separately, if possible; Australia; Austria-Hungary; North America, distinguishing between the United States and Canada; the Argentine; other countries; and the number of horses acquired for military purposes in South Africa, including Cape Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal, and Orange River Colony; and whether he has any information to show the comparative cost and usefulness of the horses from the various countries mentioned, and the comparative wastage among these categories of horses.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The following is the information so far as I am able to give it. The total number of horses despatched to South Africa since the 31st October, 1899, is 145,671. The country of origin of horses which accompanied units to South Africa cannot be stated. Of the remainder about 24,400 came from Great Britain; about 7,200 from Ireland; 7,901 came from Australia; 7,999 from Hungary; 26,310 from the United States of America; 3,738 from Canada; 25,872 from Argentina. A report as to the number obtained in South Africa has been called for, but has not yet been received. As I stated in answer to a question on the 18th of this month, the English and Irish horses were considered best, the American and Canadian next best. It is not advisable to state prices, and the comparative wastage is not known. I may add that the Commander-in-Chief informed me to-day that it is not possible to get all the horses required from these sources, and that the intention is, as far as possible, to get horses from Great Britain, Ireland, and our colonies, and, at the same time, he has given instructions for more purchasers to be sent out into the country, so as to give private persons the same chance of selling as dealers.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): May I ask why the War Office declined to appoint agents to purchase horses in the south of Ireland?

*LORD STANLEY: I did not know that was the case, but I think the last part of my question will give effect to the hon. Member's wishes.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): May I inquire if it costs 5s. a day more to feed Australian than Irish horses, in the same way that Australian soldiers cost more than Irish ones?

[No answer was given.]

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, Bootle): While this question is under consideration will the authorities consider whether for this purpose an officer might be sent to the north-west province of Canada, where there is a good breed of horses not yet wholly exhausted?

MR. PHILIPPS (Pembrokeshire): Will the War Office take means to make it publicly known when buyers are going down into the country, so that farmers may have an opportunity of selling?

*LORD STANLEY: I have not the slightest doubt that the military authorities will consider that question, as well as that of my hon. and gallant friend the Member for Bootle.

MR. PHILIPPS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the fact that about 250 horses were collected last week at Aldridge's Repository, many of them coming from a distance, to be inspected by the Government buyers; that the buyers looked at about 150 and bought fourteen; and that the buyers then left after less than four hours work, leaving about 100 horses not looked at; and whether steps can be taken to avoid such inconvenience in future.

*LORD STANLEY: The facts are as follows:—Messrs. Aldridge requested the purchasing officers to give them a day to show some horses. As the usual number shown is less than fifty the officers made an appointment with another dealer to see his horses at 3 p.m. of that day. They began work at 10 a.m. The numbers of horses produced were unprecedentedly great and unusually bad. The officers accordingly requested that only those likely to pass should be brought out. They actually saw 163 and purchased fifteen, one of which was afterwards rejected. They continued work to 3.30 p.m., and only reached the other dealer after 4 p.m. It is obvious that examinations for purchase must be thorough to be of any value. It would appear probable that the horses which were not shown were not likely to have passed.

PAGET'S HORSE—ARRANGEMENTS FOR RECRUITS AT ALDERSHOT.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that men who had just joined Paget's Horse, on being ordered to Aldershot found on arriving there that no arrangements had been made for them, and after vainly seeking directions and quarters had to take lodgings for themselves in the town; whether anyone is responsible for this; and whether he will take steps to prevent it in future.

*LORD STANLEY: The matter is being thoroughly inquired into. I hope my hon. friend will therefore postpone the question.

GERMAN GUNS FOR THE ARMY.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state how many guns were recently imported from Germany, their calibre, and cost, in what manufactory they were made, and why they could not have been made at home.

*LORD STANLEY: I have nothing to add to a statement made on this subject in reply to a question put on the 14th December last by my hon. and gallant friend the Member for the Central Division of Sheffield.†

GERMAN SADDLES FOR THE ARMY.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether His Majesty's Government have ordered or given a contract for 30,000 saddles, or any other number of saddles, for use in South Africa, to a German manufacturing company, or to any other foreign contractor; and, if so, will he state what were the conditions to be complied with, and whether home firms were asked to supply the saddles required.

*LORD STANLEY: All supplies of saddles which can be obtained in this country have been ordered. Where it is impossible to obtain necessary supplies within a given period from home makers, orders have been given elsewhere. I cannot give any details, but all saddles are carefully inspected, and no orders to the extent suggested by the hon. Member have been given.

MR. FLAVIN: How many more hundreds of thousands of saddles will be ordered before the war is over?

[No answer was given.]

BARRACK FURNITURE.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what steps have been taken to give effect to the undertaking of his predecessor to examine the question of the furnishing of the quarters in barracks of officers and married non-commissioned officers and privates, with a view to reducing the expenditure of those ranks, as also that of transport to the public, and further of increasing the mobility of regiments.

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† See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxvxvii., page 826.

*Mr. BRODRICK: The question of furnishing the quarters in barracks of officers is one of many which is under consideration. In regard to the quarters of married non-commissioned officers and privates, these are furnished to a considerable extent, and I cannot find there was any undertaking to consider the question, as the existing furniture was held to be sufficient.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: May I remind the right hon. Gentleman that when the Transport Vote was under consideration last session† the present Chief Secretary for Ireland gave the undertaking referred to.

*Mr. BRODRICK: I will refer to my right hon. friend's speech.

COMMITTEE ON YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

Mr. W. F. D. SMITH (Strand): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is intended to lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Committee recently appointed to inquire into the constitution and training of the Yeomanry Cavalry.

*Mr. BRODRICK: There is no objection to laying the Report on the Table of the House.

THE WAR OFFICE AND INVENTIONS.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can inform the House what is the method pursued in the War Office as regards new inventions in war material, guns, and all matters relating to the saving of life, the economising of the work of the soldier or his horse, and the destruction of the enemy and his material of war; and if inventors of small means and little influence have every opportunity of having their inventions patiently and impartially examined.

*Lord STANLEY: The method pursued is laid down in a memorandum which is forwarded to inventors for their guidance, and of which I shall be happy to supply a copy to my hon. and gallant friend. Inventors of small means and little influence have every opportunity of having their inventions patiently and impartially examined.

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS—SCHOOLS OF INSTRUCTION.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if schools of instruction have been or will be formed in the principal garrison towns and camps for officers of Volunteer corps, so as to make admission to the Metropolitan schools more easy to the officers of London regiments, who under present arrangements have to wait many months for a vacancy.

*Lord STANLEY: The question of the instruction of officers of the Volunteers as well as of other officers is under consideration. I am not yet ready to make a statement.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION—COMPARATIVE COST OF CIVIL AND MILITARY WORK.

Captain NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he will consider the advisability of comparing the cost of the erection and maintenance of barracks and fortifications by the Royal Engineers with the prices which would be charged by civil engineers and builders if those works were performed by them instead of by the Inspector General and his staff.

*Lord STANLEY: This question, among many others, has not been lost sight of, nor will it be; but I am not in a position to make any statement.

MILITARY BEER CONTRACTS IN DUBLIN.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can inform the House whether the military contracts for porter and ale in Dublin have been given to the Burton Brewery Company, and whether this company sent 1,000 barrels of ale gratis to South Africa for the use of the troops.

*Lord STANLEY: Nothing is known of the matter to which the hon. Member alludes.

ARMY VEGETABLE CONTRACTS.

Mr. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can inform the House if the Government have given an order, by contract or otherwise, to Seidel and Co., at Münsterberg, Silesia, for 20,000 tins of dried vegetables containing 20,000 lb., or for any other quantity; and, if so, whether this order was given by contract or otherwise, and what are the terms of the order; and were any home firms asked to tender for or supply the whole or part of the order.

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† See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxiv., page 449.

*LORD STANLEY: The reply to both questions is in the affirmative.

MR. FLAVIN: Did any advertisements appear in the public press of Great Britain and Ireland, so as to give home manufacturers a chance of tendering?

*LORD STANLEY: I understand so.

MR. FLAVIN: Will the noble Lord say in what papers it appeared?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

WATER-TUBE BOILERS—OCEAN TRIALS.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, W.R., Shipley): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if it is the intention of the Admiralty to request the Water-tube Boiler Committee to test the endurance of one of His Majesty's ships fitted with water-tube boilers by driving her at full speed for an ocean passage—say, from England to America or from England to the Suez Canal; and whether any such test has ever been made.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): It is not the intention of the Admiralty to request the Water-tube Boiler Committee to carry out a trial such as that referred to in the question, as they prefer to leave to the Committee the initiative in asking for such trials as it considers will afford the information which it requires. I have, however, reason to believe that the Water-tube Boiler Committee does propose to institute an ocean trial, provided that such a trial be found necessary, in order to enable it to come to a final decision upon the points referred to. In answer to the last paragraph of the question I have to say that an account of the special trials made by ships fitted with water-tube boilers is to be found in the Memorandum on boilers presented to the House.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: The hon. Gentleman has not answered the last part of the question—whether any such test has been made, for no such information is given in the Paper referred to.

MR ARNOLD-FORSTER: No test involving a passage to America or the Suez Canal has been made. All the trials that have been made are reported upon in the Reports and Memorandum referred to.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: Has the endurance of the water-tube boilers been tested in an ocean passage?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Many tests are adopted in the trials of ships, but no experimental trials other than those mentioned in the Memorandum which has been presented to the House has been made.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: Has any trial been made except for a few hours?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SIR JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can state how many boilers of the Belleville type have been supplied to the Navy, how many are on order to be supplied, where they have been constructed, the total cost of them to 31st December, 1900, and the amount still to be spent to complete the orders; and what amount has been given as royalties.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The number of Belleville boilers supplied to the Royal Navy is 584. The number on order to be supplied is 1,005. The boilers have been made, or are being made, by a variety of firms, fourteen in number, and in the Royal dockyards at Chatham and Devonport. I shall be happy to give the hon. Member the particulars of the firms in detail if he desires it. It is not possible to give the exact total cost of the boilers, as they are in all cases ordered with the machinery, and the price is not separately stated. It will, however, be possible to give an approximate estimate of the cost of the boilers as apart from the engines, and such a statement is being prepared. The amount of royalties paid in respect of the Belleville boilers up to the present date is £141,470.

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead): May I ask why it is that two years ago, when I put this question as to the amount of royalties paid, the figure was then given as £146,000? Now it is only £141,000.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The figure given on the occasion referred to by the hon. Member had reference to the amounts paid and the liabilities for the future. The figure I have now given is in reply to a question as to the amounts paid. Both are correct. If the hon. Member desires to know the outstanding liabilities I will undertake to get the information.

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN: Then have you not yet paid the royalties due to Belleville?

SIR JAMES JOICEY: Will the hon. Member supply me with the amount of royalties that will be paid on the 1,005 boilers?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes. I will supply that.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): How many water-tube boilers have been obtained from other sources than Belleville?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I will ascertain that.

NAVAL ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any steps have been taken to carry out the undertaking given last year to the deputation which waited upon the First Lord in reference to the Roman Catholic chaplains for the Navy.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The Admiralty, in consultation with his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, arranged last autumn for a priest to be sent to the China Station to minister to the Roman Catholics of the Fleet. This is in addition to the ministrations of local priests. The Admiralty will bear in mind the question of embarking a priest in any hospital ships employed in connection with naval operations, but no opportunity has yet occurred of taking action. An adequate supply of Roman Catholic prayer books has been arranged for. The various matters referred to by the deputation will continue to receive due consideration, and the Admiralty is in direct communication with Cardinal Vaughan, or his representative, in respect to matters concerning the Roman Catholics of the Fleet.

MR. DILLON: Have the Admiralty carried out their promise to place Roman Catholic chaplains in the Navy on the same footing as Protestant chaplains—as they are in the Army?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: If the hon. Member will give me notice I will inquire.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Has any decision yet been come to in regard to increasing the salary of the Roman Catholic chaplain at Queenstown?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I cannot answer that without notice.

WAGES IN GOVERNMENT DOCKYARDS.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty have come to any decision with regard to the petitions from the various trades employed in His Majesty's dockyards asking that their wages may be revised on a scale more in accordance with the rates prevailing in similar trades in outside employment; and whether it is the intention of the Admiralty to increase the pay of labourers from the present rate of 19s. per week.

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Captain PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The petitions from all classes of workmen in the dockyards, including labourers, are now receiving consideration, and a decision will be communicated shortly.

NEW ADMIRALTY BUILDING.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he can state what has caused the delay in the erection of the colonnade designed for the southern side of the new Admiralty, and when it is proposed to proceed with its erection.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): It was never proposed to erect the colonnade until the building was finished. It is not now intended to proceed with it, for, owing to the increase of Naval work and of the Admiralty staff, it has become necessary to supplement the new building by an additional wing, which will be constructed facing the Horse Guards Parade. The design for this wing, in combination with the rest of the Admiralty buildings, has been for some time in the Tea Room, where hon. Members have had the opportunity of inspecting it.

THE WAIMA INCIDENT—APPOINTMENT OF ARBITRATOR.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can state what progress is being made with the Waima Arbitration.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: An agreement on the subject has been concluded with the French Government. Baron Lambermont, Minister of State, and Secretary General of the Belgian Foreign Office, who undertook the Lamu Arbitration in 1889, has, with the approval of the Belgian Government, consented to act as arbitrator; and the cases of both Governments are in course of preparation and will shortly be submitted to him.

NORTH SEA FISHERIES—INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state what, if any, progress has been made in negotiating Conventions with foreign maritime States for the better protection of the North Sea Fisheries against the destruction of immature fish.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: A Provisional Committee consisting of experts was to have met in October last at Christiania to consider the question of organising the Central Bureau which was the outcome of the Stockholm International Conference. The meeting was, however, postponed at the request of the German Government. His Majesty's Government are awaiting a reply to an inquiry which was recently made of the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Stockholm as to when the Committee was likely to meet.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: What had the Central Bureau to do with the negotiations with Stockholm?

[No answer was given.]

VALUE OF PUBLICANS' LICENCES.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will consent to the Return of the valuations of publicans' licences, for the purposes of the death duties, which appears on the Paper to-day.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I am afraid the Return cannot be given, because, in the first place, no separate record is kept in the Estate Duty Office of the values placed upon the estates of persons occupying licensed houses; and, even if the cases were extracted from the records at the expense of much cost and trouble, little or no light would be thrown on the particular point to which, I gather, the hon. Member's question is directed, inasmuch as in valuing the estates of publicans the value of the possession of the licence is not so specifically separated in the records from the rest of the estate as to be capable of accurate statement in a Return.

CRUELTY IN CAPTURING SONG BIRDS.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the practice of capturing song birds in some parts of England by fishing hooks; and, if so, whether he can do anything to prevent it.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I have not had my attention specially called to this matter. I shall be glad, however, to consider any facts which the hon. Member may be able to bring before me, though I doubt whether I have any powers which would enable me to prevent the alleged practice. Until I am in possession of the facts it is not possible for me to say whether the offence would come within the provisions of the Wild Animals in Captivity Protection Act of 1900, which was passed for the purpose of preventing cruelty such as would seem to be involved in the practice referred to.

MILITARY AID TO THE CIVIL POWER—LOCAL LIABILITY.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the cost of catering troops when sent to maintain the peace in disaffected districts where riot has occurred or is apprehended is an Imperial or local charge; and if, in view of the losses sustained by Aberdare tradesmen in catering for troops in 1898 on terms arranged with the late stipendiary magistrate for the district, he will take steps to notify to tradesmen in other districts that neither the Home nor any other Department of the Government can be liable for agreements made for catering by local justices, and that the courts of law have decided that county councils are not responsible; and whether, as a consequence of the decision of the Court of Appeal last year, any legislation is contemplated.

*MR. RITCHIE: With reference to the decision in the case referred to it has always been considered that where the assistance of the military is requisitioned by the police authority the burden of their maintenance is a local charge, and this question was not decided in the case referred to. I cannot give any such notice as is suggested. I am in communication with my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War on the subject.

MR. D. A. THOMAS: But was not the decision that county councils were not liable?

*MR. RITCHIE: It was held that where the justices called in the military authorities the county councils were not liable.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT — CASE OF ROSE SUMNER.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he proposes to allow the death penalty to be inflicted in the case of Rose Sumner, aged 20, who was sentenced to death at Lewes on Wednesday last by Mr. Justice Channell for the murder of her illegitimate child.

*MR. RITCHIE: I must decline to answer any question with regard to the advice which it may be my duty to give His Majesty in capital cases.

BURIAL LAWS CONSOLIDATION.

MR. GODDARD (Ipswich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is the intention of the Government to bring in, during the present session, a Bill for giving effect to the recommendation of the Select Committee on Burial Grounds, that the existing laws relating to burial be consolidated and simplified.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): The Government do not propose to bring in a Bill on the subject referred to during the present session. A considerable transfer of jurisdiction under the Burial Acts from the Home Office to the Local Government Board took place on 1st January last, and it is desirable that some experience should be obtained before futher legislation is proposed.

ROYAL PARKS—COST OF MAINTENANCE.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will consent to a Return showing the acreage of the Royal parks in Great Britain and Ireland, and their annual cost for the last ten years, with details of expenditure showing the weekly wages of workmen engaged respectively on roads, on paths, in gardening, the road and path mileage and cost per yard, the cost of gravel, sand, and stone, the number of lamps per mile and cost, the salaries of park-keepers, gatemen, rangers, and officials in each grade, and any other heads of expenditure.

I beg also to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will give a Return showing for Kew Gardens, London, and Botanic Gardens, Dublin, the respective acreage; the area under glass; the annual cost for ten years of trees, shrubs, flowers, and seeds; the number of workmen and their wages; the number of scientific men employed and their salaries and emoluments; the date of the respective foundations; and the total cost of both to the State.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): I am making inquiries as to the possibility of giving the desired information, and I will communicate the result to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I may mention that I have been making inquiries on this subject for the last twenty years.

ASSISTANTS OF EXCISE—AGE LIMIT.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Civil Service Commissioners have given notice that on and after July next condidates for assistants of excise who are already in the service will not be allowed to add more than one year to the ordinary age limit, and that candidates for assistants of customs will only be allowed to add two years; whether he is aware that hitherto civil servants who have served for two years in continuous service have been allowed to add those two years, or any time up to five years they may have served, to the outside of age limit; and that numbers of young men have entered lower departments in order to come under this extension; and whether, seeing that by this sudden change they will be left in a lower position than their knowledge and acquirements entitle them to, he will arrange that those who entered the service under the old regulations should be allowed to compete under them.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The facts are correctly stated in the first paragraph. More than a year's notice of the proposed change was given, so that anyone interested had ample time to make his arrangements. No vested interest in the old regulations can be recognised.

MAIDSTONE ELECTION PETITION.

MR. DISRAELI (Cheshire, Altrincham): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether his attention has been drawn to the result of the inquiry at Maidstone under the Corrupt Practices Act, and to the fact that three individuals, Levi Barker, Alfred Russell, and Henry Ward, were refused certificates of indemnity, and what steps he proposes to take; and whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the official evidence of the inquiry for the perusal of Members before a new writ is issued for that borough.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs): My attention has been called to the result of the petition at Maidstone and to the refusal of certificates of indemnity in certain cases. The question of prosecution is under consideration. It has not been the practice of the House to delay the issue of a new writ till the evidence has been laid before the House, but to act upon the report of the election judges. I believe the proceedings were laid on the Table of the House this afternoon.

LIMERICK LUNATIC ASYLUM—RATE IN AID FOR PAUPER INMATES.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the authorities having charge of His Majesty's Treasury have as yet paid over to the authorities who control the Limerick Lunatic Asylum the sum of £1,596 6s. 7d., the same being residue of rate in-aid for maintenance of patients in said lunatic asylum from the 1st January, 1899 to 31st March, 1899; and whether he will make inquiry as to the nature of the communication of the medical superintendent of the Limerick Lunatic Asylum of the 1st instant; and whether the answer on the 6th instant of the Lords Justices in connection with the payment of the above-mentioned sum was such as to give satisfaction to the committee of management of the Limerick Lunatic Asylum.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): An application on behalf of the committee of management of the Limerick Asylum was recently received from the resident medical superintendent on the subject of the grant in aid of the maintenance of pauper lunatics. To that communication a reply was sent by the Irish Government on the 6th instant, to which reply I have nothing to add. The committee of management at their meeting on the 13th instant passed a resolution expressing dissatisfaction with the reply of the Irish Government.

MR. LUNDON: Are not similar sums being paid in other places for these lunatics?

MR. WYNDHAM: I am not aware of that. I will investigate any cases the hon. Member may lay before me.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Has the money due to the Clare Asylum been paid?

MR. WYNDHAM: I must ask for notice of that.

INNISHOWEN DISTRICT COUNCIL—GRANT FOR LABOURERS' COTTAGES.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state how much of the £40,000 voted by Parliament in 1890 stands at the present time to the credit of the Innishowen District Council in aid of liabilities incurred under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, and if any other sum or sums stand to the credit or are payable to said district council under any other grants in connection with the Labourers Acts.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The amount to the credit of the Innishowen Rural District out of the grant referred to is £183 1s. 7d. In addition to this, a sum of about £1,380 annually accrues to county Donegal, in which the rural district is situate, out of the Exchequer contribution provided by Section 5 of the Land Purchase Act of 1891. A sum of £865 has been lying to the credit of the county since the last distribution took place in March, 1900.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how the sum of £1,380 allocated to the county annually is distributed among the district councils?

Mr. WYNDHAM: It is distributed in proportion to the efforts made by the various councils for providing cottages, and the reason for the non-payment of the sum is that the expenditure of the rural districts in which the cottages are being erected does not entitle them to the whole amount.

PORTNALING (CO. DONEGAL) FISHING INDUSTRY.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether representations have been made to the Irish Government by the Congested Districts Board suggesting the construction of a pier and harbour at Portnaling, county Donegal; and whether the Irish Government intend carrying out the construction, or giving a grant towards the construction, of said pier and harbour.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Representations have been made to the Irish Government by fishermen and others in favour of the project mentioned. These representations have been brought to the notice of the Congested Districts Board, who are at present considering the matter.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Congested Districts Board have informed me that they cannot approve this project, but that they propose to recommend the Irish Government to do something towards the erection of a pier at this point?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am not aware of that. The question of aiding the fishing industry is a very large one, which I cannot discuss by way of question and answer.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MAGISTRATES.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that names of suitable Roman Catholic gentlemen have been recommended to the Lord Lieutenant of the county for the Commission of the Peace, and that he has refused to appoint them, the Irish Government will take steps to remedy this inequality, and have the vacancies recently caused by the death of three Roman Catholic magistrates in that district at least filled by the appointment of three more.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Lord Chancellor has no information as to the names of Roman Catholic gentlemen submitted to the Lieutenant of the county for appointment to the Commission of the Peace in the Moville district, to which the question refers. As I have already stated, it is discretionary with the Lieutenant to make recommendations for such appointments to the Lord Chancellor, and it is not within the province of the Executive to intervene in the matter, as suggested.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: Will the Lord Lieutenant recommend these gentlemen for appointment?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

IRISH NATIONAL EDUCATION—TEACHERS' SALARIES AND RESIDUAL GRANT.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state on what grounds have the Commissioners of National Education paid Mr. William O'Callaghan, of Churchtown National School, Buttevant, on the scale of £64 per annum, while his predecessor's salary was £127 per annum; and whether if this provisional salary is increased at the final fixing of teachers' salaries, the difference will be refunded this teacher.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the money known as the Balance of

Residual Grant, which teachers in Irish national schools get before the 1st April each year, is meant for the financial year ended 31st March, or for the year ended 31st December.

MR. WYNDHAM: These matters will come before the Commissioners of National Education at their meeting next Tuesday, and I shall therefore not be in a position to answer these questions until after that.

JUDICIAL RENTS ON COUNTY MONAGHAN ESTATES.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that applications to have judicial rents fixed on the Shirley, Tennison, and Browlow estates in the county Monaghan are pending for the last two years, and if he can state the date when the Sub-Commissioners will sit at Carrickmacross to dispose of the cases referred to.

MR. WYNDHAM: There are only fifteen cases on the estates named that have not as yet been listed for hearing. None of these cases are pending for two years. In five of them the applications were only lodged a few days ago, while the earliest application was received on the 18th October, 1899. The hearing of the list of cases from Carrickmacross recently issued will be commenced on the 28th instant.

DISTRIBUTION OF SEEDS TO IRISH FARMERS.

MR. O'MARA (Kilkenny, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what steps have been taken under the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, to improve the various agricultural seeds, and what arrangements have been made to distribute these improved strains of seeds amongst the Irish farmers.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Department of Agriculture have issued a scheme for a series of agricultural experiments during the present year in order to afford reliable information to farmers on the influence of manures, and varieties and mixture of seeds, and on the suitability for Ireland of new varieties of crops which may be placed on the markets. The Department are also promoting schemes with a view to testing certain varieties of seed potatoes, and to conducting experiments with oats and flax. The conditions under which these schemes are being promoted are fully detailed in leaflets issued by the Department and largely circulated amongst county councils, agricultural societies, farmers, and the press. I have forwarded copies of these leaflets to the hon. Member for his information.

NEWBRIDGE PORT, CO. DONEGAL.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether representations have been received by the Congested Districts Board pointing out the immediate necessity for the construction of a boatslip and breakwater at Newbridge Port, county Donegal; if a report on the desirability and necessity for this work was made to the Board some years ago by their engineer and fishery expert; if the Rev. Mr. Green, one of the members of the Board lately inspected the site of the proposed works; whether he is aware that two fishermen from this port were recently drowned close by; and that the evidence at the inquest held on these men, and the rider added by the jury to their verdict, proved that if a boatslip and breakwater had been in existence these fishermen might not have been drowned; and whether immediate steps will be taken to have this work carried out.

MR. WYNDHAM: Applications have been made to the Congested Districts Board for the construction of a breakwater at Newbridge, in Lough Swilly. A report in reference to the matter was made to the Board by their engineer, and the place was also recently inspected by Mr. Green. I understand the facts are as stated in the fourth paragraph. The question of the construction of a breakwater is at present under the consideration of the Board.

INNISHOWEN COUNCIL AND COMPULSORY LAND PURCHASE.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a meeting of the Innishowen District Council, at which a resolution, proposed by a tenant and seconded by a landlord, was unanimously passed calling upon the Government to pass a measure of compulsory purchase of the landlords in Ireland; and will the Government introduce, in the present Session, a compulsory and not a voluntary Land Purchase Bill.

MR. WYNDHAM: The policy of the Government in this matter has already been announced. Even the resolution of the Innishowen Council has not so far modified the opinions of the Government.

LABOURERS ACTS—DELAYS IN COMPLETING SCHEMES.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state how long it takes the Local Government Board to complete schemes under the Labourers Acts; and whether he will see that steps be taken to expedite such urgent matters henceforward.

MR. WYNDHAM: No fixed period can be assigned for the completion of the steps necessary to the confirmation of an improvement scheme under the Labourers Acts. The time taken depends to a great extent on the dimensions and nature of the scheme. In many instances schemes are submitted by the local authorities in an incomplete or imperfect manner, necessitating lengthy correspondence with the promoters before the holding of a local inquiry. In other cases, as the result of the inquiry, it is found requisite to alter sites for cottages, and to arrange as to water supply, etc. There has been, I believe, no undue delay in confirming schemes in the past, and the Local Government Board will continue to expedite them in the future by every means in their power.

MR. CULLINAN: Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware—of his own experience—of the necessity for expediting the erection of these cottages, and can he say why it takes the Local Government Board four, and even five years, after full information has been supplied, to carry out their part of the work.

MR. WYNDHAM: My information leads me to believe and hope that the hon. Member is overstating the case. At any rate, I hope such delay will not occur again.

MR. CULLINAN: I may mention a case in the Tipperary Union.

LOANS TO IRISH FISHERMEN.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the practice of requiring fishermen in Ireland, who apply for loans for the purpose of purchasing gear and repairing boats, to supply sureties for advances; and whether, in view of the fact that such fishermen, on procuring sureties, could at any time obtain loans from banks or other sources, and that the boats and gear would of themselves be sufficient security, the practice or regulation referred to will be relaxed in cases in which the applicants cannot procure sureties but are of good character.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is the practice, in accordance with existing rules, to require applicants for loans for fishery purposes to furnish personal security. It is very doubtful if loans could be obtained from banks on such favourable terms as from the Fishery Fund. The repayment of advances from the latter is spread over a number of years, and the rate of interest charged is 2½ per cent. per annum. With regard to the suggestion that loans should be advanced on the security of the boats or gear purchased, it is to be borne in mind that a boat must be registered under the Merchant Shipping Act before a mortgage can be taken on it, and that the expense to be thereby incurred by the applicant would not be warranted unless in the case of a first-class vessel. The question, however, of the desirability of altering the existing rules so as to extend the advantages of the Fishery Fund to a larger number of fishermen is occupying the attention of the Department of Agriculture.

DAVID FINLAY'S ESTATE, CO. CAVAN.

MR. M'GOVERN (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state how long the estate of David Finlay and others, situate in the barony of Tullyhan, county of Cavan, has been in the Landed Estates Court in the hands of a receiver; has a request under the 40th section of the Land Act been issued, and on what date; and can he explain the cause of the delay in completing the transfer of this estate to the tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: An order for the sale of this estate was made in January, 1890, but the sale is not taking place under the 40th section of the Act of 1896. The solicitors having carriage of the proceedings state that the delay in the completion of the sale has been caused by the arrangements for the distribution of turbary on the estate. It was also found necessary to obtain an order from the Land Judge overruling the claims for turbary made by some of the tenants.

PROCLAIMED LEAGUE MEETING AT FOXFORD.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on what grounds the meeting announced to be held at Foxford on the 1st January was proclaimed; who swore the information on which the proclamation was issued; and on what principle is it proposed to charge on the locality £5 for expenses of extra police used for suppressing the meeting.

MR. WYNDHAM: This meeting was called under the auspices of the local United Irish League. In July, 1899, as a result of a meeting of the same kind at the same place, the grazing of two farms in the locality was boycotted, and a resolution was also adopted on that occasion directed against men in the employment of a grazier, who is a shopkeeper in Foxford. The grazing of other meadows near Foxford was also boycotted in 1899, and again last year. The police were of opinion that the meeting convened for the 1st instant would lead to a renewal of boycotting, and the District Inspector made an information on oath, setting forth the facts and stating that he believed the object of the meeting was boycotting and intimidation, and that, if held, it would be an unlawful assembly. The Government thereupon directed the proposed meeting to be proclaimed. In answer to the third paragraph, the charge to local rates in this instance represents a moiety of the expenses of the force brought into Foxford from other counties, and is leviable under the authority of Section 6 of the 11 and 12 Vict. cap. 72, as amended by Section 13 of the 37 and 38 Vict. cap. 80. The expenses of the men assembled from within the county are defrayed from the Constabulary Vote.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Are we to understand that the right of public meeting at Foxford and elsewhere depends on the caprice of the District Inspector?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

FAIR RENT APPLICATIONS—DELAYS.

MR. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the delay in the hearing by the Land Commission of fair rent applications in cases where negotiations are pending; and whether he can press on the Commission the desirability of shortening these delays, with the view of lessening the inconvenience to the tenants concerned.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is, no doubt, some delay in the disposal of fair-rent applications, but delay is unavoidable, and the Commissioners are fully alive to the importance of dealing with all such applications as rapidly as the circumstances will admit.

MR. CULLINAN: The right hon. Gentleman has answered exactly opposite of what I wished, owing to the alteration made by the clerk. Shall I put a supplementary question now?

MR. WYNDHAM: Perhaps the hon. Member had better put his question on the Paper.

MR. CLANCY: Are all cases in which negotiations for sale are pending to be indefinitely postponed?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have no reason to believe that that is so. I understand the hon. Member wants to give them priority.

MR. CLANCY: Yes, he wants to know whether as a matter of fact the Land Commissioners have arrived at the determination to postpone the hearing of all applications in cases where negotiations for sale are pending? Is such a decision, if made, legal or not?

MR. WYNDHAM: The difficulty is that none of us are clear as to the exact meaning of the question. The hon. Member had better put it in the form in which he wishes it.

MR. CULLINAN: I will, and I hope the clerk will not alter it.

TOBACCO CULTIVATION IN IRELAND.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the acreage under cultivation of tobacco in the various counties of Ireland last year, the average yield per acre, the cost of cultivation, the price obtained, and the net profit per acre.

MR. WYNDHAM: There has not been sufficient time to obtain a report on this question, which only appeared on the Paper this morning for the first time Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat it.

GRANARD POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that all letters arriving from England or Dublin or Granard by midday train from Aghnacliffe and Lisryan are detained in Granard from 12 noon to 6 a.m. next morning, and that, as replies can only be posted that night in Aghnacliffe, several days elapse before any business communication can be completed; and that, although four rural messengers run from Aghnacliffe office, no wall boxes having been provided, their services are practically useless to many people; and whether, in place of a midday messenger now sent by the Department six miles from Edgeworthstown to Ballinalee and back to catch up the limited mail trains, he would arrange to send a car to Streete Crossing and have mails for Ballinalee, Aghnacliffe, and Lisryan there thrown out, so that a car could serve all this district and take the return letters from Aghnacliffe, Ballinalee, and Lisryan back to catch the up mail to Dublin each evening, thus saving correspondents at least two days; and whether he will cause wall boxes to be set at Smear Barracks, Molly Cross, Rathmore Cross, and Clonback Schoolhouse.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No complaint appears to have been received respecting the postal arrangements in the neighbourhood of Granard, Aghnacliffe, and Lisryan; but the Postmaster General will have inquiry made with the view of ascertaining whether it is practicable to provide the increased facilities asked for by the hon. Member, and the result shall be communicated to him.

NORTH TYRONE POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.

*MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether his attention has been called to the inconvenience caused to the inhabitants of the district by the want of a post office at Curragh, in North Tyrone; and, if not, will he cause inquiry to be made into the matter.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The question of establishing a post office at Curragh, in North Tyrone, has recently been inquired into, and the Postmaster General finds that the amount of correspondence for the locality is not nearly sufficient to justify the provision of a post office.

*MR. HEMPHILL: It is occasioning very great inconvenience indeed in this very remote locality.

FISH CULTURE—EXPERIMENTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

MR. NORMAN (Wolverhampton, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether a proposition was made by the Board of Trade to the Treasury to expend a small sum upon and experimental establishment for fish culture, and whether the proposition was accepted or declined.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The proposals of the Board of Trade are engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government, as part of the general question of the measures calculated to cultivate and develop the fishing grounds from which the markets of this country are supplied.

ARDAGH NATIONAL SCHOOL—BUILDING ESTIMATES.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any claim recently came before the Board of Works for a sum of £68 15s., balance of a sum of £103 2s. 8d., the cost to the managers of building a national school at Ardagh, county Longford, over and above the estimate made in accordance with the plan of the Board of Works; whether he is aware that this plan was first devised and approved many years ago by the Board, and that, in consequence of the increase in price of labour and materials, the Board's estimate, which under this plan in 1887 was only £474, was in 1890 raised to £674, an increase in three years of nearly 50 per cent.; and whether, seeing that the Education Department passed all the managers' accounts, and that of the £103 2s. 8d. excess claimed, recommended an increase from £82 12s. to £110 2s. in respect of one item, and in view of the fact that these schools have been admitted by the Board's inspector to be admirably constructed, and that since 1890, when the last increase in estimates for work under the Board's plan was sanctioned, materials and labour have advanced at least 30 per cent., especially in remote districts in Ireland, and as the local contribution was fully and freely paid for these schools, the Board of Works will now give their assent to the further payment of a supplemental grant of £68 15s., being two-thirds of the sum in excess of the original estimate which the buildings cost.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Grants under the regulations of the National Education Commissioners are limited to two-thirds of the estimated cost of the work except in the case of school enclosures, and the managers of the schools in question have received the highest grant to which under these circumstances they are entitled. I ought to add that the original estimate for the school at Ardagh was £530, not £474, as stated in the question. It is possible that the scale of estimated cost embodied in the regulations above referred to may require to be revised in view of the rise of prices since it was originally fixed. This matter is now being investigated, but I do not think it would, in any case, be possible to make the alteration retrospective.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in deference to the wish of a large minority of the House of Commons, he will consent to withdraw the direction that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs shall decline to reply to any supplementary questions.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I see no reason to change the practice, which has been found during the last two years very much in the public interest. Of course this practice does not exclude, and never has excluded, the possibility of asking for, and receiving, a small verbal explanation.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Will the right hon. Gentleman request the Under Secretary to give the small verbal explanation I asked for just now?

THE ROYAL DECLARATION AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if it was upon the advice of His Majesty's Privy Council that His Majesty made and subscribed the Declaration affecting the Roman Catholic religion mentioned in the Bill of Rights as to be taken upon His Majesty's first coming into Parliament; whether his attention has been called to the fact that the said Declaration is stated in the Bill of Rights to be the Declaration mentioned in the Statute of 30 Charles 2, intituled, "An Act for disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament," and that so much of that Act as remained in force was wholly repealed by the Parliamentary Oaths Amendment Act, 1866; did His Majesty's Ministers tender any advice to His Majesty as to the effect of the Act of 1866 on the Declaration prescribed by the Bill of Rights; and will the Government include in the next Statute Law Revision Bill as spent or obsolete that portion of the Bill of Rights relating to the repealed Declaration.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am advised that the Act of 1866 referred to by the hon. and learned Gentleman has no effect upon the Declaration made by His Majesty. The Bill of Rights requires that Declaration to be made. This enactment is still in force and cannot possibly be repealed, or rendered obsolete, by the Statute Law Revision Act. The obligation does not depend on the repeal of the Statute 30 Charles 2, Section 2, but on the Bill of Rights, which incorporates, by reference, the Declaration which is in that statute. The subsequent repeal is, I understand, quite immaterial.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: As this is a matter of considerable gravity and doubt, will the right hon. Gentleman consent to refer the matter to a small Committee, as has been done in some other cases of doubt, and receive a Report as to whether it is not a fit matter to be dealt with by the Statute Law ?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am informed by my hon. and learned friend the Attorney General that there really can de no doubt of the legal validity of the action taken.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman appoint a small Committee to consider that question ? I waive the legal question as to whether this is not a fit matter to refer to the Statute Law Revision Committee.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have before said that I am no admirer of the terms of the Declaration, which is the point raised by the hon. and learned Gentleman, who has made a suggestion the basis of which surely must be that there is some doubt as to the legal validity of the action taken. If there is no doubt, then there is surely no need for a Committee.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Then I beg to give notice that I shall oppose the passing of any further Statute Law Revision Bill until this matter has been dealt with.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: In view of the very strong feeling that exists, will the Government consider the advisability of introducing a short Act, which no doubt will unanimously pass, altering the Declaration ?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think I dealt with that question on a previous day.*

PENSIONS FOR THE AGED AND DESERVING POOR.

Mr. HERBERT LEWIS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government intend to take any, and if so what action during the present session of Parliament with a view to ameliorating the condition of the aged and deserving poor.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no further statement to make as to the legislative projects of the Government during the present session.

COST OF THE CORONATION.

Mr. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can state what was the cost of the Coronation of His Majesty King William IV. and of Her Majesty Queen Victoria; if the cost of the coming Coronation is likely to exceed either of them; whether any portion of the expenses will have to be defrayed by Ireland; and whether any of the money is likely to be spent there.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe that in 1831 the Coronation cost £42,298 3s. 9d., and in 1838 £69,421 1s. 10d.

Mr. J. CAMPBELL: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the concluding paragraph of my question.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think I am bound to answer a question as to where the money is likely to be spent. I am no more gifted with the power of prophecy than the hon. Gentleman himself.

Mr. FLAVIN: Will the Catholics of the United Kingdom be compelled to contribute to the price of the Coronation ?

[No answer was given.]

NEW WRIT FOR THE BOROUGH OF MAIDSTONE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Maidstone, in the room of John Barker, esquire, whose election has been declared to be void."—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

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* See page 320.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I understand from the statement of the Attorney General that this evidence has been laid upon the Table of the House in manuscript, but this is not convenient for the general perusal of the Members of this House. Only a few minutes will be required to enable me to state the reason why I move this Amendment. I admit that it is quite within precedent that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Leeds should move this writ, but there are many reasons why it should not be issued, at present, at any rate. On many occasions the House has suspended writs for short periods for the printing of the evidence—for instance, there are the cases of Nottingham, in 1843, Harwich, in 1848, Clitheroe, in 1853; but the best precedent is that of Norwich, in 1875. The case of Nottingham was on all fours with this. The judges reported that Mr. John Walter was, through his agents, guilty of bribery without his knowledge and consent, and that is precisely what has been reported of Mr. Barker at Maidstone. I want to show the House how similar this Nottingham case is to Maidstone. In the Nottingham case, in which the Earl of Lincoln gave notice of motion in precisely the same terms as mine, twenty-six persons were scheduled as guilty of bribery, and twenty-five persons were scheduled in Maidstone. In the case of Maidstone it is the third offence, for this is the third time that a Member for Maidstone has been unseated. In this case it is a member of the party to which I belong who has been unseated, but in the two previous cases it was a member belonging to the opposite party. In the Nottingham case, upon a division the writ was suspended for a week, and at the end of that time it was moved "that the writ do now issue"; and after an exhaustive debate on the printed report, in which sixteen Members took part, the writ was issued. In the case of Harwich, which was another first offence, the writ was moved, and a long debate resulted, and it was subsequently ordered that a copy of the evidence be laid on the Table of the House.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs): What date was that?

MR. CAINE: In the year 1848. In the case of the Norwich Election Report there they unseated the Members for bribery and corruption. In this case a Royal Commission was instituted, and the writ was suspended for five years—until the following General Election—when it was issued along with the others. That, I think, was a very wholesome punishment, and it had a very wholesome effect upon subsequent elections. I believe that if some such course were taken in the case now under consideration, it would have a similar result, and would purify the constituency considerably. I do not want to go into any details, but I hold that this writ ought not to be issued at all. This borough is notoriously and incorrigibly corrupt. In the present case the bribery has been shameless and extensive, and this is the third time that the election has been declared void upon petition. Twenty-five persons are scheduled as bribed and eleven persons as guilty of bribery, and among these eleven three have been refused certificates of indemnity, and one of these is Mr. Levi Barker, the brother of the unseated Member. I hear that the unseated Member is also engaged canvassing in the constituency, although the evidence went to show that he had practically been guilty of bribery by giving large orders for goods to tradesmen in his constituency. One of the judges censured him severely, and told him that he had gone very near the mark indeed in the matter. Everyone admits that the bribery was widespread and general on both sides, for, although the unseated candidate only had a majority of thirty-eight, the seat was not claimed by his opponent. I have had a great number of letters from Maidstone itself imploring me not to go on with this motion, including one from one of the most influential leaders of the Liberal party there. He states that if there was any delay in the issuing of the writ it would give the Conservatives time to organise bribery in all the low public-houses. I therefore appeal to the House to delay the issuing of the writ until the House has time to examine the evidence, which I think will result in the appointment of a Commission. I beg to propose the Amendment standing in my name.

*Mr. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): I am very glad to have the opportunity of seconding this Amendment, because I think the House should recognise that this is no party issue. There are Members on this side of the House who are quite as anxious for the purity of election as Members on the opposite side. I hope the House will regard this question upon somewhat broader grounds than those which have been advanced by the Attorney General in his answer to a question to-day. It is quite true that we have the Report of the election here, but it is a very short document, in which the judges answer certain questions put to them; and it does not give us any further information except the most important fact that has already been mentioned by my hon. friend, that as far as their inquiries have gone they have discovered twenty-five persons who have been bribed, and eleven persons who have acted as bribers. My hon. and learned friend the Attorney General said there was no precedent for the House interfering with the issue of the writ. I am told that in 1881 there was an instance (Gloucester) in which only three cases of bribery were actually proved, but the writ was suspended and an inquiry held. That is what we really ought to do here, because we already have from the newspapers the knowledge of the average man on this subject. I do not believe, whatever may be thought in this House, that outside they will think we have acted with due regard to our professions in our own constituencies of desiring purity of elections if we proceed with this somewhat indecent haste to issue a writ for this borough at the very earliest moment that it is possible to do so. We do not know whether what was stated in the press was true or not until these Papers have been printed and circulated. In order to give proper grounds to this motion, and to call the attention of the House to what was reported in the papers to have been said by the judges in the case, I will read some very strong expressions which Mr. Justice Kennedy is reported to have used. He said—

> "As to corrupt practices, it would seem from the evidence that there existed among the voters in the borough a number of the lower class who always expected to receive some payment or reward for their votes. . . . There seemed to be a more or less systematic provision made by some person for the satisfaction of the corrupt wants of those voters to whom he had referred. The proved cases of bribery extended through all the wards, and the uniformity of the payments pointed to a certain pre-arrangement on the part of some persons, the existence of something like a plan, something more than the casual and unpremeditated expenditure of some unscrupulous partisan."

I venture to think that those are very strong words, especially when coupled with the fact that no less than eleven persons are reported to have been guilty of bribery, and I think the inference might fairly be drawn that there were considerably more than twenty-five persons who might have been proved to have been bribed if further inquiry was made. I do not intend to find fault with our judges, but I do find some fault with another official, whose statutory duty has been made clear by the Corrupt Practices Act. By that Act it is clearly laid down that the representative of the director of public prosecutions should be present at the trial, and, with or without directions, if it appeared to him that any person was able to give material evidence on the subject of the trial, he should call and examine such person as a witness. I am surprised that that course was not taken in this case, remembering what discussions ensued and the manner in which the case was presented. The petitioner stopped his evidence as soon as he had unseated the sitting member. The efforts of the defendant's counsel were entirely directed to show that he (Mr. Barker) had not been guilty of corrupt practices. And having done that, neither party had any interest in prolonging the inquiry. I may go further and say, both had considerable interest in stopping the inquiry. The state of the facts is clearly brought out by a curious remark of the judge. I do not know whether it is accurately reported, because we have not had the advantage of looking at the official record of the proceedings. Mr. Justice Channell said this: "Well, if no one will ask the question I must ask it." That remark proves pretty clearly that the inquiry in this case was not pursued in a thorough and proper manner, as it should have been, and we, therefore, have a right to have further evidence, and I think the House would be extremely unwise in not taking this opportunity of enforcing it. It is very well known, unhappily for the candidates, that there is a considerable amount of corruption in not a few constituencies, but it is very rarely that any of these cases come before the Courts because of the question of cost and the unpopularity involved, both candidates probably being equally guilty—all those things conduce to make an inquiry before the Election Courts very rare indeed. Therefore, having regard to the importance of the question, we ought to see that this writ should not be issued until further inquiry has been made, and the matter has received our careful consideration. If this House rejects this Amendment and the very reasonable request that is contained in it, it will make the cause of electoral purity still more hopeless than it is at present, and will give encouragement to practices which we all deplore and condemn.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all the words from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'no new writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Maidstone ought to be issued until the House is in possession of the printed evidence and judgment taken by the deputies of the shorthand writer of the House of Commons.'"—(*Mr. Caine.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*SIR F. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge): The last motion of this kind made in this House was made in respect of my own constituency in 1880. A petition was presented, and the same motion to delay the issue of the writ until the judges' notes were placed on the Table was made and agreed to. Eventually the writ was re-issued. What was the result? The result was that a new election was held, and another petition presented with regard to that election, but it was of a somewhat different character to this. In that case I claimed the seat, and after a trial extending over seventeen days the judges found forty-eight cases of corruption on the same side where it existed before. It does seem important to me that in the case of a borough with the character which Maidstone possesses, the House ought to have an opportunity of seeing the notes upon the Table before they consent to issue a new writ.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): However corrupt Maidstone may be, there is a law to deal with it, and I think the attitude of the House upon this matter is opposed to the Constitution. This House surrendered its rights to deal with election matters in 1868, and relegated these questions to the judges. Subsequently, in 1883, it made further provisions. Now Maidstone is entitled by statute to a representative in this House, and the Act of 1883 put upon the judges the duty of stating whether corrupt practices prevail or not. I think this House made a most profound mistake in relegating this matter to the judges, and I think it is to be deplored that we parted for a moment with the power to investigate these cases; but are we now, after the judges have heard the witnesses and pronounced judgment, to take up the evidence and sit as a court of appeal, and find that the judges have failed in their duty, and the Public Prosecutor in his? Look at the case from an Irish point of view. Take the case of intimidation. Bribery is unknown in Ireland, but over and over again elections have been upset through intimidation. Take the case of the two Divisions of Meath, where intimidation was so rife seven or eight years ago. Is the House to punish a whole constituency because on one occasion intimidation upset the election? Either let us repeal all the provisions which remit these matters to the judges, or else leave them as they are, and not attempt to set ourselves up as an independent and irregular tribunal. If the tribunal as constituted is not satisfactory, and we are to go back to the system of other days, we must repeal the Acts of 1868 and 1883, a proceeding in which I shall be happy to assist.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said he thought everyone would sympathise with the motives of the proposer and the seconder of the Amendment. They desired to do everything they could to promote the greater purity of elections, and he was sure that everyone in the House would gladly co-operate with them in carrying that idea into practice. But the House should be extremely careful that it did not run into a great evil—an evil for which there was no compensation. They had constituted a Court for the trial of election petitions, and the reports of the judges were sent to the House. Was it proposed that this House should have the evidence before it, should sit as a court of appeal from the decision of the judges, that every Member should read the evidence, and that they should debate upon the question of how far the House agreed or did not agree with the findings of the judges upon any election petition? He submitted that anything of the kind would be most mischievous. If they were dissatisfied with the trial of election petitions by judges, let them provide some tribunal which might be considered more appropriate. But he doubted whether there was any desire to return to the old system of Committees. On the whole, the present system of trial had given much more satisfaction than existed under the old system. The hon. Member who proposed the Amendment had alluded to a great many cases, but no useful purpose was served in quoting cases previous to the Act of 1868. In the present case, as the judges had not reported extensive corruption, what possibility was there of the House overruling their finding without having had the opportunity which the judges had of seeing the witnesses and hearing the evidence? It was impossible to do so, and hon. Members would be rash in pronouncing an opinion whether the judges were right or wrong under such circumstances. The question was by no means a new one. A similar Amendment arose in the case of Rochester in 1893. In that case a new writ was moved for on 3rd February, 1893, and the Amendment was moved by the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool. The Amendment was debated at considerable length, and the late Lord Russell of Killowen, the present Lord Chief Justice, and Lord James of Hereford, all of whom were then Members of the House, expressed their views very strongly against any attempt to interfere with the present system. He submitted that the only proper and dignified course for the House to take was that recommended by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. So long as there was this mode of trial the House should accept the judges' report, and act upon it.

MR. CAINE: What was the decision of the House with regard to the case referred to by the Attorney General?

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: The Amendment was withdrawn.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): I venture to say that we are at one in the opinion on both sides of the House that we should do everything in our power to promote purity of election. I am not quite agreed with the proposition, at any rate in the absolute terms in which it was expressed and put forward by my hon. and learned friend, that this House in delegating certain power to the judges has absolutely surrendered its own power. I do not think that is the case. What has happened? We have the report of the judges. They had the advantage of seeing the witnesses, watching their demeanour, living for some time in the atmosphere of this incriminated place. We have the report of the judges who enjoyed all these advantages, and although it was proved that corrupt practices were committed, it was not proved, nor have we reason to believe, that corrupt or illegal practices extensively prevailed. When the power to hear election petitions was delegated to the judges, of course it was supposed that by their trained faculties and their judicial experience they would be more competent to sit in a matter of this kind than a Committee selected from the various parties of this House. What are we asked to place against that but the suspicion—for it is nothing but a suspicion, or, to put the matter accurately, the possibility—that from the evidence, when it is printed and circulated, perhaps a majority of the Members of this House might arrive at a different conclusion, and might come to the belief, contrary to that which the judges expressed, that corrupt practices extensively prevailed? It has never been the practice of this House to refuse the issue of a writ unless there is ground to believe in the existence of extensive corruption. I venture to say that never since this jurisdiction was delegated to the judges—a period of thirty years—has the House acted in a matter of this kind in violation of the express and definite opinion given by the judges. I think the House would take a serious responsibility if it were to go back on that established practice. I hope the House will agree to the motion of my right hon. friend.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I hope the House will refuse the application made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Leeds, because I think if it does otherwise it will stultify itself, and the public will not unnaturally say, What was the use of spending all this time over the Corrupt Practices Act some time ago if a glaring case of this kind is to be condoned? There is a county of the name of Essex, which is known for the correctness and the purity of its elections, but we have boroughs which are rather flagrant examples the very opposite way, and yet I know that the Essex boroughs would stand aghast if they had the example of Maidstone before them. We know the case on the evidence given during the inquiry at Maidstone, but there was evidence which might have been produced and which was not given. There was any amount of evidence which would have been revealed if the case had not been withdrawn, and probably it would have sent some people to Maidstone Gaol if it had come to the surface. I think it is high time that the House put its foot down on this sort of proceeding. Bribery has increased, and is increasing, and should be abated in many constituencies. We all know what happens. It does not matter what colour a man wears before an election. A man goes down—God knows where he comes from—and sows the country with sovereigns and papers the place with £5 notes, and when the election is over everybody knows perfectly that the amount stated in the official return only represents one-half of what the candidate has spent. I think some attempt ought to be made to bell the cat. The House ought to put its foot down and make an example of this place.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I am very glad that this motion has been brought forward. This is not a matter in which the House can delegate to the judges of the realm its responsibility. I have discussed this matter outside the House with some of those who were concerned in the passing of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1868, and very grave doubt exists in certain quarters as to whether the House did a wise thing in delegating certain of its powers to the judges. I venture to say the Attorney General has given a most substantial illustration why this motion should be carried. It must be within the knowledge of everybody who has taken an interest in politics during the last fifteen or twenty years that the Corrupt Practices Act has very largely failed in many respects in producing the effects which its promoters expected. As I understand, all that the mover and seconder of the motion have asked is, that every Member of the House of Commons should, if he desires, be in possession of the evidence on which the decision of the judges was founded.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I am quite aware that this is a matter in which the House should proceed with great care, lest it should lay itself open to the charge of deviating from the usual form. This is one of the cases where the House has clearly, on the face of the Statute-book, reserved to itself full discretion. It was reserved to the House to say whether a constituency should be temporarily or permanently disfranchised. This is not a case in which the judges have in unqualified terms said that they did not consider that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed. On the contrary, they have shown considerable doubt and hesitation, and this case, moreover, is distinguished from other cases of the same kind. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife says the judges had the opportunity of hearing and seeing the witnesses. What we say is that there were probably other witnesses, in addition to those who tendered evidence, who might have been forthcoming had the trial proceeded, and whom the judges would have seen, but under the circumstances did not see. I suggest that there is another way out of the difficulty, and that is that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Leeds should not have chosen this particular day on which to move for the issue of the writ. I would ask him to deliver the House from its difficulty by withdrawing the motion, thus leaving further time to elapse, and enabling the House to show, in a case like this, that kind of hesitation which His Majesty's judges have themselves shown.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The House has had the advantage of having the law laid very clearly before it by gentlemen learned in the law, speaking with high authority on both sides, and I think it is quite clear that the precedents are in favour of the House proceeding with the issue of a new writ, unless there is a direct report from the judges which would induce the House to take a different course. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down says that we should be guided, as I understand him, not by the evidence that was given, but by the evidence that might have been given before the judges. I think that is rather a curious position to take up; but the answer to it in this instance, I imagine, is that if the judges entertained any sort of suspicion that the further prosecution of the case would have disclosed a much more extensive and serious chain of bribery than had already been unfolded they would have insisted on the matter being proceeded with. If I remember rightly, at the time the announcement was made that the case was no longer to be defended, the judges took time to consider whether they should not go on listening to evidence notwithstanding the decision to which the defendant in the matter had come.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: That was so, and further evidence was given.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Therefore, it is quite clear that the judges whose duty it was to fully enlighten Parliament on the subject must have concluded that nothing more was to be gained, and no further knowledge to be obtained, by seeking further evidence. I am bound to say that when my hon. and gallant friend the Member for Chelmsford talks in the strongest terms of a town like Maidstone being practically corrupt, I think he says what he is hardly entitled to say, and for my part I must confess that when he talks about the corruption, degradation, and vitiation of elections, I am not so sure, after all, that the process he described—apparently with so intimate a knowledge—of the man who goes down with a large sum of money and then disappears when he has accomplished the purpose for which he has come—I am not so sure that that is so bad as another system which prevails much more extensively, and which is degrading a much larger mass of the people of this country, namely, the nursing and practically bribing and obtaining the favour of constituencies by the squandering of money in the more open ways of charity, and the subvention of local beneficent objects. To come back to the point with which the House is dealing. Whatever our views may be on this particular case, as presented to us by the Report of the judges so far as we have received it, we all have at all events a great desire to prevent these nefarious proceedings when they are detected; and, above all, we wish to proceed warily in the matter, and not to allow a state of things to continue which any action of ours could do something to prevent. Therefore, although I agree that the precedents in such a case as that in which we find ourselves are in favour of the issue of the writ, I still say that it might be advisable to postpone the issue for a few days until the fuller Report of the judges, which has been laid upon the Table only this afternoon, and from which the hon. and learned Gentleman read, is in the hands of Members, so that the House may be able to judge for themselves more fully than they can at present what the real attitude of the judges in their judgment was.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition with feelings of considerable surprise and some dismay. I am perfectly aware, I am a sufficiently old Parliamentary hand to know, that the general feeling of the House I am now addressing is distinctly in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman opposite, and I presume it is the knowledge of that feeling which induced the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down to throw over his colleague on the left, and initiate a new practice, which I fear may have very serious consequences. I shall content myself with saying that I think the course which the right hon. Gentleman now suggests to the House is the wrong one. I am perfectly aware that I am not uttering a popular sentiment in saying that, but if the House will give me one moment I will explain to them why I hold that view. We are judging a general practice upon a particular instance, without in the least considering what effect upon the general practice our decision may have. That is a most dangerous practice for this House to indulge in. The Leader of the Opposition appears to think that he has saved his consistency by suggesting that the House should wait two or three days until it has in its hands the transcript of the evidence taken at Maidstone. The suggestion is, and indeed the only rational support for such a course must be, that when the evidence is in the hands of hon. Members they will read it, and in the light of that reading either endorse or reverse in their minds the decision of the judges, that they will come to the conclusion that the judges are right or that the judges are wrong, and that having come *in foro conscientiæ* to that private judicial opinion they will then proceed to act upon it in the House. Now observe what that means. One of two things: either that this House in its collective capacity, and not through the organ of a Committee of the House, is going to constitute itself a tribunal to revise judicial decisions and to re-try a case——

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: Not a decision, a Report to this House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: A Report to this House made by a judicial body. Does anybody in this House think that the House in its collective capacity—the 670 Gentlemen who compose the House—can transform themselves into a judge and jury at once to try questions of fact? I am certain that no man who hears me thinks that we are fitted for such duties, or that we ought to impose such duties upon ourselves. What is the alternative? The alternative is that if we think the evidence does not bear out the decision of the judges, or the report of the judges, we should constitute a Committee of this House to re-examine the whole case. That is a return to the old system. To constitute a Committee of this House to re-try or to look into the case at Maidstone is to go back to the old system. It is to go back to the old, and I thought universally discredited system which this House voluntarily abandoned more than thirty years ago. ["No."] It has abandoned that practice for more than thirty years, and no responsible statesman on either side of the House, I do not care who he may be, has ever, so far as I know, suggested that this House should do, what, of course, it could do if it wished—namely, go back to the old method of having a Committee drawn up on party lines by the party managers to discuss the party questions which must inevitably come up before such a Committee. And observe: you cannot run these two systems of dealing with contested elections side by side. You cannot leave the judges to act in five cases out of six, and take away from the judges the sixth case. It would be an insult to the judiciary of the country. ["No."] Yes, it would be an insult to the judiciary of the country, and would make the whole of the system absolutely impossible. How can you go to the judges and say: "We put upon you these very difficult and delicate duties, duties somewhat apart from your ordinary judicial practice, which throw upon you very great responsibility, and which bring you almost into the vortex of political controversy; but if you do not happen to please us every time you give a decision we will revise what you do first in the whole House, and then in a Committee of the House; and if our Committee happens to disagree with you we shall publish the fact that the judges with evidence before them came to one decision, but the Committee of the House, reviewing the same evidence without seeing the witnesses, came to another decision." Is it possible? It may be true, as has been stated, that as men of the world, as men with some general knowledge of election matters, our view of what has taken place at Maidstone leads us to the suspicion that corrupt practices are more prevalent than the judges supposed. That may be our view, but is that a reason for upsetting in consequence of one instance this long-tried practice which, whatever may be its faults, certainly has saved this House from many a well deserved rebuke, from many a humiliating discussion, and from bringing itself into conflict with the best elements of public opinion ? I am sure I am echoing the opinions of every man who has had to consider this question for more than a generation when I say that it would be most unwise to do that, even at the prompting of a generous and disinterested feeling—and I admit that all on either side are disinterested and generous, and that no element of party feeling has come into the discussion either on the part of the Gentlemen opposite or of any other Gentlemen. I am perfectly sure that at this moment the House is not a party machine, that it is animated solely in the action it is about to take by its desire for the purity of our elections. But, Sir, let us be careful not to upset a good general practice because we think that in one particular case it has not worked well. This is a subject upon which the Government are not the movers. The motion comes from the Front Bench opposite, and it is for them to carry their motion to a division and to appoint tellers. If they go to a division, as I hope they will, I shall vote with them, and I earnestly hope that, putting aside all private interests and party affections, every Gentleman who can turn his mind from the particulars of this isolated case to the broad general principles which ought to guide our policy will also support the motion.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): I fully share the view of the Leader of the House that no greater mistake could be made by the House than in any way to endeavour to set up the old system which prevailed up to 1863. If the suggestion before us was that this House should constitute itself a body to overhaul the judgment of the judges at Maidstone I should certainly support my right hon. friend. But, with the right hon. Gentleman's permission, while I quite share his view that it would be mischievous of this House to set itself up as a court of appeal upon issues tried by judges, I would venture to draw his attention to a precedent already touched upon, though not fully developed, which I think has a direct bearing on the case before us. I refer to the Evesham case. The writ was moved in this House on the 17th June, 1880,* and an Amendment was moved that the issue of the writ be suspended until the shorthand writers' notes were printed and in the hands of Members. The then Attorney General (Sir Henry James) said—

> "The judges, instead of reporting that there was no reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed, said that, from the evidence before them, and to which they had confined themselves, they had no reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed."

He ends by saying that—

> "in the particular circumstances the Government would offer no objection to delay in the issue of the writ, but it must be understood that when the shorthand writers' notes of the evidence had been produced the motion for the issue of the writ would be almost immediately renewed."

And Mr. Gladstone at the conclusion said that—

> "perhaps it would be better to withdraw the motion, if the hon. Gentleman would withdraw the Amendment, on the understanding that it would not be renewed until after the evidence and the report of the judges had been received."

All I want the House to understand is that what is now proposed, similarly to what was proposed in 1880, is not the overhauling of a case before the judges, not the reopening of the question, but simply to consider whether the House should direct a further inquiry to be made into a matter in regard to which obviously the judges had not pronounced in the statutory form "that the evidence before them did not justify such a conclusion." The case seems to me to be almost identical, and I think the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife was hardly justified in saying that there was no precedent.

MR. ASQUITH: What was the judges' report ?

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: The judges reported that, although they had no reason to believe that corrupt practices extensively prevailed, they went by the evidence before them, and did not go outside it. Having taken some part in the discussion of the Corrupt Practices Act in 1868, and devoted some attention to the subject, I entirely concur with

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Third Series], Vol. ccliii., page 203.

my right hon. friend that it would be a most dangerous thing for this House to set itself up in any way as a court of appeal to decide issues which have been remitted under statute to a duly constituted tribunal. But I do not understand that we are asked to do that. I should certainly vote against any idea of doing anything of the kind. I understand, however, that a wholly different proposal is made, and one which in the Evesham case was decided in the sense of adjourning the issue of the writ until the House had seen the evidence. Mr. Gladstone, as the Attorney General will see, said that it was not usual to print the evidence in each instance unless asked for. As it is, I beg to advise the House to adjourn the discussion.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: I should like, with the leave of the House, to say one word. I desire to point out to the House that the Evesham case is different from the present one, because in the Maidstone case we have a finding of the judges in the form contemplated. There is a perfectly definite finding that the judges had no reason to believe that corrupt or illegal practices extensively prevailed. My right hon. friend read the paragraph, and by permission I will just read it again, and the House will at once see the difference between this finding and the finding in the Evesham case. I will read from what was said by the Attorney General, Sir Henry James—

"*Primâ facie*, there ought to be no unnecessary delay in the issuing of a writ. A constituency was entitled to representation, and it was not desirable to prolong the electioneering contest. Unless there was some special circumstance upon which objection could be founded, there ought not to be undue delay. If the judges reported to the House that there was reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed, there was no discretion left, and a Commission must be appointed. Let him remind the House of the position it was placed in. By the Act of 1868 the House of Commons had delegated all authority for the trial of election petitions to a tribunal; but what could the House do in this case if it came to the conclusion that corrupt practices had prevailed? No provision was made for further inquiry."

Now comes the passage to which I call the attention of the House—

"In this case, however, the report of the judges was somewhat peculiar. Instead of reporting that there was no reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed, they said that, from the evidence before them, and to which they had confined themselves, they had no reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed."

And then the Attorney General goes on to say—

"The House could not properly act upon the suggestion made that there had been an arrangement by which persons had been kept out of the witness-box, nor could it be influenced by the general description of a place as corrupt. The House must apply a general rule, apart from any particular character which hon. Members might choose to give to a place, and it must be careful not to suspend a writ without a good reason for doing so. If, however, an attempt were made in this case to prevent the reading of the evidence before the issue of the writ, it would be thought there was some reason in the background why the issue of the writ was forced on. In the particular circumstances the Government would offer no objection to delay the issue of the writ; but it must be understood that when the shorthand writers' notes of the evidence had been produced, the motion for the issue of the writ would be almost immediately renewed."

Mr. Gladstone said at the close of the debate—

"There was already a rule that the shorthand writers' notes in cases of this description should be laid on the Table; but it was not usual to print them, unless they were asked for on some special ground. This case appeared to be of a special character, and, as his hon. and learned friend had explained, the Government were willing to postpone the issue of the writ. Perhaps it would be better to withdraw the motion, if the hon. Gentleman would withdraw the Amendment, on the understanding that it would not be renewed until after the evidence and the report of the judges had been received."

Now I hope the House will see clearly that that was an absolutely different case from the present. It proceeded entirely on the fact that the finding of the judges was a peculiar and of a special kind. If a man says, "From the evidence before me, to which I am confined, I have no reason to believe that corrupt practices extensively prevailed," most men of the world would come to the conclusion that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed. But in the present case the finding is not in that form at all. It is a perfectly, absolutely clear finding that the judges had no reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed. I therefore submit that the Evesham case has no bearing on the case now before the House.

*MR. BLAKE (Longford, S.): I do not suppose that any hon. Member condemns the present system of trial of election petitions as inferior to a trial by a House Committee; nor do I suppose that there has been any such dissatisfaction with the judgment of the Court in any particular case as would induce the House to unseat a man who had been seated, or to seat a man who had been unseated by the Court. That would be absurd. I acknowledge that the House has considerable inherent powers notwithstanding the statute. But the House will act wisely in the spirit of accepting the decisions to which the judicial tribunal comes, so long as the tribunal keeps within the statute. The trouble in this case is not because the judges' finding is special, nor because it embraces very much of the so-called specialty referred to in the Evesham case; as to which I would like to know what it is to which you would desire to call the judges' attention. You do not expect that judges should decide on anything but the evidence before them; and therefore I attach no importance to the supererogatory words used in the finding of the judges in that case. That is not the real trouble. The fact is, the system under the present law is defective with reference to the question of the extensive prevalence of political corruption in a constituency. Apart from the evidence actually submitted, there is no proper provision for inquiry where the evidence is incomplete owing to the action of either of the parties to the petition. Twenty-five years ago, in another Parliament, I met that difficulty by inserting a provision for a special report by the judges, in which they should state whether the inquiry had been rendered incomplete by the action of either of the parties to the petition. That is what was wanted here. We all know it. We all know that at a very early period of the prosecution the respondent admitted that he could not resist the fact that there had been bribery; thereon there was nothing more for the petitioner to do to win the battle, and no more witnesses were required to come forward for that purpose. But the petitioner did not venture to claim the seat after all. We know what that implies. Having regard to the jealousy which the country naturally feels in these matters, it is probably as well that the papers should come down before the writ is ordered. But after all it is inevitable that the judges' finding on the case before them should be accepted, no matter what our view of it may be, and that this constituency should not in the present state of the law be penalised by a refusal to issue the writ on what you will find in the papers. But what you ought to do is to alter the law in the direction I have indicated, and so provide for the future.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): The House is in a very strange situation. A right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench has made a motion to which an hon. Member, also on that side of the House, has moved an Amendment which was seconded on this side of the House. The Leader of the Opposition is in favour of the Amendment, and says he thinks it advisable that the delay asked for by the Amendment ought to be given. The Leader of the House is against the Amendment, seconded from his own side, and in favour of the motion moved by the hon. Gentleman opposite. Which way am I to vote? The First Lord of the Treasury has made a speech with the infallible brilliancy and poetic fervour which characterises him, and has raised some spectres, although he has failed to destroy them. They are, however, only spectres. It is not a question of our abandoning any practice now in vogue, or of reinstating any former practice. The question is whether, here and now, we are going to issue a writ. We cannot escape from that. We have got to vote whether there is to be a writ on a report, signed by one of His Majesty's judges, which we have not yet seen, and on evidence we have not yet perused. What was the purpose of the rule that a judge should make such a report? The object was that this House should decide whether the Report gives ground for the issue of the writ.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The Report was read by Mr. Speaker.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I am coming to that point. I should like to have the evidence before us. The Attorney

General has quoted the Evesham case, and has descanted on the differences between that and the present case. But he has omitted the most important. The Evesham case was fought out and this was not. We all know that when any two parties take part in a litigious battle, and both find it inconvenient to go on in a court of law, they make an arrangement by which the case is settled out of court. There is a vehement suspicion that that is the case here, and it behoves this House to pause before it proceeds to the extreme step of whitewashing the constituency of Maidstone and providing it with a new Member. I know not who the candidates are, but I will not be a party, without waiting to hear the evidence and without giving the House an opportunity of deciding whether there is a ground for issuing the writ, to sanctioning the motion that it should be issued. I know there are Members who believe that this House has surrendered all its powers to Ministers and all its honour to judges. The House has not surrendered all its powers in regard to elections, and this very motion has necessarily been made in the belief that the House has so retained its powers in order to have the opportunity of acting or withholding action in cases such as this. It is true that we have given over to His Majesty's judges a delegated power of deciding as to the validity of elections—and properly so given over. I believe it has been attended with the most excellent results, but whether you pause, or postpone the issue of the writ, that does not affect the delegation of your powers to the judges. The House must decide for itself whether it will issue or withhold the writ. It may withhold it, as in the case of Evesham; but if there is no ground for withholding it, we would not wish to deprive the constituency of the services of its representative for any longer or shorter period. I cannot regard this as a mere matter of form, or that we ought to be asked to issue this writ as a matter of course, after what has occurred.

*MR. WALLACE (Perth): I will not detain the House for more than a minute. I want to understand why the House is asked to postpone the issue of this writ for a week. It is suggested that the object is that the evidence taken at the trial of the election petition may be in the hands of hon. Members first. The hon. Member says he has already read or heard read the report of the judges on the case, but that he wants to read for himself the evidence on which that report is based. What is the object of the hon. Member in reading the evidence? To ascertain the effect of it upon his own mind. And certainly if the hon. Member, after reading the evidence, comes to a different conclusion from that formed by the judges, he is going next week to come before the House as a court of appeal to alter the decision of the judges. I venture to say that there is only one safe course for this House to adopt; and that is, to stand by the practice which it has followed for many years; and that is, that if His Majesty's judges have reported that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed, to withhold the writ and issue a commission of inquiry. Hitherto, if the report of the judges was to the contrary, the writ was issued as a matter of course. That prevented all political feeling, all discussion, all difference of opinion existing here as between the House and the judges. I trust that my hon. friend who moved the issue of the writ will persevere with his motion, and I, for one, will vote for it.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): It seems to me that we have discussed this matter too much from the legal point of view. I think there is an aspect of it which ought to be considered—I mean, what the man in the street will think of it. The question is whether the issue of the writ means that there has been prevalent bribery in the constituency of Maidstone or not. It seems to be admitted that there has been a considerable amount of bribery in this borough. It has been convicted of bribery on three occasions in modern times, and the man in the street will be likely to say, unless we take some action, that the House is not very particular as to corruption, seeing that it issued a new writ after the recent disclosures. The effect will be disastrous. It seems to me that we ought to strengthen the hands of those who wish to make elections purer, and I think that to issue the writ so hurriedly is to weaken that position. All our legislation is very drastic in regard to bribery, but when we come to deal with it, and apply it in the way suggested by the present case, it would appear that we are apt to shrink from it. I think much more harm will be done by issuing the writ in haste than by postponing it for a few days until we have seen the evidence taken in the case before the judges. Altogether, I am convinced that a great deal of good will be done to the constituency if the issue of the writ is postponed for a few days.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): From the course which the discussion has taken, I believe that the House is liable to drop into one or two pitfalls. My hon. friend who has just spoken tells us what the man in the street will say. That is a curious sort of doctrine to use in this House in regard to the case in hand. We are here to judge for ourselves; and we know a great deal better than the man in the street whether the right course is to act according to rule or precedent; and we need not consider what the man in the street will say after he reads his paper in the morning. That argument is singularly weak, and altogether unworthy of my hon. friend. The danger will be in following his example, which would constitute every man his own leader. My hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn says that he wants, in the plenitude of his industry, to study and review the finding of the judges; but what we have got to do is to carry out the finding of the judges, otherwise, what is the use of sending these judges down to investigate the facts? The judges have reported in explicit terms that in their opinion there is no evidence of extensive corruption in this constituency, and there the matter ought to end.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I quite recognise the great importance to the House and the country of this motion; but I cannot help regretting that it has come on this afternoon, and has cut so very materially into the very short time at the disposal of the Irish Members for the consideration of Irish questions. I will not be guilty of speaking, under these circumstances, more than one sentence. I intend to vote in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Camborne, and I do so for this reason: I do not believe that the House of Commons has parted, or ever intended to part, with its power over election petition cases in the complete sense that some hon. Members suppose. And if, in consequence of the finding of the election judges, this House is to be deprived of the power of suspending, even for one hour, or a day, or a week, the issue of a writ, then the power of the House of Commons to issue a writ should be taken away altogether. This is a very bad case. It is a case where, by his own action, the petitioner is afraid to claim the seat, and where the respondent by throwing up the sponge leads one to think that extensive bribery had prevailed. If the Member for Chelmsford is right in saying that this bribery is extensive, notwithstanding the Corrupt Practices Act, throughout Great Britain, then I say, in the interests of the people, and more especially in the interests of poor candidates, that a stand ought to be taken in this House in cases of this kind. And without any desire to penalise a constituency or permanently deprive it of its Member, I shall vote in favour of the temporary postponement of the issue of the writ.

Question put.

The House divided.—Ayes, 224; Noes, 157. (Division List No. 7.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood,Capt.SirAlex.F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Aug. Henry Eden
Allsopp. Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther, H. T.
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. Henry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Col. James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hn.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour,RtHnGeraldW(Leeds
Banbury, Frederick George
Barlow, John Emmott
Beach,Rt.Hn.SirM.H.(Bristol
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bignold, A.
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles,Capt.H.F.(Middlesex)
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carlile, William Walter
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C.W.(Derbysh)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain,J Austen(Worc'r

Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Coddington, Sir William
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Crombie, John William
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dewar,JohnA.(Inverness-sh.)
Dewar,T.R(T’rH’mlets,S.Geo.
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dixon-Hartland,Sir F.Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Dunn, Sir William
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elibank, Master of
Evans, Samuel T.
Faber, George Denison
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson,Rt. HnSirJ.(Manc’r
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose-
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fitzroy, Hon. E. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Sir M. (LondonUniv.)
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,Maj.Evans (T’rH’mlts
Grenfell, William Henry
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hamilton,Marq.of(L’nd’nd’rry
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harris,F.Leverton(Tynem’th)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hayne, Rt. Hon.CharlesSeale-
Hayter,Rt. Hon.Sir ArthurD.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hope,J.F.(Sheff’ld,Brightside
Howard, Capt. J. (Faversham)
Howard,J. (Midd.,Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James H. Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Johnston, William (Belfast)

Joicey, Sir James
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kenyon,Hn. Geo.S. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney,Col. W.(Salop)
Knowles, Lees
Lambert, George
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee,Capt. A.H(Hants,Fareh’m
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col.Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas,ReginaldJ(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M‘Calmont,Col.J. (Antrim,E)
M‘Iver,SirLewis(EdinburghW
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Killop,James (Stirlingshire
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Markham, Arthur Basil
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriessh.
Mellor, Rt.Hon.John William
Milner,Rt. Hon. Sir Fredk. G.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, R. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris,Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton,ArthurH.A.(Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Murray,RtHnA Graham(Bute
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.
Norman, Henry
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Paulton, James Mellor
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robt.Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Plummer, Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rea, Russell
Remnant, James Farquharson
Rentoul, James Alexander
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley,Hn.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T.
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)

Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart,M.H.(Renfrew)
Shipman, Dr. John
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair,Capt.Jn.(Forfarshire)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith,HC(North’mbTyneside
Smith,JamesParker(Lanarks.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer,RtHnC.R.(Northants
Spencer,Ernest(W.Bromwich)
Stanley,Hn.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Sturt, Hon. Humphry N.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,RtHnJ.G.(Oxf’dUniv.)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,F. Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas, J. A. (Glam., Gower)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tufnell, Colonel Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
Walton, John L. (Leeds, S.)
Warner, Thomas CourtenayT.
Wason, E. (Clackmannan)
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Webb, Col. William George
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E (Tauntn
Wharton, Rt. Hn. John Lloyd
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley,George(York,W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson,A,Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wilson,Fred.W.(Norfolk,Mid)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Hon. A. (Essex)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. M‘Arthur.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, Chas. P. (Glouc.,Stroud
Ambrose, Robert
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baird, John George Alexander
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bartley, George C. T.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Blake, Edward
Boland, John

Bowles, T. G. (King’s Lynn)
Boyle, James
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carvill, Patrick Geo. H.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Colomb, Sir John Charles R.

Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Daly, James
Delany, William

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duffy, William J.
Ellis, John Edward
Emmott, Alfred
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Garfit, William
Gilhooly, James
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Grant, Corrie
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hammond, John
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, James (Staffords, N.W.)
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kimber, Henry
Kinloch, Sir J. George Smyth
Labouchere, Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lawrence, William F.
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Lecky, Rt. Hn. William Edw. H
Leighton, Stanley
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Lowther, Rt. Hon James (Kent)
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Cann, James
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Minch, Matthew
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, George W. (Reading)
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Philipps, John Wynford
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rasch, Major Frederic C.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Richards, Henry Charles
Roche, John
Russell, T. W.
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. T. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thompson, E. C. (Monaghan, N.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffld)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Caine and Mr. Henry Hobhouse.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Maidstone, in the room of John Barker, esquire, whose election has been declared to be void.

NEW BILLS.

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 4).

Bill to confer Pensions upon aged persons, ordered to be brought in by Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir James Rankin, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Flower, Mr. Bousfield, Colonel Denny, Mr. Carlile, Mr. Rothschild, Mr. Sinclair, and Sir Howard Vincent.

OLD AGE PENSIONS (No. 4) BILL.

"To confer Pensions upon aged persons," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 57.]

MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT (1887) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887, ordered to be brought in by Sir Howard Vincent, Major Rasch, Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Field, and Mr. Seton-Karr.

MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT (1887) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Merchandise Marks Acts, 1887," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 58.]

CONVEYANCE OF CYCLES.

Bill to provide greater facilities for the Conveyance of Cycles by Railway in the United Kingdom, ordered to be brought in by Sir Howard Vincent, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Sir Albert Rollit, and Major Evans-Gordon.

CONVEYANCE OF CYCLES BILL.

"To provide greater facilities for the Conveyance of Cycles by Railway in the United Kingdom," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 59.]

PUBLIC TRUSTEE AND EXECUTOR.

Bill for the prevention of fraud upon widows and orphans by the appointment of a Public Trustee and Executor, and the amendment of the Judicial Trustees Act, 1896, ordered to be brought in by Sir Howard Vincent, Mr. Henry David Greene, Mr. Howard, and Colonel Tufnell.

PUBLIC TRUSTEE AND EXECUTOR BILL.

"For the prevention of fraud upon widows and orphans by the appointment of a Public Trustee and Executor and the amendment of the Judicial Trustees Act, 1896," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 60.]

TEACHERS OF MUSIC (REGISTRATION).

Bill for the registration of Teachers of Music, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Brookfield, Mr. Agg-Gardner, Sir William Houldsworth, Mr. Alban Gibbs, Sir John Brunner, and Sir Thomas Roe.

TEACHERS OF MUSIC (REGISTRATION) BILL.

"For the registration of Teachers of Music," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 61.]

BENEFICES.

Bill to amend the law relating to Ecclesiastical Benefices, ordered to be brought in by Major Rasch, Mr. Vicary Gibbs, Colonel Tufnell, and Mr. Banbury.

BENEFICES BILL.

"To amend the law relating to Ecclesiastical Benefices," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th March, and to be printed. [Bill 62.]

MEDICAL ACT (1858) EXTENSION.

Bill to extend the provisions of the Medical Act, 1858, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Mr. Rothschild, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Colonel Wyndham Murray, Sir James Fergusson, and Mr. Middlemore.

MEDICAL ACT (1858) EXTENSION BILL.

"To extend the provisions of the Medical Act, 1858," presented, and read the first time; to be read the second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 63.]

COLONIAL MARRIAGES

Bill to legalise certain Colonial Marriages, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Sir William Dunn, Mr. Lyttelton, Sir Barrington Simeon, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Rothschild, and Captain Jessel.

COLONIAL MARRIAGES BILL.

"To legalise certain Colonial Marriages," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 64.]

WORKMEN'S HOUSES TENURE.

Bill to make provision with respect to the tenure of the Houses of Workmen in certain employments, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Colville, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Caldwell, and Mr. Bell.

WORKMEN'S HOUSES TENURE BILL.

"To make provision with respect to the Tenure of the Houses of Workmen in certain employments," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 65.]

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Bill to amend the Church Discipline Act, 1840, and the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Charles M'Arthur, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Brand, and Sir John Willox.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

"To amend the Church Discipline Act, 1840, and the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 5th June, and to be printed. [Bill 66.]

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[SEVENTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [14th Feb-

Seventh Day.

ruary], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

IRISH GRIEVANCES.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork): I now wish to move the Amendment which stands in my name. What we charge by this Amendment is that there being no real crime in the country you are making crimes of things which are perfectly legitimate. You set off by thanking your stars that the people of Ireland have found a means of carrying into effect popular movements without any of those scenes of bloodshed of which we in this House have often heard, but instead of encouraging the people in exercising their rights by an open and bloodless combination, you are making more plain the principles by which you used to persecute the trade unions of England thirty or forty years ago, before they extorted from this House the recognition that their right of combination was a legitimate right in the eye of the law, and by trumping up charges of conspiracy and of Whiteboyism, you are goading the people into violence. I am quite aware that even in England the right of working men to combine against the selfishness of men of their own class is not yet altogether very secure, but the fact stands that so far as the right of English tradesmen, or even of Irish tradesmen, within the towns to organise a strike, to picket blacklegs, and stand together against them, to expostulate with them and bring their selfishness before their eyes, is now an indisputable right, and this House would no more think of taking anything from this right or of constituting it a crime than they would think of passing an Act against the organisation of working men. But what are you doing, Sir, in Ireland at the present moment—or rather not you, Sir, because you never do know what is going on in Ireland, unless murder is going on—but what is the Executive doing in Ireland?

I do not think it will be contended that the land-grabber in Ireland, who is what the blackleg is in this country, has suffered in life or in limb; or has suffered any greater pain of mind from public opinion than any non-unionist workman in England has to make up his mind to if he has determined to exercise his own selfish right unfairly. Although, instead of shooting landlords and land-grabbers, the farmers of Ireland, the most numerous body of workers in that kingdom, are now adopting a course which the law expressly sanctions in the case of the trade unions of England, that is being treated as a crime. You have meetings dispersed and Members of Parliament assaulted by the police for attempting to address their own constituents; you have enormous fines levied on a perfectly peaceful population by way of extra police charges; and you have these charges of Whiteboyism and conspiracy trumped up against men who are acting in lawful combination in the open light of day, and in order to obtain convictions you have the shameless and unnatural system of "jury packing," and you have men struck at and attempted to be struck down because they have had the courage to raise a public protest against this state of things.

That fact, I venture to say, is now admitted, and I do not think that, broadly, the Chief Secretary will attempt to dispute it. If he does, I need not go further to answer him than to quote the charge delivered by his own Lord Chief Justice at the winter assizes for the province of Munster, in which he confesses that there is nothing illegal or criminal in the proceedings of the League which would justify the clamour of the landlords and *The Times* newspaper for its suppression. Members who sat in former Parliaments will not need to be told who the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland is. I can frankly say that Lord Peter O'Brien has earned a title that will be more enduring than his peerage by his ruthless conduct. Here is the Lord Chief Justice's deliberate verdict on this organisation—

> "It has been said to me, 'Chief Justice, why is not the United Irish League proclaimed as an unlawful organisation.'"

Fancy the Lord Chief Justice of England being approached by colliery owners or railway directors and pressed to exercise his influence with the Government for the suppression of trade unionism! Lord O'Brien went on to say—

"Whatever the future may do"—

and I emphasise that expression—

"I do not in the slightest degree hesitate in expressing my opinion that there has been no cause for the suppression of the United Irish League as an unlawful organisation."

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): May I ask the date of that?

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: The 6th of last December. Now here is an organisation that has been already in existence for a longer period than the Land League, so that it has been tested by time. It has branches in considerably more than 1,000 of the parishes of the country, in a state of constant activity on the land question, of all others; it has proved its power, I may be allowed to say without offence, at the General Election with a completeness which has never been paralleled. It has succeeded in rousing Ireland on this question, and, as regards the province of Ulster, I most gladly acknowledge that this has been done mainly by the powerful advocacy of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. It has started and carried on a formidable and irresistible agitation for the abolition of landlordism, and I may say that it has elicited in the first King's Speech a promise, such as it is, of another Land Bill, although two years ago this House was assured that there was no longer an Irish land question, and that an Irish Land Bill would never trouble you more. Such is the magnitude of this organisation and its success; and yet the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, looking back over the past three years with no very friendly eye, with all the confidential information of Dublin Castle at his command, is forced to confess that he can discover no stain of bloodshed, or even of very much minor illegalities, to justify even the most ironclad official in suppressing the tenants' trade union at the demands of the landlords. I could go on to quote charge after charge—Judge Andrew, Judge Johnstone, Judge Murphy, Lord Justice Walker, and several others at assizes after assizes in the county Mayo, which was and is the hotbed of the agitation—and all of them testify to the peace of the country and to the disappearance of murder and outrage. The judges would certainly not be the least zealous to avail themselves of any materials for starting one of those great crusades against public liberty of which you have set an example. No amount of testimony could add very much to the weight of the testimony of the Lord Chief Justice. His testimony is, I think, unanswerable. We are ready also to prove that at the beginning of this movement a diabolical attempt was made by certain subordinate officials of Dublin Castle—I will put it no higher than that—to seduce members of the League into proceedings of a criminal and murderous kind, and every attempt to bring those miscreants to justice has been to a great extent baffled by Dublin Castle. Notwithstanding the verdict of eleven out of twelve special jurors of Dublin, these miscreants are still in the public service and the public pay. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has any doubts as to the true story of the Mulranny forgery, the crime in the Westport telegraph office, of the incendiarism at Murrisk, of the alleged shooting of Mr. Vesey Stoney, and other transactions of that kind, there is an easy way of testing it. Let him close with the demand for the full and searching investigation which the county councils and the district councils are making in every shape and form. Let him choose his own tribunal. Let him have a Select Committee of this House if he pleases, and let them probe and search into every circumstance connected with the origin and the conduct of this movement, the conduct of the people, the landlords, the land-grabbers, and the police officials.

Let us set at rest once for all on which side lies the criminality. The House will remember that a similar inquiry as to the Land League was thrust down our throats in this House at the time of the Parnell Commission, with results that perhaps were not calculated to encourage similar adventures on the part of the Government. We did not ask for the Parnell Commission. It was forced upon us by brute force. You thought your opportunity had come for dealing a deadly blow at the Irish party. We demand an inquiry now. All the representative bodies in Ireland have been demanding it for the last eighteen months. I presume that the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh will make himself heard presently. I should like to hear from him why his friends the landlords and *The Times* newspaper, who are crying out for the suppression of the League, will not submit their charges and allegations to such a test, and see whether they are going to fare better with the Mulranny forgery than with the Pigott forgery. We are eager for inquiry, and anxious that the tribunal should be as sweeping as possible. It is not granted, because both we and our opponents know perfectly well that the result would be such a flood of light on the necessity for the movement, upon its lawfulness, and upon the foulness of the weapons employed against it, that it would be impossible for landlordism or the police establishment of Ireland to survive the investigation. If the Chief Secretary shirks such an investigation as was forced upon us at the time of the Parnell Commission, I think everybody will know the reason for it. Apart altogether from the certificate passed by the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, I think we will be entitled to take it for granted that the opponents of the League have thrown up the sponge, and that there is no longer any possibility of imputing to the League anything illegal in its procedure. We hear charges of conspiracy, Whiteboyism, and intimidation. "Intimidation" is one of those meaningless, intangible terms that can never be denied because it can never be defined; and you have come to this pass in Ireland—that the ridiculous term "intimidation" now represents practically the only form of agrarian crime. The Chief Justice, in the speech in which he holds the legality of the League methods, told us there were 651 evicted farms in Munster, of which more than 150 were altogether derelict; that is, as he explained, abandoned by both landlord and tenant; the landlord is not able to stock them, apparently, and no person can be got to take them. The Lord Chief Justice shook his head, as if that was a very grave state of things. So it is for the rack-renting, evicting landlords, but so long as there is no crime, what business is it of the judge if evicting landlords cannot find men to take their farms? Can you imagine a case of an English judge——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must remind the hon. Member that by the rules of this House disrespectful criticism of judges is not allowed.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: I am quite willing to respect your ruling, Sir, though my respect does not extend in other directions. I am trying to speak, not of the conduct of the judges, but of the extra-judicial conduct of persons who happen to be judges. Beyond a doubt, there is an extensive and great combination in Ireland at present against the taking of evicted farms and the monopoly of grazing ranches. We do not in the least desire to shirk the fact; we glory in it. I ask you, if the League appeals, as I am glad to say it does appeal, and successfully, to the agricultural classes in Ireland for their own protection from extermination to combine against, and by every honest weapon to discountenance the taking of farms from which their poor comrades have been evicted in consequence of inability to pay acknowledged unjust and excessive rents—in God's name, where is the crime? What form of trade unionism can be more legitimate, or what right have Crown officials in Dublin Castle to espouse the cause of one particular side in any dispute? It is the old incorrigible idea that is rooted in the mind of every Dublin Castle official, and which is at the root of all your misgovernment in Ireland—the idea that they are there not to preserve life or limb or to see fair play for the people, but to collect the landlords' rents for them, and to fight tooth and nail to encourage grabbers to take these evicted farms, and then to make heroes and gods of them. I think you will find that so powerful is that feeling among your officials that they actually believe that the situation is always far more difficult to deal with when there is no crime going on in Ireland; and they are puzzled and embarrassed and have a grievance when they find a great and powerful combination going on against land-grabbing just as bloodlessly and peacefully as any strike ever went on in England. For want of real crime they are trying to manufacture bogus crimes, and hence these charges. But if these prosecutions be got up for that purpose, and succeed in intimidating the people from holding their open meetings, passing their resolutions, and expressing public opinion honestly and manfully, before six months are over we shall be driven back to the days of old.

Let me give one or two instances of these artificially Castle-manufactured crimes in Ireland. The editor and proprietor of the *Kilkenny People* were prosecuted at the last assizes for Whiteboyism, and most desperate attempts were made to pack the jury. I do not know whether Gentlemen listening to me are aware that these Whiteboy Acts were passed to deal with a state of things generations ago, when vast bodies of armed men clad in white shirts and with their faces blackened used to roam through the country at night, shooting, burning, cutting off men's ears, burying them alive up to their chins, and so on. One would have thought these two journalists had been caught red-handed in some desperate midnight fray, or at all events that there was a charge of physical violence; but their only crime was that in the ordinary way of business they published in their newspaper without a word of comment a resolution of the local branch of the League condemning a man who had taken an evicted farm, and appealing to his neighbours to give him no countenance in business as long as he retained that farm. It was not contended for one instant that the resolution had been the means of causing any violence or danger of violence, or that it caused even any greater pain of mind than, say, for instance, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham feels, or ought to feel, every morning when he opens any organ of public opinion from any part of the civilised world outside England. These two respectable journalists, who confined themselves to publishing a *bona fide* report of an important public body, whose legality the Government has never dared to question, would at the present moment have been undergoing the fate of Whiteboy marauders but for the fact that luckily the job was too much for even a selected jury. I venture to ask any Englishman in this House if there is a shadow of reality in the cry of equal rights between the two peoples? Can you imagine such a thing happening to an English newspaper? I venture to say that this was a case, not of journalistic Whiteboyism but of Dublin Castle blackguardism. Another case of these bogus crimes was in county Kerry, where nine respectable farmers were tried at the last assizes for conspiracy and for writing threatening letters, and were actually convicted by a packed jury and sentenced to two months imprisonment with hard labour. In the agrarian history of Kerry, what is always meant by a threatening letter was some dastardly communication ornamented with a coffin and a death's-head and crossbones, and threatening the man to whom it was sent with some cruel form of assassination. What are the facts on which these farmers are charged with that abominable crime? The learned judge who tried them complimented them in the dock as highly respectable farmers, and not of the class of moonlighters or murderers. During the years of disorganisation before the League was started a poor creature named Kangley had been evicted from a wretched tract of bog, and a neighbour named Scanlan had taken it. When the League was started, this poor man's case and the amount of parish disturbance it caused became a subject of discussion by the branch, and the poor man appealed to the branch of the League and stated his own side of the case; and the League, in order to be perfectly fair and impartial, wrote a letter to the grabber acquainting him with the fact that they had been appealed to for an expression of opinion, and stating that they were quite ready to hear his side of the case before coming to any decision. Now listen to this terrible document—

> "DEAR SIR,—I have to inform you that a complaint has been lodged before the Lixnaw branch of the United Irish League in reference to some land which it is alleged you have taken, and I am directed by the members to request your attendance at a meeting to be held next Sunday so that inquiries may be made into the matter.—Yours truly, J. J. JOYCE, Hon. Secretary."

It was that civil and friendly letter—— [Ministerial laughter and Irish cheers.] Would not the hon. and gallant Member have supposed that that was really a mild kind of letter ten years ago? It was a perfectly civil letter. It was sent through the open post, signed by the officer of the branch, and that was the threatening letter for which these respectable farmers in Kerry were dragged before a packed jury. Remember this, Mr. Speaker; it was proved at the trial that Scanlan had himself invoked the arbitration of the United Irish League. In his own evidence at the trial he stated that he would allow his case to come before the League, and have it settled there if it could be done. He did not suggest there was any threat used against him. His wife was a servant in the police barracks. That was the secret of the whole conspiracy. "Witness would never have rendered up the letter, but the sergeant came for it." In response to that letter, as a matter of fact, Scanlan turned up before the League. The whole thing was discussed. He made a certain offer, which was discussed, but the evicted tenant did not consider it sufficient, and there the matter ended. Scanlan did not become popular with his neighbours. I should like to know why he should? It is the insane greed of men like him that is the cause of all the follies of the landlords as well as all the miseries of the tenants. But it was not contended for a moment that the slightest violence was offered to him, or even that he fell out with the League because they failed to patch up this business. On the contrary, the very counsel for the Crown who opened the case actually warned the jury not to believe the sworn testimony of the grabber. He said Scanlan would now probably appear before them and rejoice in the League, and lick the hands that were lifted against him. That is the statement of the Crown, whose particular witness this man is. Now, I again ask Englishmen, if this letter had been written by some secretary of a trade union in England, inviting a brother workman to discuss terms of settlement with his society, would it be tolerated for the officer of such a society to be called up and tried before a packed jury on this base and dishonourable charge of threatening-letter writing, for which charge there was infinitely less foundation than, if I am in order in saying it, Mr. Speaker, if the majority of this House at the present moment were indicted for wilful murder and highway robbery in South Africa. Well, notwithstanding that these nine men were complimented by the very judge who sentenced them, they are brought away from their own county to Cork, and in Cork, where there is a population of 396,000 Catholics to 35,000 Protestants, an exclusively Protestant and Unionist jury was empanelled to try them. Pray listen to the string of true-blue Anglo-Saxon names that by some extraordinary necromancy got into the box in Catholic and Nationalist Cork—Thomas Upward, Francis Duke, Francis William De Vere, Robert Parkhill, Alfred C. Murphy, Hasker Moonhead. Now listen to the unfortunate Gaelic Nationalists in that city, where there are 396,000 Catholics to 35,000 Protestants. Listen to what happened, and hear the names of the Catholic Gaels who were ordered by the Crown to stand by as men unfit for credence—O'Shee, Morissey—[Ministerial laughter.] Yes, I hear a laugh from the other side. Does the hon. Member object to people with these strong names? It is easy to order Catholic Nationalists to stand by in the Cork jury box. You do not ask their Gaelic comrades to stand by in South Africa, where, unfortunately, they saved you from being driven into the sea. Let me go on and offend hon. Gentlemen still further for a moment, if they will permit me, with a few more of these offensive Gaelic names—Morissey, Callory, Moriarty, Murphy, Mahony, Hogan, O'Neil, etc. I do not wish to detain the House. Forty-three of these Gaelic Nationalists were ordered to stand aside. In a community in which the Catholics are 396,000 to 35,000 Protestants, a jury as exclusively Protestant and Unionist as if selected by the local branch of the Landlords' Union was empanelled. The result of these men's honest attempt to patch up this dangerous parish dispute was that they were sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour as threatening letter-writers. They attempted arbitration. You have as strong an objection to arbitration in Kerry as you have in South Africa. God forbid that the results should be equally bloody, but I tell you that if you had not the organisation and the power of the League to restrain the people, the result of such a lesson as that would be to teach hot-headed men that it is a safer and more effective course to address a volley of slugs to the land grabber than a simple letter. If that turned out to be the case I have no hesitation in saying it is the Government and Gentlemen on the other side who support it who would be the greater criminals of the two.

Now I mention the subject of jury packing in Cork and Kerry, and you would suppose that if ever there was a subject on which public opinion was entitled to make itself heard in Ireland it was this miserable juggling with the sacred right of trial. Under this system it is really no exaggeration to say that the Crown official can get his twelve "reliables" to do his work with as absolute power as a military officer can pick out a firing party to carry out a military sentence. Unfortunately the Gaelic Catholic has no more chance against such a system than the Christians had against Nero's tigers in the Roman amphitheatre. I ask Englishmen again what would be their feelings—I ask the hon. Member for South Belfast what would be his feeling if the seven bishops were to be tried in London to-morrow morning by a jury composed exclusively of Irish Catholics, and if *The Times* newspaper was to be suppressed the following morning for daring to make a comment upon it.

Now do you think that we have no feelings? I tell you that parallel things are going on in Ireland at the present moment, and they are apt to make Irishmen's blood boil with shame. You are not content with stripping our poor people of arms, but we are to be disarmed even of the right of making a protest in the public press against the infamy of the present course of action of the Government. Let me give the latest case. It occurred in the county of Sligo, where there is a population of 90,000 Catholics and only 10,000 Protestants. A jury, as usual exclusively composed of Unionists and Protestants, was empannelled and sent two Catholic Nationalists to gaol for six months with hard labour for making speeches at a public meeting. My hon. friend the Member for North Leitrim, and who is also mayor for Sligo, is the proprietor of the principal newspaper in the district. He felt it his duty in common decency and in common manhood to write an article in his newspaper protesting against the foul methods by which his brother Catholics were excluded from juries—in strong terms, no doubt, but in scarcely more passionate terms than were employed by the Catholic bishop of the district, the Bishop of Elphin, who wrote in denunciation of this intolerable insult to every man who has a drop of Catholic blood in his veins. My friend was instantly prosecuted. As usual, he was not tried at home, but was dragged away to Dublin, and by a grim stroke of Castle irony this gentleman, whose crime was that he had simply suggested the existence of jury-packing, was himself, in his own case, treated to a most striking exemplification of the reality and iniquity of that practice. Out of a couple of dozen jurors who were available, thirteen Catholics were, even in Dublin, ordered to stand by by the Crown. I am glad to say that the enlightened Protestants of Dublin are beginning to revolt against this outrageous insult of constituting them the executioners-in-ordinary of their own fellow-countrymen. It is too much for them, and but for their disagreement my friend would be now suffering imprisonment for suggesting that these was such a thing as jury-packing. The scandal did not stop there, though nobody ever dreamed that it would lead to a second trial. It was contrary to all precedent in cases of the kind. When the Land League leaders were tried under the same system in 1881 the jury disagreed, but nothing more was said about it. I was prosecuted myself in the Campaign time for conspiracy, and the jury disagreed, and of course the case was never heard of again. When the *Freeman's Journal*, the principal Nationalist paper in the country, published an article on the Sligo case protesting that jury-packing had been exemplified in that case, instantly the Crown turned their attention to that journal, and to another great metropolitan newspaper, the *Dublin Evening Telegraph.* This time, however, they did not resort to trial by even a packed jury—they are beginning to be afraid of and distrust packed juries even in Dublin—but they resorted to that miserable, dishonest pretext, contempt of court, on the ground that comment had been made upon a case which was still *sub judice.* These two newspapers were attached by the Court, and Heaven only knows what penalties will follow. I ask you to remember for a moment the different links in this chain that is being coiled round public opinion in Ireland. First, the poor local men sent to gaol for six months; second, my hon. friend tried by a packed jury for stating that there was such a thing as a packed jury; and finally, the two metropolitan journals committed under the arbitrary power of contempt of court because they had attempted to raise a public protest against the way in which their comrades of the provincial press were being persecuted and strangled in the performance of a public duty.

I have sometimes heard people talk of Irishmen being too passionate and violent. I think if there is any great fault—personally I admit that it is possible we have our faults—but if there is any striking fault in our national character, I am afraid it is that we bear too much, and bear it too tamely, and only that you have taken care to disarm us, as if we were a tribe of Hottentots, we would sometimes be inclined—I certainly would—to follow the example of those two little Republics in South Africa who have resisted and chastised your insolence and tyranny. It is of vital importance to remember that this kind of thing has been going on for years and years in Ireland, and it is necessary to bring a knowledge of the facts to the attention of this House. Then there was a case where the principal inhabitants of a peaceful little village were indicted for conspiracy because the local branch of the United Irish League took cognisance of a case of land grabbing. Why in Heaven's name not take cognisance of it, if Irish public opinion is to be allowed expression at all? Is there any pretence of crime here? There has not been a crime committed in the district for the last three years. Indeed, it will have to be admitted that in all these cases crime neither follows nor accompanies the proceedings of the League, with one or two exceptions, for which the League is not in the smallest degree responsible. Now, the grabber himself in his evidence said he came to Tallow as a poor friendless boy, and that he had made his wealth out of the small farmers, and also by gambling on the Stock Exchange. In all these grabbing cases, or almost all of them, the grabbers are either small shopkeepers who have made their money out of the peasants, or pensioners of the police who use the public money to plunder their neighbours. These are the men whose names it is deliberately held to be a crime even to whisper in public. Well, a respectable Protestant family on the estate of the Duke of Devonshire was evicted and the holding grabbed, and the local branch of the League very properly took up the case and attempted to bring public opinion to bear upon it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The hon. Gentleman must be aware that the case he is now commenting upon is *sub judice*, and that the men will be tried. It is unusual to comment on such cases in this House.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: I will at once bow to your decision, Mr. Speaker, if you first hear me as to the point whether these men are really returned for trial at all; for I hold that they are not.

*MR. SPEAKER: If it is correct, as the Attorney General says, that this matter is still *sub judice*, that is to say that legal proceedings upon it are pending, it is not desirable to comment upon it.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: What I want to point out is, that there were four magistrates on the bench, two paid and two unpaid; and that there was an even division as soon as the evidence was completed. According to all precedents the prosecution ought to have failed, and therefore there would be no case of *sub judice*. These paid magistrates deliberately overrode the verdict of the two unpaid magistrates, and committed the men for trial.

*MR. SPEAKER: The fact is that these men are now awaiting trial, and the hon. Member must not comment upon the case.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: I have nowhere else to speak; but I pass on to another phase of my argument. Why should not Irish peasants have the same right of combination that English and even Irish tradesmen have? I want to know, in the next place, what are these guilty practices that are carried on by these branches of the United Irish League which are not carried on under another name by trade unions all over the country? You may call it black-balling or picketing here in England, that which you are pleased to call boycotting in Ireland, but it is precisely the same thing. It is sheer cant and dishonesty. None of us like it, but every one of us practises it—every trade union, profession, and club. It is human nature and will last as long as human nature. Members of the League in Ireland have suffered more than the Afrikanders' peace delegates, having been obliged to fly for their lives, and having been hunted from post to pillar, and even denied the shelter of their homes. The House will remember that the only observation that the First Lord of the Treasury had to offer by way of comfort was that there really was a limit to human patience, but that is a remark which is equally applicable to Ireland; and I venture to say that the man who in the most sordid selfishness stands between a whole people and their country is the greatest tax on human patience that ever existed. We came here to serve you, but we will yet be your destruction. I remember a few weeks ago the Chief Secretary, in response to a courteous invitation to speak at the trade union office, took a most sympathetic line as to their claim for the right of combination. Yet at the same moment, or very soon afterwards, his police in Ireland were guilty of making armed raids on the organised union of the country, and having men tried by packed juries because they exercised temperance in their language, and because they combine, as they have a right to do, and as they will do whether you like it or not, to obtain their lands on such conditions as will give them a living wage.

The Irish trade unions do not represent more than 20,000 men. This League represents 500,000 farmers and labourers, who, with their families, represent three-fourths of the population. And the objects which it seeks to obtain are strictly fair and just. As to one of those objects, the abolition of landlordism in Ireland, you had last night a demonstration that that object is supported by nine-tenths of the representatives of Ireland in this House; even hon. Members sitting on the Government side. I venture to say that it is of greater consequence to the people than any reform ever submitted to this House. Again, as to the second object of the League—to which the Chief Secretary last night made an allusion, in regard to which I hope I make no mistake in believing it to be a friendly one—the object to parcel out the vast grazing lands among the people. Plenty of those lands are lying derelict, whilst the poor starved cottagers huddle together on their confines hungering for them. This object is so great, so inevitable, that there is a department of the Government at the present moment engaged in carrying out the programme of the League, although at so miserable a snail's pace that it will take centuries to make any impression upon the mass of misery that has to be dealt with.

I think the Chief Secretary will admit that up to the present, for reasons which he will understand, he has met with more sympathetic consideration in Ireland than perhaps any Chief Secretary who has gone before him, with the exception of the right hon. Member for Montrose. But the time has come when he will have to make up his mind for good or ill what he is going to do. It will not do to tell us that Ireland is being governed under the ordinary laws—that is a sophistry and a fraud on England and Ireland alike. As evil and as arbitrary things as ever turned the constitution of England against its own Government are going on now in Ireland. You have not done anything yet except under compulsion, but you will hear of these things every week of your lives so long as the power of free speech is left to us. If the Chief Secretary has made up his mind to lapse into the old condition of things, of having concessions sandwiched with coercion, and allowing his adherents in Ireland to indulge in the noble pastime of harrying the people, what will be our procedure in this session and the sessions to come? It will be obstructive. If the right hon. Gentleman intends to go in for coercion, it will be manly for him to bring along his Coercion Act in all its atrocity, and then we can have the issue fairly and squarely discussed. If the Government persist in their present policy of suppression and attempting to drive discontent beneath the surface, there will be two courses open to the Irish Members. From the selfish point of view, the easiest course for all of us will be to abandon the field to the secret societies, and let the landlords and the land-grabbers take the consequences; that will probably be the easiest, and I am sorry to be obliged to say it would perhaps be the more effective course to arouse England to a knowledge of the desperate condition of the people; but I for one will not give up without a fight the position we have won for our people of doing everything which Englishmen have a right to do. The Chief Secretary can still give effect if he chooses to allowing the overpowering view of the people being known without bloodshed, without secrecy, or without anything else which would make honest men hang their heads with shame. And if open agitation in Ireland is to be preserved, it will have to be preserved not by putting our necks under the yoke of the men who are doing these things that are going on in Ireland, but by resisting them and putting them down at no matter what cost of trouble or of liberty. We will not allow simple village people to be strangled and garrotted silently. We will hold no truce with these land-grabbers. We will not bend the knee to his Worship the Mayor—a new stage religion—to creatures whose trade no doubt is quite as strictly legal as that of the hangman, and which is equally repulsive. You will not succeed in muzzling the press in Ireland or in silencing the outcry against you, or if you have to do it, it will have to be pronounced by your judges. You will have to go very much further than suppressing an occasional meeting or making a dead set on some obscure village hamlet in some remote part. The right hon. Gentleman will have to bring his Coercion Act along if he means to persist in suppressing our national aspirations. It is the magistrates and the county councillors of Ireland that it would be wise for you to conciliate.

I do not know whether it will be made a new case of conspiracy and intimidation against us if we tell the right hon. Gentleman this plainly now. He is young and ardent, and, judging from his onslaught on the hon. Members for Waterford and South Tyrone last night, he rejoices at the scent of battle, and is ready to act the part of the strong man. He must take his own course, and we shall take ours. The Irish Members are fighting for the only remedy that can be suggested for the unnatural and accursed system by which the people of Ireland are being killed off, and we have only to look back on the history of any coercion struggle in Ireland to feel fairly confident that this House will yet acknowledge that we were right all along, and will proceed to apply the remedy, as usual, too late. I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name.

MR. BURKE (King's County, Tullamore): As an entirely new Member of this House, I should have preferred, under ordinary circumstances, to have found another time for speaking upon this subject, but I realise that we are not assembled here under ordinary circumstances. The Amendment proposed by my hon. friend the Member for Cork raises definitely this issue, that while you have already spent £100,000,000 on the South African War, and are continuing to spend at the rate of £1,500,000 per week—the war having arisen out of the questions of the franchise and local government—here, over the Channel, within a few hours journey of London, you have a part of His Majesty's Empire commonly called Ireland, where the most ordinary rights and liberties with which the people of England have been familiar for generations are practically at the mercy of the local resident magistrate or policeman who takes upon himself to deal with them.

I feel all the more bound to associate myself with the protest raised by the hon, Member for Cork in view of the fact that I have had the honour of taking some active share in promoting the organisation for whose rights and liberties he has so eloquently pleaded to-night. I am in a position to speak with knowledge as to the progress and growth of the United Irish League movement. I have been north, east, south, and west, I saw the birth of the movement, I saw its rapid growth, and I saw its final triumph. I saw also some of the scenes of intolerable petty despotism and tyranny and bloodshed on the part of the police by which the progress of the movement was constantly marked. I would respectfully point out to hon. Members opposite that there is one right which the English people are famous for being extremely jealous of—the right of public meeting. It is not many years ago that a London mob tore down the railings of the park that was closed against a reform meeting. Still fewer years ago is it that the career of the Commissioner of Police for London was virtually terminated by his interference with the right of meeting in Trafalgar

Square. In that case the Commissioner was acting strictly within his technical rights. He was acting strictly within an Act of Parliament, and he was admittedly acting under considerable provocation, for after a previous meeting in Trafalgar Square a band of ruffians went looting shops right, left, and centre; but in spite of that the people of London did not recognise the proclamation of that meeting in Trafalgar Square, and you had a desperate riot for hours. You had the Riot Act read, and you had Sir Charles Warren's popularity in London gone for ever. He was hooted when he endeavoured to address a public meeting, he was lampooned on every music-hall stage in the metropolis, and he was forced to resign the high post which he held. But our case in the matter of the police is this. You have first of all the vice-regal proclamation of a public meeting, and then you have the proclamation signed by the resident magistrate. I think Ireland is the only part of the three kingdoms where the police barracks keep a stock of forms of proclamation with blank spaces left to fill in the dates and the names of the places. But, worse than that, there has been another development of this interference with public meeting, and there are hon. Members among my colleagues who have had personal experience of it. It is the case where a head constable, without even a proclamatiion or a warrant of any sort whatever, either from the Lord Lieutenant or the resident magistrate, takes on himself to draw a cordon of police across the highway, and to order men like the hon. Member for South Mayo off the streets like dogs, telling them that they have not got the right of public meeting even in their own constituencies.

If I am not wearying the House, I should like to give a couple of cases in my own personal experience. I was announced to address a meeting at a place called Kerrygale, half an hour's drive outside Dunmore, Donegal. I was informed the night before by District Inspector Moore that the meeting was proclaimed. I need hardly say I did not pay the least attention to that. In fact I have reason to know that I narrowly escaped prosecution for my lack of respect for the law on that occasion. We were treated to every insolence and violence on that occasion. We were blocked right, left, and centre, wild hands were laid upon us by District Inspector Moore, and efforts were made to drag us from the car in which we were driving to address the meeting; but in the end we did address not one meeting but two or three into the bargain. This petty tyranny is not even consistent in its operation, because while it was proposed to prevent us addressing a meeting at Kerrygale, where there was an agrarian dispute, we were not allowed to address a meeting in the chapel yard at Dunmore, and yet, when I went down on another occasion, although the agitation was still going ahead, not the slightest interference was offered to our proceedings. I wish to say a few words from the trade union point of view. We contend that it is as lawful and as moral for an Irish Member, or any Irish leader of opinion, whether newspaper editor or speaker from a public platform, to counsel the boycott of a farm from which a man has been evicted as it is for an English labour leader to advocate the boycotting of a job from which trade unionists have been expelled, and, indeed, if we enter into comparisons at all, the comparison is in favour of what is called the "blackleg" or the "scab," as against what we call the "landgrabber." In England the "blackleg" or the "scab" may at least plead that he has a wife and children who are in want, and that to obtain food he is only taking up the job another man has deliberately laid down; whereas in Ireland, as has been properly pointed out in the course of the debate, the landgrabber is a man who in 99 cases out of 100 has no plea of want or necessity, but who, on the contrary, is a well-to-do man with money at the bank. He comes there for a money-making purpose, and enters himself as a thorn in the side of a peaceful community. But we shall hear no doubt in the course of this debate the stock argument used in Ireland when these meetings are proclaimed, that, in the words of the proclamation generally issued against them, they "will or may cause boycotting and intimidation." I respectfully submit that in the course of your cab strike in London you had more intimidation and violence—more brutal violence, too—than you have had in the whole of the years of the United

Irish League. I would like to know, if in the heat of the bitterest fight in England, any responsible labour leader were to go to address a meeting a of strikers, even although the meeting were to be held at the gates of the dock or the factory where the strike was going on, public opinion in this country would tolerate armed interference with him—with, say the hon. Member for Battersea—on the plea that the meeting he was announced to address might or would lead to boycotting?

I think what has occurred is a striking illustration of the effectiveness with which the United Irish League is helping on the system of land purchase, even of voluntary land purchase, which is so highly commended as against compulsory land purchase by hon. Members on the other side of the House. For many months there raged a fierce agrarian dispute in the Abbeyfield district of county Limerick, but the United Irish League fought for the tenants' right to purchase their farms on equitable terms, and, as usual, the League won in the end. When the purchase was completed, a meeting was addressed by the parish priest; and what was the statement he made? He said that out of the 23,000 acres of land in the parish more than 16,000 had now been purchased, a distinction of which few parishes in Ireland could boast, and it came of the vigorous movement of the United Irish League in the district.

I do not propose, Sir, to abuse at any great length the indulgence extended to me as a new Member of this House. I wish to associate myself emphatically with the protest against what is called the system of jury-packing in Ireland. If the English people saw in assize after assize, and in case after case, every Wesleyan or every Baptist ordered to stand by, I think they would conclude that something like a very insidious, insulting, and deadly religious, as well as political, persecution was being carried on. I speak myself as a Protestant; I was born one, and in all human probability I shall die one; but I hope I shall die as I shall live, without labouring under the impression or pretending to believe that my Catholic neighbour is a born liar who is not fit to be trusted on his oath. This is no sentimental grievance. The facts brought before the House by the hon. Member for Cork conclusively prove that there is a steadfast assumption by the Crown, whenever its law officers can make that assumption felt, that every Roman Catholic is *ipso facto* a man not to be trusted on his oath, who cannot be trusted to do justice between man and man, but who may fairly be subjected to the inconvenience of being compelled to attend on summons, under penalty of heavy fine, and to the ignominy of being told to stand by for the benefit of an exclusively Protestant and Unionist jury.

In conclusion, I would earnestly plead that it is, to say the least, an anachronism that when we see South Africa drenched in blood and tears, and laid waste with fire and sword, for a complaint about the alleged over taxation and under representation of a gold mining community—that while this is done under the plea of equal rights for all men and liberty for all subjects of the King, within a day's journey of this capital you have a part of His Majesty's dominions labouring under a tyranny and injustice that would make Radical to the backbone the most true-blue Tory county in England if it was practised on that county. I would further plead that Irishmen are not to be told that they are treacherous or unpatriotic because they cannot rejoice in the victories or mourn over the defeats of a Government which imposes upon them a code of law alien to the best traditions of the law that the English people enjoy, and which deprives them of those rights of combination, free speech, and public meeting by which alone the liberties of England itself have been secured and improved for generations. I beg to second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the question to add the words, 'Humbly to represent to Your Majesty that this House has observed that a combination of the agricultural classes in Ireland has been formed, under the name of the United Irish League, with the object of accomplishing reforms which alone, in the opinion of nine-tenths of the constitutional representatives of Ireland, can arrest the continued depopulation of that country and the decay of its only great national industry. These reforms being, first, the creation of an occupying proprietary in substitution for the present unsettled and vexatious system of dual ownership of land; and, secondly, the utilisation of extensive tracts, at present lying practically waste in the congested districts, for the purpose of supplying holdings of sufficient extent to a hard working and deserving population, who for want of land are compelled to live in a condition of chronic privation and even famine on the borders of those fertile depopulated areas; that the movement which has been carried on for the past three years for the promotion of these objects has been marked by the disappearance of those crimes of violence and secret conspiracies which were used to the discredit of all former agrarian combinations in Ireland, and the League, basing itself on the principle that its struggle is in the nature of a great economic industrial dispute between the tillers of the soil on the one side and the rent-owners supported by a vast capital and territorial influence on the other, has relied for success upon those combinations for mutual protection and appeals to public opinion which the trades union laws have expressly authorised in the case of disputes between capital and labour of a non-agricultural character; that, nevertheless, this House has observed that the forces of the Crown have been unconstitutionally employed, and public justice has been polluted in the interest of one of the parties to the dispute; that the right of public meeting has been capriciously suppressed; that prosecutions for conspiracy and Whiteboyism have been instituted in reference to open and advised appeals to public opinion and measures of mutual protection, which are indisputably within the right of trades unions in ordinary industrial struggles; that the power of contempt of court has been unconstitutionally and oppressively abused for the purpose of inflicting prolonged sentences of imprisonment without trial; that the right of trial by jury has been outraged by the systematic exclusion from the jury box of all jurors sharing the politics or creed of the accused, and the empannelling of juries composed exclusively of sympathisers with the territorial class; that the liberty of the press in Ireland has been assailed, and influential organs of opinion prosecuted in the endeavour to silence public comment on this iniquitous system; that grievous and vindictive fines have been exacted from districts obnoxious to the landlord interest by means of charges for extra police quartered upon peaceful populations, and that the people of Ireland have been subjected to divers others the like cruel oppressions and provocations. And humbly to represent to Your Majesty that it being of the highest constitutional import to encourage the Irish people to seek the redress of their grievances by the fullest freedom of speech and of combination which is warranted by the example of the trades unions of Great Britain, this House is of opinion that the attacks at present directed by the Executive against the rights of free speech and of combination in Ireland should cease,' and that the legislation protecting the trades unions in the exercise of their rights of combination against capital and non-union labour should be extended to all agricultural combinations of a similar character in that country.'"—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): After the two very able and eloquent speeches delivered from these benches in support of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork, I feel as if it would be beating the air for me to reiterate any of the arguments used by either of the hon. Gentlemen. Both of these Gentlemen spoke of their experience in jury-packing as practised in the provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. I intend to speak of jury-packing in the province with which the right hon. the Attorney-General for Ireland and myself are more intimately acquainted than we are with any of these other provinces. As one residing all my lifetime in or about the city of Londonderry, and having had a large and rather varied experience of the criminal courts in Ulster as at present constituted, I feel it my duty to give to this House, and especially hon. Members from England and Scotland, some of my experiences in jury-packing as it is practised in Ulster.

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present (Mr. JOHN CAMPBELL). House counted, and, forty Members being found present—

*MR. O'DOHERTY (continuing): I was referring to the fact that my experience of the maladministration of the law was confined practically to Ulster. Now, I do not intend to detain the House with statistics or with reports, true though they may be, which I have read in the columns of the daily press in Ireland with reference to the provinces other than Ulster. I will try to confine myself to my own experience on these two counts of jury-packing and maladministration of the law. The hon. Member for Cork referred to the fact that not a single Catholic was allowed to sit upon any jury in trials lately held in Connaught, Munster, or Leinster. That may be made an argument by the Treasury Bench that no Catholic sitting on a jury in these provinces would commit an Irishman charged with an offence which they believed did not lie under English laws, and an offence for which no man could be convicted in this country; but if this is the law in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, why is it not the law in Ulster? In the case of a man tried there for an offence, do the Crown call upon any Orangemen to stand aside?

No; with the result that at a trial held some time ago in Londonderry, where one or two men were put into the dock, and where the charge was conclusively brought home, the Orangeman was acquitted by his brother Orangemen in the jury box. So glaring was the injustice that the worthy judge who presided at that trial said, "That may be your verdict, but you will not get twelve men in the whole of the United Kingdom to agree with you." After that instance of maladministration that goes on in Londonderry, in after years did the Crown, when Orangemen were being tried for party offences, order the Orangemen whose names appeared in the jury panel to stand aside? Certainly not. Why? Because these Orange gentlemen are the leaders of Unionist public opinion in that constituency which is represented by the hon. Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, and if the law was administered in Ulster as in the other provinces—the law for which he is responsible—this House would lose a brilliant ornament. Mere papists in Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Ulster can never do any good at Parliamentary elections, and their feelings are accordingly never respected. Take the constituency which I have the honour to represent. North Donegal forms a portion of a county which was admitted, in answer to a question put by me a few nights ago to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to be the most crimeless county in the three kingdoms. Yet the greater portion of the county is proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act; but the remarkable fact is that that portion of the county which is not proclaimed is situated in East Donegal, a division in which the Unionists have the only chance whatever of capturing the seat, and the reason for it, to me, is as plain as a pikestaff. It is because there are a large number of Unionists inhabiting that district. Yet that portion which is not proclaimed has been proved to have far more crime in proportion to its population than the other seven-eighths of the county. The only conclusion we can form, therefore, is that the Government has not proclaimed this district in order to pander to the wishes of the Orange leaders. Going further towards the south, some months ago in the town of Portadown, in the constituency of North Armagh, a defenceless body of Catholic youths, lead by their pastor, went to Bundoran on an excursion. After a short service in the church they started on their way to the railway station, and on their way they were set upon by the Orange roughs of the district, and some of them were butchered even nearly to death. Was a single man brought to justice for that outrage? Not one. No doubt a few were asked to appear before the magistrate sitting in petty sessions in that town, and show cause why they should not be bound over to keep the peace; but what was the result? They proved an alibi, although the most conclusive evidence was produced that they were guilty, and in that case not a single man was convicted beyond a few monetary fines. These facts were reported to Dublin Castle, and a demand was made by the Catholic people of that district that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the maladministration of justice in that town, with the result that the gentlemen who animate Dublin Castle did not deign to send a reply to the people and the Catholic pastor of that town.

With reference to the United Irish League, the hon. Member for North Derry is probably aware of the fact that it has spread in his own constituency. as in every other, and I have no doubt whatever, after what has occurred this evening, and on other occasions, the League is bound to gain ground in Ulster, where Protestant and Orange farmers will join it, with the result that hon. Members opposite, who have always to do so, will have to obey the behest of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House, and vote for the Government against the wishes of their constituents. The First Lord of the Treasury might adopt with success the practice adopted in China, and send a silken rope to each of these gentlemen, with the request that they would commit political suicide.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland, who is responsible for the government of that country to this House, boasted some weeks ago that he was half an Irishman. I would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to remember that his ancestors have sympathised with the people, helped them in their troubles, and sympathised with their grievances, and I would appeal to him to embrace the opportunity now offered from these benches, in the present state of affairs in Ireland, to reform the maladministration of Dublin Castle of which we so much complain. By granting the claims of Ireland, he will put an end for ever to the interminable conflict that has gone on for the last century, and by administering the laws in Ireland in the way in which they are administered in England would do much to remove the complaints that arise from these benches. Hon. Members on these benches do not complain of the laws, but of the maladministration of the laws.

*MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I agree with everything said by the hon. Member for Cork in his vigorous and pointed denunciation of the system of persecution which the Irish Nationalists who have identified themselves with the United Irish League are being subjected to. I desire particularly to associate myself with him because of the way we have been treated in the county Longford, one of the divisions of which I have the honour to represent in this House. It has been made the theatre of this persecuting system, Probably in the whole of the province of Leinster there is not a county which has had so fair a record for perfect and absolute freedom from crime as Longford. The hon. Member for Cork has in his speech referred to the fact that, as regards the province of Munster, judge after judge at the assizes had congratulated its grand juries on the crimelessness and peacefulness of that province. I say that if the charges of the assize judges who have visited Longford from time to time are looked up by the representatives of the Government it will be found that for at least the past three years—I might say for the past ten years—absolutely no crime of any serious kind has prevailed in the county of Longford. So late as the March assizes of 1900 Mr. Justice Kenny, whose partiality to the League I think is not particularly admitted on these benches, a former Solicitor General in this House, congratulated the grand jury of the county of Longford on the peacefulness of the county. When the United Irish League was established in the county a few busybodies in the police force of that county took it into their heads to persecute the people because of the fact that they had once more joined themselves with their brother Nationalists in their fight for the redemption of their native land. An attempt was made first of all to intimidate the Nationalists from taking part in public meetings. Because the hon. Gentleman who so worthily represents South Mayo came into the district and organised the League, the police, who knew perfectly well that he was doing good work among the people, made a dead set on the hon. Gentleman without any cause whatever except a few references which he made in a speech. He was hauled before a bench of magistrates, and a prosecution was instituted by the Government, who sought to convict him and send him to gaol under the ancient statute of Edward III. He was represented as a person of ill fame whose committal to gaol was requisite in the interest of peace and good order in the community. I do not know whether it was with the cognisance of the right hon. Gentleman the Attorney General, but as elaborate arrangements were made as if it was for a great State trial. A particularly offensive gentleman—I use the words advisedly in presence of the right hon. Gentleman — a particularly offensive Crown prosecutor was sent down to Longford to conduct the State trial. Mr. Morphy was despatched with an immense number of law books and a great deal of impudence and cheek to instruct the magistrates of county Longford in their duty. I wish to point out that, not content with relying upon the ordinary administrators of the law and your own removable Tory magistrates, you imported a second resident magistrate, Mr. Jones, of Boyle, to assist in the conviction of my hon. friend, and by that means you were able to secure the sending of the hon. Gentleman for two months to Sligo gaol. Well, I do not think the Crown were well advised in the course they took, because, instead of allaying the process of insubordination to the law, you simply threw oil upon the fire, and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that from that time forward, if there had been any hesitancy whatever in pushing forward the work of the League, it advanced by leaps and bounds in county Longford. That was only, as it were, the first step in the proceedings. The next were of a very much graver nature. My hon. friend the Member for Cork read a letter which was addressed by the secretary of a branch of the League in Kerry to a land-grabber to attend a meeting of the League for the purpose of having his case investigated. That letter was in my opinion a perfectly civil invitation. [Laughter.] Gentlemen, of course, laugh at the statement that it was a civil invitation. Well, in the county Longford there was even less offence in a letter addressed to a grazier in the district asking him whether he intended to continue holding a grazing farm which he had been holding for some years past. That was seized upon by the Crown as another case under the Whiteboy Acts, and Mr. James Killean was hauled up and arraigned before a tribunal for writing a threatening letter. It seems to me that the Crown have very little regard for the taxpayers of these kingdoms. They made most elaborate preparations to convict Mr. Killean. It did not satisfy them to deal with him at petty sessions. They sent him for trial at the assizes. When all the elaborate preparations for the trial were complete, a frivolous excuse—I describe it as nothing else—was seized upon by the Crown for the purpose of postponing the trial and having him sent to where a packed jury could be found to convict him at the winter assizes. The pretence was that in a Catholic and Nationalist county like Longford a fair trial could not be had. This attempt to shift the case to the winter assizes was met by the counsel for the traverser, who said to the Crown—

> "We will not challenge one single Protestant juror. We will leave you to empannel a whole jury of Protestants, and we will take them in order to show that we are not afraid to submit the justice of this case to a jury of our countymen."

But the Crown solicitor had his instructions, and he, in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Attorney General, moved for the place of trial being changed. They brought the traverser to Wicklow in December last, and there exercised their right of challenge to the fullest extent. They tried him before Mr. Justice Burton and a jury mainly of Protestants of the county Wicklow. In the course of the trial Mr. Justice Burton, who was a member of the Government, acted—I am bound to give him credit and I feel pleasure in doing so—as a just and impartial judge between the traverser and the Crown, and the case for the Crown was absolutely scouted out of court. They arraigned Mr. Killean on sixteen counts, but the Wicklow jury had common sense, and flung fifteen of these counts bodily out of court. I believe that when you come forward with the last leg on which you have to stand, the result will be the same.

Well, Sir, that did not finish these cases. Another case precisely similar occurred in the same county. One Sunday morning an innocent, harmless, and well-conducted young man, the secretary of the Dromard branch of the League, was found in broad daylight putting up a notice at the chapel gate. The notice stated that it was against the rules of the League to occupy land on the eleven months system. The young man when committing this act implicitly believed that the law allowed him to do so, but the county police inspector, bearing an honoured name, which he has dishonoured, in my opinion, started a persecution, and again you had the whole paraphernalia of a great state trial initiated at Ballinamuck. Sir, such conduct, as events proved, is absurd and ridiculous. What about the expense of all this? Of course, you do not care; you are quite satisfied, and would be if the expense was ten times as much. I implicitly and honestly believe that the Crown officials are delighted to have these prosecutions, because of the big fees they are able to draw from them. This man was brought up at Ballinamuck, and from there you sent him to Wicklow, although his counsel offered to take a Protestant jury in county Longford, and not to challenge a single man. There you empannelled a jury, and endeavoured, as far as possible, to prejudice them by representing county Longford to be in a disturbed condition. They have a district inspector in Granard, an English importation named Rodwell, and this gentleman was informed—he never saw them himself—that in certain places around the town of Granard iron spikes had been found in a meadow some time in July, and because iron spikes were found in a meadow at Granard after the posting of these notices the charges to your grand juries melted into thin air, and the whole county of Longford was in a state of revolution. What view did your Unionist jury of Wicklow take of that evidence and of the case as presented by a very eminent counsel at the Irish Bar? They simply kicked it out of court. They returned a verdict of not guilty, and Mr. Murtagh went home feeling greatly aggrieved that he had been troubled by the Crown exercising its big prerogative of indicting anybody it likes or anything it likes. What had occurred in the court of first instance in these cases? In the case of Murtagh, the magistrates, by three to two, discharged the prisoner. But they reckoned without the Attorney General. He was still in the background. I suppose Mr. Fleming, the Crown Prosecutor - I have a great respect for him, he once got me two months in jail for a speech—was of opinion that it was a slight upon his professional ability, and therefore he appealed to his friend the Attorney General, who, in the exercise of the powers vested in him, sent up a Bill before the grand jury of county Longford, some of whom were the very men who owned these farms. Talk about rigging a Bench! One of these grand jurors of county Longford actually told the judge from the jury-box that he was a witness for the Crown! Well, Mr. Speaker, at Wicklow the Crown were disappointed and Murtagh is at large to-day, and, if it is any consolation to the right hon. Gentleman to know it, he is just as little converted to the ways of landlords and Unionists as ever. We have the advantage in this House of being able to address questions direct to the Chief Secretary and the Attorney General on matters connected with this organisation, but I doubt whether it would have been possible to extract from them many of the facts which I have laid before the House. I think the Attorney General will not deny that I have substantially and correctly stated the two cases to which I have referred, but in spite of the breakdown at the winter assizes we are now told that one of these young men (Mr. J. J. Killean) is to be still further persecuted by another arraignment at the coming March assizes.

Some people are so stupid that they never learn anything, and I suppose the Crown have learnt nothing by their experience of the two trials. Let them by all means pull ahead. They will find it utterly impossible before any rationally constitutioned tribunal in the land to convince any jury that the charges of the judges whom you send on circuit to Longford are untrue, and that county Longford is in a disturbed condition. We are organised from end to end, and, please God, we will keep organised. I believe that the Chief Secretary, so far as his *entourage* will allow him, is desirous of doing fairly what he can for the social good of the country. But such antics as these are merely bringing your Government in to deeper contempt in the minds of the people of Ireland. In the United Irish League there has not been for a moment a suggestion of crime or outrage. To my own knowledge, within the last few weeks, when statements were made which in the opinion of the executive of the organisation should not have been made regarding particular cases is county Longford, the executive of the League did more by condemning such conduct to preserve peace and good order in the county than all the police you could import. Sir, it is time that this farce should cease. It is time that we should be be allowed to go to our public meetings as free citizens in a free land. What occurs at present? A train cannot go to any humble village in Ireland at which there is not a policeman on the platform with his notebook in his pouch, prepared to take down the names of any hon. Member of this House or anybody else whom he suspects of not being a true-blue loyalist or Unionist. At our public meetings—and on this point I desire to appeal specially to the Chief Secretary—you have established a system of spying which, I believe, is absolutely repugnant to the feelings of the police themselves. What was the evidence in one of these cases? In the case against the hon. Member for South Mayo four different policemen were called to give evidence. They went in couples to the meeting, and neither was told that the other was to take notes, so that each would be a spy on the other. How did they take notes? One said he took notes with his notebook on his hand under his cape, and when he came to read his notes in court he could not decipher a single word. What happened then? The Crown Prosecutor said, "Give us your recollection of what was said." I am not surprised that the magistrates could not stand this humbug. Even the resident magistrate of Longford was compelled to call upon the Crown Prosecutor to cease from putting in such evidence. If you want to take notes of our meetings send properly qualified men. None of us are ashamed of what we say, or afraid of it being taken down, or, if you like, recorded by a phonograph and repeated for the delectation of the gentlemen at Dublin Castle; but for goodness sake do not take these poor policemen from their barracks and give them instructions to take mental notes. Just imagine an Irish policeman taking a mental note of the proceedings, and confounding and confusing even the magistrate himself when he comes to narrate what went on.

I feel bound to say, however, that is one reason why I do not very much wish this system of spying put down. In my opinion there is nothing that has so helped the United Irish League, or so convinced the people that it has the true ring about it, as the presence of your helmeted spies at our meetings. Keep sending them if you like, but for decency's sake, and for the sake of accuracy—upon which, I suppose, the right hon. Gentleman is very strong—let us not be subjected to this process of evidence from mental notes. We are a peaceful people, and the most bigoted and rabid administrator in this country cannot find a single act of the United Irish League which could in the slightest degree be interpreted as an act of Whiteboyism. We protest in the strongest manner against the insult conveyed in these prosecutions towards our organisation and our people, and if the right hon. Gentleman is properly advised he will drop the process of instituting contempt of court motions and Whiteboy prosecutions on the mental notes of Irish policemen. I beg to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork City.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Before the right hon. Gentleman replies, I would ask him to allow me one or two brief minutes, because I desire to address one or two questions to him upon a particular case which has not been mentioned, and which I desire he should address his attention to in reply. It is not my intention to take part in the debate generally at this stage, and I would much prefer that some of my hon. friends and colleagues who have been actively engaged in the proceedings before the House should speak on this occasion.

The case to which I wish to draw attention is one of very great importance, because it concerns the freedom of the press in Ireland, and it is one in which I am personally interested in a particular way, because it concerns my own constituency. Amongst the cases mentioned by my hon. friend who introduced this motion was a prosecution in the county of Waterford, and it was pointed out that as the case may be considered still *sub judice*, he could not discuss the case. I have no intention of discussing the case, but I desire to call the attention of the Attorney General and the House to one particular incident that arose in the hearing before the magistrates which is now at an end. It is a case of conspiracy, and amongst other means taken to secure a conviction the Government subpœnaed the editor of the leading paper in the city of Waterford, and they asked him to give evidence of this character. It was not alleged that he had published anything in his paper which was in the least degree illegal, or no doubt he would have been prosecuted, as the proprietors of the Kilkenny papers were. There was no allegation that Mr. Redmond, the editor of this paper, had published anything illegal, but the Crown found themselves in a difficulty to prove conspiracy, and they subpœnaed Mr. Redmond to come forward to give evidence as to the handwriting of reports which had been supplied to him in his professional capacity as editor of the paper. I ask the Attorney General whether that is not a somewhat cruel position to place the editor of a newspaper in? Suppose he was mean enough to give evidence, it would mean his ruin; and if he does not give his evidence he is committed for contempt of court. There were four magistrates on the bench, but the editor of this paper refused to give evidence. He said that apart from politics, or what his own opinion might be, he considered that, as a journalist, he would be guilty of dishonourable conduct if he betrayed the confidence of his correspondents. It may be in the recollection of the Attorney General that a case of this kind was tried in the county of Limerick against a journalist who happened to be a Unionist. But he stood by his guns, and as a Unionist he said that he could not honourably give evidence, and I believe that he was committed for contempt of court. The Government, however, found the position so untenable that he was released in a very few days. Mr. Morphy, who represents the Crown, threatened the editor of this paper with a committal for contempt of court, but he was unable to carry out this threat because the opinion of the Bench was divided. What I desire to call the Attorney General's attention to is that the Crown Prosecutor stated openly in court with reference to this editor, that he would summon him as a witness to the assizes before the judge, and he further added: "Then this gentleman will get short shrift." That phrase was reported in all the papers in Dublin and in the provinces. I have not risen to take part in the general debate, but I do press upon the Attorney General and the Government that this is a most contemptible way of attempting to get evidence of conspiracy. They have nothing against this editor, and they cannot put their finger upon a single sentence of an illegal character in his paper. They ask him to come forward and be guilty of a breach of his honourable confidence as a journalist, in order to secure the conviction of prisoners in a conspiracy prosecution. Possibly the Attorney General has never heard of this case of Mr. Redmond. I would ask him to have inquiries made, and to defend at the Table if he can this process. There was recently a meeting held in Dublin of the Irish Journalists Association, which is very largely made up of Unionists, and is not by any means a Nationalist organisation, and this association unanimously passed a resolution approving of the action of Mr. Redmond, and calling upon him for the honour of the journalistic profession to stand by his guns. I ask, is this gentleman going to be sent to prison for refusing to give evidence? I ask the Attorney General to give this his attention, and to give us some justification of the action which the Government have taken in the matter.

MR. ATKINSON (who was imperfectly heard) said that, in reply to the hon. and learned Member, he might state that he was not acquainted with the facts of the case which he had just mentioned, but he would have inquiries made, and, if it should be found possible, the evidence of the editor alluded to should be dispensed with. He quite appreciated the position. He did not, however, intend to follow the hon. Member for Cork through his discursive, vehement, and he might almost say venomous speech, or through all the different questions which the hon. Member had touched upon in his Amendment.

This Amendment was, he understood, unique in the history of the Parliamentary proceedings in this House. It was unique in its length and unique in the variety of subjects with which it dealt. There was room enough under Mr. Gladstone's umbrella for all the different sections of the Liberal party, and certainly there would be room enough under this Amendment for all the different sections of the Nationalist party which the hon. Member for Cork had succeeded in welding together. It was impossible for him to follow the hon. Member at such length, and he would only now deal with questions of a legal character, for which he was more especially responsible, and he would leave his right hon. friend the Chief Secretary to deal with the general questions of policy.

The hon. Member had said that the Lord Chief Justice at Cork said that as yet no facts had been disclosed to justify the Government in proclaiming the League as an illegal association. The League had not been proclaimed as an illegal association because there was no evidence forthcoming that it was an association for the purpose of promoting an illegal object. But that was far from saying that there had not been illegal methods resorted to by members of the League and advocated by the League. He had by him there, and, if necessary, he could quote them, dozens of speeches delivered by different members of the Irish party, from the hon. Member for Cork downwards, in which, publicly, upon every platform, again and again boycotting was advocated. [Nationalist cheers.] He was glad that the hon. Member had the courage of his opinions, and did not shrink from the statements he had made. He had told men again and again that, because a man took land from which another man had been evicted, or because he took land which the League said he ought not to take, nobody was to speak to him, nobody was to buy from him, nobody was to sell to him, and that he should be treated as a pariah and incur a fate almost worse than death, and be subjected to social ostracism and financial ruin. [Nationalist cheers and cries of "Hear, hear."] He was glad that he did not misrepresent hon. Members. By this means intimidation and tyranny were to be executed on this man. That was a crime. [AN HON. MEMBER: What is?] Intimidation was a crime by English law, although it was not a crime according to the law of the League. The Government were bound to administer English law. [AN IRISH MEMBER: What is intimidation?] The hon. Member wished to administer the law of the League and degrade juries into instruments for administering the law of the League, and that was the cause of the outcry against what had been called "jury packing." [Hear, hear.] He was glad that there was no concealment by the hon. Member opposite, but it was a crime according to the law of the land to intimidate a man in such a way as to prevent him exercising his right to do what seemed to him the best thing if he kept within his legal rights.

The hon. Member had been vehement in his denunciation of grabbers. What was a grabber? [Several HON. MEMBERS: Robbers.] A "grabber" was a man who had a perfect right to the protection of the law of this country, and the Government were bound to administer the law in such a case. If this so-called grabber took a farm, the law of the League, which was based on mean and cowardly tyranny, at once declared that the man had committed a sin. The Administration was bound, as long as the law prevailed, to protect that grabber from intimidation.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: But not to force the public into a shop.

MR. ATKINSON said he would deal with that presently. In the meantime he wished to call attention to another well-known judgment by the late Lord Bramwell, who said that "liberty of thought and mind is the privilege of every Englishman, but still if any two or more men agree among themselves to coerce that liberty of thought and mind by constraint, they would be guilty of an offence." [AN HON. MEMBER on the Irish benches: What about the pro-Boers?] The hon. Member had asked why should we force the public into a shop. He was perfectly correct in saying that any man in the community had an absolute right to go into another man's shop or to stay out of it, but no man had a right to counsel and procure a number of men to league themselves together for the purposes of ruining a particular tradesman by abstaining from entering his shop. That was a distinction which had been laid down again and again by judge after judge, but it was a distinction which hon. Members from Ireland opposite ignored, because they knew that if they observed it, it would paralyse their combination. [AN HON. MEMBER from the Irish benches: You do it on the other side.] He would show that that was an ignorant and absurd contention. Take the well-known historic case. Every person that went to a theatre could applaud whom he pleased when he was pleased, and he could hiss when displeased; but the Duke of Brunswick many years ago had a verdict returned against him because he banded together a number of persons to go to a theatre for the purpose of injuring a particular actor by hissing him off the stage. [AN HON. MEMBER on the Irish benches: What about the Great Mogul case?]

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must appeal to hon. Members to extend more courtesy to the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. ATKINSON said he was quite familiar with the Great Mogul case against Macgregor, in which it was rightly held that traders in pursuit of their own interests might combine to promote that interest, although incidentally in the promotion of it they injured the interests of other people. That was quite true, but it was equally true that the Great Mogul case laid it down that when people combined together, not for the purpose of promoting their own trading interests, but for the purpose of injuring the property of some individual who was obnoxious to them, that was a crime. It was an idle pretence to take shelter behind such a contention, and he was astonished that hon. Gentlemen, who claimed for themselves such outspoken courage, were not ashamed in that House to do so, for they were not traders. The course they had pursued was that they had told the people of Ireland that the man who took an evicted farm was their enemy, that he deserved no quarter, no justice, no fair play—[Cries from the Irish benches of "Oh, oh!" and "No!"]—that nobody was to speak to him, that nobody was to work for him, that nobody was to buy his beasts at a fair, and that they were to inflict upon him social ostracism and financial ruin. That was not fair. It was punishing a man because he did not agree with their views, because he would not forward their organisation, and because he would not obey their law, which was not the law of the country in which he lived. It had been said again and again that the League was like a trade union; but there was a wide difference. Trade unions were formerly illegal, that is, it was illegal for workmen to combine together, because it was said they formed a conspiracy in restraint of trade. The old law was abolished, and trade unions could now refuse to work for any man, they could combine not to work for anyone, they could support each other in this refusal to work, but they could not intimidate. [An IRISH MEMBER: Picketing!] This very question of picketing came up in the case of Lyons *v.* Wilkins. The union had picketed the hands in a particular employment, not for the *bona fide* purpose of obtaining information, but for the purpose of inducing them to leave their employment. Here was what Lord Justice Lindley said—

> "Strikes and trade unions, which were formerly considered illegal, have now been legalised—at all events, so far as the doctrines as to restraint of trade are concerned—and a strike can be conducted up to a certain point with perfect legality. That is to say, persons can not only decline individually to work for a master except upon terms which the workmen desire, but they can combine to do that. They can combine to leave him; they can strike unless he will raise the wages up to what they desire, and trade unions, which assist them in withdrawing their own labour and declining to work, and which assist them in supporting themselves during the strike, can legally do so. . . . Now, Parliament has not yet conferred upon trade unions the power to coerce people, and to prevent them from working for whomsoever they like, upon any terms they like; and yet in the absence of such a power it is obvious a strike may not be effective and may not answer the purpose. Some strikes are perfectly effective by virtue of the strike, and other strikes are not effective unless the next step can be taken, and unless other people can be prevented from taking the place of the strikers. That is the pinch of the case in trade disputes; and until Parliament confers on trade unions the power of saying to other people, 'You shall not work for those who are desirous of employing you upon such terms as you may mutually agree upon,' trade unions exceed their power when they try to compel people not to work except on the terms fixed by the unions. I need hardly say that up to the present moment no such power as that exists. By the law of this country no one has ever, and no set of people have ever had that right or that power. . . . Trade unions have now been recognised, up to a certain point, as organs for good. They are the only means by which workmen can protect themselves from tyranny on the part of those who employ them; but the moment that trade unions become tyrants, in their turn they are engines for evil; they have no right to prevent any man from working on such terms as he chooses. . . . . One cannot say, as an abstract proposition, that all picketing is unlawful, because if all that is done is attending at or near a house in order merely to obtain or communicate information, that is lawful. But it is easy to see how, under colour of so attending, a great deal may be done which is absolutely illegal. It would be wrong to post people about a place of business or a house under pretence of merely obtaining or communicating information, if the object and effect were to compel the person so picketed not to do that which he has a perfect right to do; and it is because this proviso is often abused and used for an illegal purpose that such disputes as these very often arise."

What became of the pretence that, when a wretched man came before the Land League and knew that unless he obeyed the behests of the League he would be boycotted, that was not worse than picketing? There was no analogy, as the hon. Member for Cork suggests, between trade unions and the League which he has inaugurated and promoted. And for this simple reason, that the League acts by intimidation, and the trade unions cannot act by intimidation. The exhortation had been delivered many times by the League over the country that if turbulence was maintained the Government must yield. Happily the advice had not been generally taken, although there had been some slight increase of crime since the League was inaugurated.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: Where?

MR. ATKINSON: All over Ireland. He had not time to give the particulars, but it was crime almost entirely consisting of sending threatening letters, of boycotting, and intimidation. When the hon. Gentleman said that the League was crimeless he stated what was inaccurate. The hon. Member for Cork had drawn a picture of Ireland which, if true, would indicate that Ireland was in a parlous case; because, according to him, the forces of the Crown were unconstitutionally employed, justice was perverted, prosecutions were instituted without justification, and the most grinding and cruel tyranny which existed anywhere prevailed in Ireland. And the hon. Member said that, notwithstanding all that, Ireland was in a state of peace, although he wondered it was so. There was no restraint of free speech for hon. Members in that House, and they said the same things in Ireland, so that it was preposterous to talk of their being muzzled. He defied any hon. Member to point to any prosecutions for sedition except one, or to any prosecutions for anything but conspiracy to tyrannise and intimidate. He did not understand what right the hon. Gentleman had to arrogate to himself the right, because some individual made himself objectionable to him, to make a public speech and to instigate the persons to whom he spoke to inflict upon that man temporal loss and perhaps temporal ruin. He had no right to do so. It was an arrogant assumption on his part, and if he resorted to it he offended the law and must be brought to book by the law. He defied the hon. Gentleman to point to a single case during the time he had had the honour to hold a law office under the Crown in Ireland where a man had been prosecuted except for intimidating or boycotting. Men from time to time had, of course, been prosecuted, but only for those offences; but it was impossible for him at the present time to go into details. The hon. Member complained that there was no right of free speech in Ireland, but he thought if Members could make the same speeches in Ireland which they made in that House it was absurd to make such an allegation. We were also told there was no right of public meeting in Ireland. Out of 600 meetings only twenty-three had been interfered with.

Before passing away from the cases which the hon. Gentleman dealt with—he could not deal with them all and therefore he would refer to one. The hon. Member for Cork referred to the case of Sullivan. He was tried and acquitted. That case was made the subject of a debate in the previous year, and he really did not see why reference had been made again to the subject. He was tried and acquitted.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said he was acquitted by a packed jury and was really convicted by eleven out of twelve, if the jury had been a free jury.

MR. ATKINSON said that was not true. He could not say how his friend professed to know the decision at which the jury arrived, he himself did not know it, and the hon. Gentleman, at all events, ought not to know it. However, Sullivan was tried and acquitted. He would have a word to say with regard to the jury a little later on. The hon. Member for Cork had referred to Lord O'Brien, but Lord O'Brien's charge ought to be taken in its entirety, and if one half of his charge was quoted as being favourable to the League, he would be quite justified in referring to the other half. What was the charge? A wretched creature took a rood of land and held it for two years; the former tenant of the land thought he would like to get it back, and this wretched creature refused. He was summoned before the Lixnaw branch of the United Irish League, to which the complaint had been made that he refused to give up the land. Who made the complaint? [AN IRISH MEMBER: The man who had been evicted.] He refused to give up this wretched rood of ground, but he offered £2 to the other man; that was not satisfactory, and a proclamation was issued. He spoke from memory, and he believed the name of the man was Scanlan. A resolution was passed that, as John Scanlan persisted in holding the plot of land in defiance of the wishes of the League, they called upon the people to mark their disapprobation in every constitutional way, and, if his memory did not deceive him, Scanlan was shortly afterwards found murdered on the high road. Lord O'Brien had said that the men in that case were perfectly rightly convicted.

The only other case he would refer to was the case of the hon. Member for North Leitrim. That was also a pending case, and he had the greatest reluctance to indulge in any discussion at all upon the merits. He would just state what the crime was. A certain case was tried at Sligo and two men were convicted. A number of the jurors were set aside by the Crown when the jury was being sworn. Twenty-two men were set aside, and it subsequently turned out that seventeen out of the twenty-two were members of the League, and the two men who were tried were also members of the League, and objection had been made by the gentlemen representing the Crown, when the jury were being sworn, that it was undesirable that members of the League should serve upon the jury.

Now, the hon. Member for North Leitrim, according to the hon. Member for Cork, was charged with seditious libel merely for denouncing what he called the system of jury packing. [The right hon. Gentleman then read from the indictment in the case passages of the article charged as a seditious libel.] The right hon. Gentleman said he would make no comment upon that further than that it was what the hon. Member for Cork described as a moderate and temperate attack.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) asked whether there was anything in the article which would be called a crime in England.

Mr. ATKINSON replied that he had already stated that he did not propose to discuss the case, but he would be surprised if an article of that kind on the administration of justice were not treated as a crime in England. He did not know whether hon. Members suggested that there should be no such thing on behalf of the Crown as conditional jurymen, that the Crown should not have power to set aside men. That was a practice which had existed in both England and Ireland for 500 years. [Cries of "No" and "It has never been exercised."] It had been exercised.

An Hon. Member: Where and when?

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: How long is it since the practice was exercised in this country?

Mr. ATKINSON: The last case I am able to find is nine years ago. In 1876 in an Irish Act of Parliament this special right was preserved. I understand nobody has ever contended that this right could be dispensed with. It is the duty of the Crown solicitor to set aside a man when he has reason to believe that that man will not act fairly. This is a charge which has been made against every Government. I remember how the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Montrose Burghs was placarded through the streets of Dublin as the murderer of a man named Twist because under his rule twenty men were set aside at the trial of an almost professional assassin.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): The man was innocent of the crime.

Mr. ATKINSON: We are acting under a circular put out by the right hon. Gentleman.

*Mr. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman read that circular?

Mr. ATKINSON (after looking through his despatch-box): The circular expressly directs that no one is to be set aside—[Loud cries of "Read the circular."]—on account of his politics or religion; and no man has been set aside.

An Hon. Member: It is a damned lie.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! If I knew who the Member was who used that expression I should take very severe measures towards him.

Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): It was Mr. Bryn Roberts. [Interruption.]

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS: Will you please name the ruffian who said that? [Loud Nationalist cheers.]

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! Both hon. Members are to blame—the hon. Member for South Belfast, who, under a mistake, imputed offensive words to an hon. Gentleman who did not use them, and the hon. Member for the Eifion Division, who, instead of appealing to me to call upon that hon. Member to withdraw, took upon himself to use a violent expression. Both hon. Gentlemen are to blame, and I hope the incident is now at an end.

Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSTON: I beg to apologise for having mentioned the name of Mr. Bryn Roberts.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS: I beg to withdraw the expression I used.

Mr. ATKINSON said that no man had been set aside from acting on a jury on account of his religion. The hon. Member for North Cork, speaking with reference to the Cadogan case, asserted that the jurymen were set aside because they were Roman Catholics. That was a slander repeated day by day against the Crown. The officers of the Crown made no inquiry as to the religion of the men who served on juries; but, seeing the allegations, he caused inquiry to be made in Cadogan's case, with the result that he found that six of the men on the jury were Roman Catholics and six Protestants. The prisoner, moreover, challenged five Roman Catholic gentlemen of Cork as unfit to serve on the jury.

A Nationalist Member: At the first trial, at which Justice Kennedy presided, there was not a single Catholic on the jury, and every man who was challenged was a Catholic.

Mr. ATKINSON said he had not time to deal with the other matters which had been referred to; he would simply conclude by repeating that no man was set aside because of his religious or political faith, but in some cases where such issues were involved men who were strong partisans on either side were excluded from the jury.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) congratulated the Attorney General on having given precisely the same answer as on previous occasions, and therefore his reply also would be practically the same. What were the admitted facts? In county Sligo there were 90,000 Catholics and 7,000 Protestants, and the right hon. Gentleman had the Parliamentary courage to declare that when a case came to be tried dealing with the great and permanent struggle between two classes in Ireland, to a certain extent between two races, and to a smaller extent between two creeds, having no regard whatever for religion or politics, it yet had come about that every one of the twelve men in the jury box was taken from the 7,000 men of one creed, class, and political party. In county Cork the disparity between the two creeds was not quite so great, the figures being 390,000 Catholics and 35,000 Protestants, and here the right hon. Gentleman was able to give a case in which the jury consisted of six of one religion and six of the other, but he was not able to answer the statement or deny the fact that sixty-three men were ordered to stand by, every one of whom was a member of the Catholic majority. The right hon. Gentleman had apparently devised a system which infallibly, in a population in which the proportions of the two creeds were 90,000 against 7,000, brought out, purely by accident or coincidence, without any regard to religious or political convictions, twelve men of the faith and party represented by the minority of the population. If he could only devise a system which would have similar results in bringing out the winning numbers at Monte Carlo, there was not a newspaper in the country that would not give him the largest existing salary as the most successful tipster in the world. But was it not arguing a deeper depth of ignorance than even he (the speaker) could honestly attribute to the House of Commons that the right hon. Gentleman had the courage to say that a jury of such a character was not deliberately constituted with a view to packing the jury box with members of one religious creed and class and political party, so that the dice might be loaded and a verdict favourable to the Crown secured?

Since the opening of Parliament attention had been called to the Declaration which the Sovereign had to take. He was rather surprised that His Majesty's advisers had not felt it within their competence and power to advise the King not to repeat a form of Declaration which probably had gone out of use by mere lapse of time, and the words of which were offensive to millions of the subjects over whom he was called to reign. But if the Attorney General was justified in these proceedings in

Ireland, it was just the kind of Declaration the Sovereign of these realms ought to make. If it was true that a Catholic could not be trusted on his oath to give a true verdict in the jury-box, it was right that the Sovereign in the most solemn manner and at the first opportunity should denounce the religion which brought up its devotees to disregard the most solemn of oaths and the most sacred of duties. If the Government, however, wished to use the methods of autocracy in Ireland, let them do so openly, and not, under constitutional forms, endeavour by despotic methods to turn trial by jury into a farce and a falsehood.

He was glad the Attorney General had recognised the issue at stake. That issue was the United Irish League, and its methods and forms of combination. It was necessary for him to defend the aims and objects of that organisation, especially after the remarkable speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the previous evening, which, in his opinion, was a very long step towards a system of compulsory purchase, and, coming from the Treasury Bench, would mark an epoch in the Irish land struggle. In a most striking passage in that speech the Chief Secretary objected to compulsory purchase because it would "freeze" Ireland, and gave a description of the 123,000 peasants with holdings of under £4 valuation and £3 average rental, or, as the right hon. Gentleman graphically put it, 14d. a week, 2d. a day. "This," said the Chief Secretary, "is a part of the question which must not be lost sight of." Had the right hon. Gentleman been asleep during the last few months? That was exactly the part of the question that the United Irish League had not lost sight of. It was that very fact and factor of the land question that gave birth to the League. That organisation sprang to life in county Mayo, one of the counties in which this horrible system of miserable wretched patches of land obtained. It was the fact of these squalid patches of holdings existing side by side with splendid fertile lands, which for miles were unbroken by a single human face or habitation—it was the co-existence and juxtaposition of these two things that gave birth to the United Irish League, and the very first plank in its platform was to bring about a state of feeling in Ireland and the House of Commons which would remedy that admitted evil by enlarging the small holdings and giving back to tillage and to man the land now given to sheep and oxen. He therefore claimed the Chief Secretary for Ireland, not as the first, but as one of the many illustrious converts which the United Irish League had already made. He claimed as another convert the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor in office, the present President of the Board of Trade, one of whose acts in office was the purchase of the Dillon Estate. That was an admirable act, and would be remembered to the honour of the right hon. Gentleman when other portions of his tenure of office were covered with blessed and kindly oblivion. What was the object of that purchase? It was to do exactly that which the present Chief Secretary rightly said was one of the necessities of the land question, namely, to enlarge the small and squalid holdings which existed in that part of the country. The Dillon Estate was purchased for the purpose of enlarging the small and squalid holdings in that part of the country, and that was one of the very first fruits reaped by the people of Mayo from the agitation of his hon. friend. No doubt this point would receive the usual official answer, and the right hon. Gentleman would no doubt try to prove by some method of arithmetic that there was no connection whatever between the purchase of the Dillon Estate and the existence of the United Irish League. The right hon. Gentleman might be able to convince this House, but all the arguments and official facts which he could bring forward would not convince the people of Mayo, who believed that the purchase of the Dillon Estate was the result of the action of the United Irish League. He therefore claimed the present Chief Secretary for Ireland and the late Chief Secretary as devotees and worshippers of the United Irish League. He might very appropriately quote the famous gibe of Mr. Disraeli to Mr. Peel when he adopted Free Trade, that while his friends were out bathing they had stolen their clothes. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had found the members of the United Irish League bathing, and he had stolen their clothes. He did not need to defend the legality of the United Irish League. The right hon. Gentleman's action had placed him in an extraordinary position. He got up prepared to defend the ethics, the legality, and the beneficence of the United Irish League against the attacks of the Government, who described the members of the League as marauders and robbers, and in the midst of his observations the Chief Secretary declared that the only fault he had to find was that the League had stolen his thunder and that they were actually more loyal than the King.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): I would remind the hon. Member that although our objects may be identical, yet the methods employed for achieving them may be diametrically opposite.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said he might be allowed to say that the right hon. Gentleman's interruption did not strike him as being altogether relevant to the point, because the point he was making was the ends and not the means. [Ministerial laughter.] He intended to deal with the means presently. He did not mean to shirk anything. He accepted to the full the challenge of the Attorney General, and he would defend both the methods and the means. It was not necessary for him to defend the legality of the League, because the Attorney General had admitted its legality. If the methods adopted by the League were illegal, why was it not proclaimed? If they were not legal, why was the League not prosecuted? The fact was that its legality was admitted. With regard to the means, he asked the attention of hon. Gentlemen opposite while he explained to them the historical and economic conditions which had produced such a form of combination in Ireland as the United Irish League. There was not anything in the combination of the League in Ireland which had not been gone through in England as well in the shape of combination. He challenged the right hon. and learned Gentleman's history with regard to trade unionism in England. Lord Justice Lindley said that trade unionists were not empowered by Parliament to use force for the purpose of getting others to work or to dissuade them from working. Parliament would never confer that power upon trade unionism, and no trade unionists would ask for that power. What they did claim as trade unionists, and what the League claimed in Ireland, was to use every method of argument, of persuasion, of approval, and of disapproval, to induce men either to work or not to work, on the ground that their action was not for the common good of the whole people. The right hon. and learned Gentleman did not seem to be aware even of the events of his own days. Some years ago the dockers struck for an increase of wages, and they got much sympathy, not only from Members sitting on the Opposition side of the House, but also from many of the hon. Gentlemen opposite. What did the hon. Member for Battersea do? He not only asked the dockers of London to abstain from work, but he went down to the docks whenever he heard that "blacklegs" were coming from Hull, Liverpool, or Glasgow, and he begged, persuaded, and appealed to them not, for their own petty interests, to break down the great struggle for the right of the men to receive better wages, and to maintain a better standard of living. Was he prosecuted? Did the Attorney General come down and declare that he was guilty of intimidation, violence, and coercion? Was the hon. Member for Battersea tried at the Old Bailey by a jury of shipowners? Was he tried by a jury of dock shareholders? No, he was allowed to go down there, his liberty was not assailed, and to-day he was one of the most honoured, and justly honoured, Members of that assembly, and the part he played in the strike was one of the best things he ever did in his career. At the beginning of this century, four or five compositors were sent to gaol because they formed a union to increase wages. In the year 1834 seven agricultural labourers were sent beyond the seas because they wished to form an agricultural union in every county in England. To-day, in Ireland, they were fighting against prosecutions with packed juries and magistrates dependent upon the Executive for their appointment, their promotion, their pensions, and even for the food they ate, and all this which they were now passing through in Ireland was passed through in England half a century ago.

In Ireland they were now fighting for the rights which Englishmen gained half a century ago. The United Irish League said that a "grabber" was an enemy of the tenantry of Ireland, and of the people of Ireland; and they put a "grabber" in Ireland in exactly the same category as the trade unionists of England put the "nobstick" or the "blackleg." One of the real secrets of the virulence of the land question, of the famine, and of many of the evils in Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century, was the insane and mad competition between tenant and tenant for the possession of land. He could not blame the tenant. In Ireland they had not the same industries as they had in England or Scotland. With the exception of a portion of the north of Ireland they had practically only one industry and one kind of employment for the people. All around them was uncertainty and shifting sand. The land was the one solid and substantial thing in Ireland to which everybody clung, and for which everybody longed. It was exactly as if they had a shipwrecked vessel with four hundred or five hundred passengers all swimming about in mid ocean, with only some thirty or forty small logs of wood to cling to. They stood between destruction and death. In the first half of the last century life in Ireland was poisoned by the frenzied desire of the people to get the land at any price. Mr. Mill in his book gave an instance in which the competition for a farm worth £50 a year rose to such an extent that a bidder was declared the tenant at £450 a year; that was to say at £400 a year more than the land could possibly bear. Under these circumstances the industry of the tenant could benefit no one but the landlord. Now, the landgrabber was the shopkeeper and the gombeen man. They heard a great deal about intimidation. If the Attorney General could prove that the United Irish League had led to crime he would have nothing further to say. But he held that the League had been proved to be a crimeless organisation, and that the only intimidation which it employed was the rule of every trade union. He was surprised at the right hon. Gentleman's vehemence against trade unions, for of all the trade unions in the country there was not one that had a severer code of professional etiquette than that to which the right hon. Gentleman, as a member of the Bar, himself belonged. The right hon. Gentleman had no fear of the legal landgrabber, because he knew perfectly well that the professional body of which he was a member would soon deal with that individual, and see that the right hon. Gentleman got the number of guineas on his brief which the league of the lawyers imposed. Then there was the medical profession. What trade unions had severer codes than the legal and medical professions? The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury the previous evening was courageous enough to speak of Ireland as being in a prosperous condition, and one of the reasons he gave was that the country had the same population now as at the beginning of the century. The contention of the Irish representatives was that there was scarcely a field in Ireland that did not contain a living tomb in the shape of an evicted household, that did not speak of a sad and hideous domestic crisis; and they believed that in the United Irish League they had found a means, not only of saving the individual farmer, but of saving the nation from the ruin with which it was threatened.

He had one word to say in conclusion to the Chief Secretary. He had never said, and never should say, one word against him personally; he hoped to fight him politically, and politically only. He thought the position of the Chief Secretary was difficult, almost pathetic. He had in his veins the blood of one of the martyrs for Irish liberty, and he could not imagine for him a more glorious destiny than that he should complete the work which his ancestor began, to make Ireland free. But whatever his future might be, the United Irish League was too powerful now to be destroyed. Every blow he delivered at it would not weaken it, but strengthen it. Already it had won victories which entitled it to the gratitude of Irishmen. Those benches were proof of the fact that the Irish party were united, for the first time in ten years, in the bonds of discipline and loyalty one to the other. What brought them together? The United Irish League.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mr. Speaker, I feel bound to rise at this period of the debate and after the speech to which the House has just listened. But I must not be carried away by the rhetorical appeal which the hon. Member made. He gave a reason, with which everybody must be familiar by now, for expecting that I should at any rate do my best for Ireland while I occupy the position of Chief Secretary. But in my opinion the best thing that any Chief Secretary can do for Ireland is to keep a cool head and look at the problems which are presented to him with as much calm attention as he can command. What we are asked to look at to-night is mainly the United Irish League, its nature, its objects, and the methods it adopts to achieve those objects. I hope I shall be able to distinguish between the value of some of the objects which the League pursues and some of the methods which, in my opinion, should be reprehended and contemned by this House, and, when they are illegal, prosecuted by the law officers of the Crown.

We are debating to-night an Amendment to the Address in the body of which there are many stings, but the point of which is in the last paragraph—whereas the United Irish League desires to effect certain objects, and, whereas the nefarious proceedings of the Government interfere with the means adopted by the League to achieve these objects, therefore—and here we come to the point—we ask His Majesty's Government to extend the legislative protection of the Trade Union Act to all agricultural combinations in Ireland. That really is the Amendment before the House. The proposition that we should extend the Trade Union Act to agricultural combinations in Ireland would not alarm me if it were practicable to regard the small farmers as in any sense either workmen or masters. But I very much doubt whether hon. Members if they had read the Trade Union Act would have moved this Amendment at all. There are two Acts—the Act of 1871 and the Act of 1875, which is described as the charter of the British artisan's liberty. What do they provide? In the first place, that any combination of seven persons who agree together to become a trade union are to be registered, to keep accounts, to furnish those accounts to a public office, and to be responsible for certain acts. For that guarantee certain liberties are conceded—namely, that they can combine for action in restraint of trade, which otherwise under ancient law would have been held to be a criminal conspiracy. But that liberty does not go as far as hon. Members opposite seem to imagine. It is hedged in and safeguarded at every point. In this Act of 1875 I would ask hon. Members to consider Section 7. By that section every person who endeavours by certain means to compel any other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which he has a legal right to do or abstain from doing, is liable under this Act, which hon. Members ask us to apply to agricultural combinations in Ireland, either to pay a penalty not exceeding £20 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour. If the Government frankly adopted the Amendment of the hon. Member—supposing the practical difficulty as to the definition of what workman and master mean could be easily overcome—we should be denounced for having introduced a Coercion Act of a much more subtle and far-reaching character than any that has yet been passed by this House. The practical objection to accepting this Amendment is that the demand made upon Parliamentary time in order to overcome the opposition of every single Irish Nationalist Member to such a proceeding would be too great in a session when the programme is already very much in arrear. That is not an exaggerated statement of these Acts.

Now I come to what I called the sting in the body of the Amendment—the charges that are made against the Government. The hon. Member for the City of Cork has asked me a very frank question. I hope I shall be equally frank in my reply. I identify myself wholly with the policy pursued by the present Viceroy, Lord Cadogan. I cannot make it too clear that it has been, and it is, the policy of the Irish Government to give protection to every man who is entitled to protection from the law. And what are some of these charges against us? They are that meetings have been capriciously suppressed. Some of the meetings which have been referred to took place before I was Chief Secretary, but I hold that every one of them was properly suppressed. Hon. Members are not to suppose that the Government is interfering capriciously with meetings here, there, and everywhere. The figures given by the Attorney General were below the mark. Since the United Irish League was started there have been 879 meetings, and twenty-eight have been prevented. Since I became Chief Secretary there have been ninety-nine meetings, and five have been prevented. I defend every one of those actions. The meeting at Armagh was proclaimed by the local magistrates because they knew it would result in a collision between Catholics and Orangemen at the place fixed for it. And they were perfectly right. It would have resulted in a collision; and they behaved precisely as any magistrate would have behaved in this country, or in France, or in any other country in Europe. They said the meeting was not to be held where it would excite a riot; but of course they allowed persons to gather together beyond the limits where such a regrettable result was to be anticipated. That is the whole story. I assure hon. Members who are not familiar with this topic, once so well known in this House, that that is what has always been done. The comment invariably is that the Government has been outwitted and that a triumphant meeting has been held. It is not the object of the Government to prevent meetings and free speech in Ireland. It is the object of the Government to prevent unlawful assemblies from taking place. Hon. Members will remember when another Government had to stop a meeting of trade unionists, and, an inquiry being held, it was found that the Government were right in stopping the meeting, that the soldiers were right also in firing on the mob, and that the Government, the magistrates, the officers, the soldiers, and the police had only done their duty. I will not elaborate that point now, but I will on another occasion—and I am sure hon. Members from Ireland will give me many occasions—defend, if need be, every single action of the Executive in respect to these points. Let me tell the House that in respect of one of these meetings—the meeting at Achonry—the comment of anthorities whom hon. Members opposite would respect has been entirely upon the side of the Government. That was a meeting which we prevented—we did not proclaim it. There was a farm there which had been boycotted, and the tenant had been intimidated. He was injured and was entitled to protection. When a large crowd, with a band and banners, marched in a threatening manner towards this man's farm, the police interposed and stopped them. The Bishop of Achonry, speaking on the subject within a few days, stated that the people had acted in a very foolish and wrong manner, and gave a "wigging" to those who had instigated them. So that the action of the Government is, at any rate, not universally condemned in Ireland.

I think the Attorney General has dealt, and dealt well with all the legal points which have been advanced as to jury-packing. If we are to be accused, we stand where Lord Spencer and Mr. Morley stood. Their words are known, and must be known, to the world and to any persons who administer the law of Ireland. It is necessary for those whose duty it is to see that justice is done to see that justice is not perverted. Let me come to the United Irish League and its objects, because I am afraid I must correct a part of the speech of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool. The first object stated here is the establishment of a peasant proprietary in Ireland. There is no mention of compulsion in this Amendment, so mild and reasonable are the objects of the League. So far I agree with the hon. Member, that the objects of the Government and of the League, as stated in this Amendment, are identical. We hope to have peasant ownership in Ireland, and the Government have put into the King's Speech an announcement to that effect. It is urged that the pace is too slow and the course is too heavy. The policy of the Government is to accelerate the one and to lighten the other. If we are to indulge in charges of plagiarism, I say in this case it is the League which has plagiarised the policy of the Government. After all, the League can claim to be only three years old, whereas the Conservative party has advocated this policy in effect for fifty years, and practically for twenty-one years. The next object of the League, as stated in this Amendment, is that extensive tracts in the West of Ireland should be used in order to relieve congestion. Let us examine that. My right hon. friend the Leader of the House nine years ago passed an Act which contained a provision that the Congested Districts Board was to purchase property in the congested districts in order that there should be migration. So again the League is plagiarising the policy of their Tory tyrants.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): You had better join the League.

MR. WYNDHAM: My suggestion is that the League should join the Government, and I will state why. If we are both to hoe the same patch we had better take the drills in the same direction and not at right angles. The hon. Gentleman has stated that the action of the League instigated the Congested Districts Board to buy the Dillon estate. I say it is not so. I say to the House and the country that the action of the League has retarded and is retarding the action of the Congested Districts Board.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: Would the right hon. Gentleman allow me to say that the first estate that was purchased in the west of Ireland by the Congested Districts Board was the Clare Island estate. Is it not a fact that that estate was purchased at my request and on the joint guarantee of the Archbishop of Tuam and myself for the rent for seven years?

MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. Member deserves credit if he had any part in the purchase of Clare Island, but that estate was purchased three years before the United Irish League was started. If we were all agreed to pursue these objects by the same methods it would be a consummation most devoutly to be desired, but the Congested Districts Board never did, and never will as long as I am president of it, buy one acre or rood of land off which any man has been driven by illegality or even by illegitimate pressure.

This problem is not insoluble. Problems as difficult are solved every day by the simple process of paying a proper price for the thing desired, and if we devote our attention to what we consider beneficent public objects in Ireland the bone of contention between hon. Members on this side and the other will be removed. Does this Amendment mean that the Irish Nationalist party have made up their minds to pursue a constitutional policy in this House, and to abandon altogether some of the courses they have pursued in Ireland? [AN HON. MEMBER: No, certainly not.] May I not, then, submit to hon. Members from Ireland that they must not denounce Unionist Members—above all, Irish Unionist Members—if they look somewhat askance at such a proposal as that which stands first in this Amendment, especially when the hon. Member for Cork makes speeches such as his speech this evening, and speeches he made in Ireland, stating that land reform is to be but a stalking-horse for Home Rule. That may be a political programme, but is it one likely to commend itself to this House? Is it fair or reasonable for hon. Members to invite the attention of this House to what seem reasonable proposals of reform, and condemn this House as bigoted, narrow, and non-Irish because it does not accept them, and at the same time to declare that these reforms are merely stalking-horses for achieving a great political project?

I hope it may some day be possible that those who will fight for the Union, as we shall, to the end of time, and those who will fight on in the belief that a separate Parliament will bring great blessings to Ireland, may agree—perhaps I am too sanguine, but I think it possible—to contend in this House constitutionally, and that we may in almost friendly rivalry strive to increase the material prosperity of Ireland. That is a better plan than the plan of coming to this House with proposals which would be entertained if coming from any other quarter of the House, and given that consideration which Parliament would give——

MR. DILLON: But not from Irish Members!

MR. WYNDHAM: And why not from Irish Members? Because you put the jury against you. Because you say that when you wish to improve the land system in Ireland your land policy is only a stalking-horse for Home Rule. There have been other methods, which I do not attribute wholesale to the United Irish League. The League is Protean in its transformations. In tropical countries hon. Members who have been abroad may have observed small wind eddies that pick up everything in their path and again deposit these collections; and so it has been with the expansion and movement of the League during the past nine months. Coming to a place where what are called advanced men are found, the chairman, secretary, and treasurer are advanced men; but when the League comes to some quiet Arcadia where a priest exercises a benevolent despotism, then he is made chairman and summons a meeting, a shilling is collected all round, and the branch is adjourned *sine die*. That is why, though I understand some of the attacks levelled at the League as an organisation, I do not think it would be just to declare the League a criminal conspiracy. Its transformations are too rapid for that. It began, as this Amendment begins, with the object of acquiring grass lands in Mayo, but since then much else has been collected and distributed. It picks up a number of delegates and lands them in a convention in Dublin; it picks up a number of members and lands them here as once more a united, organised Irish party.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): We have as good a right to be here as you have.

MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. Member has anticipated me. I am very glad that the Irish boycott of the House is over. I think by meeting here and discussing together political projects as they are discussed by English and Scotch Members we may do something, or at least we shall have a chance of doing something, greater than if we each stay in our own island snarling and gibing at each other in newspapers read on one side of the Channel and not on the other. Let us meet here and have it out. Surely there are many questions in which Englishmen and Irishmen are equally interested, many questions besides the land question. There is the question of education in Ireland, the position of youthful offenders in Ireland, the industries of Ireland, the question of industrial schools. These and many other matters we surely may discuss together as English, Scotch, and Welsh Members discuss, without making them stalking-horses for Home Rule.

MR. DILLON: What has Home Rule to do with it?

MR. WYNDHAM: The League has forged this united Irish party, and its members may command the attention of Parliament as Irishmen, by their ability and eloquence, have always commanded the attention of Parliament. Let us take the proposal in the Amendment as a legitimate object, put forward constitutionally in this House—let us contend in such an arena, with Home Rule barred until it is practical—barred, I mean, practically, for it is impossible to proceed with it now or for some years to come. If we do that, each confident that his cause must win—we confident that the Union will never be even imperilled, hon. Members opposite holding another view—one must win, the other must lose—and if we contend within such an arena as I have described, then both the winner and the vanquished may gain greater prizes than the stake they played for.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): The right hon. Gentleman stated that the United Irish League has deposited a united Irish party in this House. As a matter of fact it has deposited two parties, of which I am one. If the House will allow me, in the few minutes that remain, I should like to give my reasons for voting for the Amendment. My first reason is that I have not read it; my second reason is that, after listening to the speech of the mover, I agree with almost every word of what he said. I will put it to the House, to men who think that after the course of years you are gradually acquiring some little hold on the minds and intellect of Ireland, what prospect have you for your Imperialism or of creating any permanent cohesion between the two islands?

The right hon. Gentleman has made several appeals to us—some reasonable, some unreasonable. I have sometimes ventured to make appeals to that Bench in various times, but they have never prevailed. Why? Because while we address the Treasury Bench openly from these benches—and our speeches have to be made openly—vindicating the Irish position in Ireland, well we know that Ireland is not governed by reference to those speeches, but by reference to the back-door intrigues and the intrigues of landlords in Dublin Castle. One word behind your chair, Sir, from an

Orange Member is more potent with the Government than the united voice of the eighty Members on this side; and the very reason for the Amendment has been the cause of the irregularity and illegality into which you have been stupidly and foolishly driven in Ireland by your bad advisers. Why is the Member for Dover Chief Secretary to-day? Why is not the President of the Board of Trade Chief Secretary? He was driven out of Ireland by landlord intrigue, because he passed the Land Act of '96 and the Local Government Act of 1898. Although he was a relative and all of the most powerful statesman of the Empire, he was thrown as a peace-offering to my Lord Ardilaun. What are we representatives of the peasants of the country to think, who know how potent are these forces which command the entire legislature across the hall, when we see a statesman who has devoted himself to the interest of our country in a small degree sacrificed with as little care for public opinion in Ireland as you would show to a dismissed policeman. The Government ask us to believe them. They talk about law and order—they say it is their business to maintain law and order. I say it is their business in Ireland to leave the people alone: that is what we want from you. You compare yourselves sometimes to the Romans of the great Roman Empire. You extract 9¼ millions out of our wretched people every year. That ought to be enough for you. You get regiment after regiment out of the country who show the utmost devotion in the field, while at the same time you evict their fathers and keep their children in the poorhouses. The Romans were satisfied with taxation and legionaries; but what must you do? You take the most miserable and shameful class—the land-grabbers—and devote the whole forces of the British Empire to buttressing them up. Every land-grabber in the country can get ten, twelve, or twenty policemen, costing £2,000 or £3,000, to protect him, out of a country in which there are, as the right hon. Gentleman admitted, 150,000 people living on 2d. a day, all because these unfortunate people try to cling to their country. Oh, but the British Government must uphold law and order! What is law and order I want to know? That is to say, it is law. A man who professes the Catholic faith is constantly brought long distances to the assizes, leaving his home and industry. If he does not attend on his summons he is fined £20; while if he attends, some wretched caitiff—a member of a Freemason lodge or an Orange lodge—the moment his name is mentioned, says, "You are unworthy of belief; out you go again; we do not want you." Day after day he is brought in and has the ignominy of being cast aside. Why not pass an Act excluding all Catholics from the jury box? I remember the Attorney General's great essay to convict myself. I have often twitted him about it. He prosecuted me as a Whiteboy, or a highwayman—I forget exactly which. He advised me that my trial was fixed for eleven o'clock; but instead of taking it at that hour they first put on a horse-thief before me, and they put twelve of the strongest Catholic Nationalists on the jury and of course denuded my panel of jurors to that extent. That was twenty years ago; but what went on in 1880, and 1890, is going on in 1900, and I suppose will go on as long as the Union lasts. You prize the valour of your Catholic soldiers; you let them wear the shamrock on St. Patrick's day; you do everything so long as they are acting in the English service; but as soon as it is a question of affecting Ireland, they are absolutely boycotted. You are the boycotters. They are absolutely proscribed, as much proscribed as if the penal laws had never been repealed. The right hon. Gentleman has, of course, with his usual ability, attacked this motion on the ground that this is only a stalking-horse, as he says, for Home Rule. Well, that is a very easy thing to say. We might as well say of some of his actions that they are intended as stalking-horses for the Union. I say, take them at large, and the mass of Irishmen would rather remain in their rags than forfeit their hopes for the liberties of the country. For myself, having worn the stones of Westminster Hall for many a year—of course I am told from time to time that our cause is failing, and that our hopes are flagging—I do not believe at the present moment that in these twenty years—except some man who draws a salary—the English Government has made a single friend in Ireland outside of Dublin Castle. I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary meets any man outside Dublin Castle who is not a Home Ruler, who is not at all events anti-British and anti-English. As the days go on, outside of a very small section of the community there is not a single man in Ireland of any class or creed who has any faith in the British Government. That is what has brought about Amendments such as that which has been moved to-night; and if I vote for it I vote for it on the principle that it is against the English Government, and whatever is against the English Government I am in favour of.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 109; Noes, 203. (Division List, No. 8.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Allen, Chas. P. (Glouc., Stroud
Ambrose, Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Brown, Geo. M. (Edinburgh)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Dewar, Jn. A. (Inverness-shire)
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Dunn, Sir William
Elibank, Master of
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T.
Farrell, James Patrick
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.
Gilhooly, James
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kinloch, Sir J. George Smyth
Labouchere, Henry
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Cann, James
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, N.)
Minch, Matthew
Mooney, John J.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roche, John
Schwann, Charles E.
Shipman, Dr. John
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson, E. C. (Monaghan, N.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Wilson, Fred W. (Norfolk, Mid)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

Tellers for the Ayes—Captain Donelan and Mr. Patrick O'Brien.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Banbury, Frederick George
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H (Bristol)
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Brodrick, Rt Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edw. Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar, T. R (T'r H'mlets, S. Geo.
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart

Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.SirJ(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald,SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,MajEvans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hamilton,RtHn.LordG(M'd'x
Hamilton,Marq of(L'nd'nd'rry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Jas. (Staffords., N.W.
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, H (Somerset, E.)
Hope, J. F.(Shef'ld,Brightside
Howard,CaptJ(Kent,Faversh.
Hozier,Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel,CaptainHerbertMerton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon-Slaney,Col.W.(Salop)
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour

Knowles, Lees
Lambton,Hon.Frederick Wm.
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hon.Wm.Edw. H.
Lee,CaptA.H.(Hants,Fareh'm
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long,Col.Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis(Lowestoft
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
Macartney,Rt.HnW.G.Ellison
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont,Col.J.(Antrim,E.)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriessh.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner,RtHon.SirFrederickG.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More,Robt.Jasper(Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Murray,RtHnAGraham(Bute
Murray,Col. Wyndham(Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert P.(Darlington)
Peel,Hn.Wm.Robt.Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward

Purvis, Robert
Radcliffe, R. F.
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Rentoul, James Alexander
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley,Hn.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ritchie,Rt.Hn.Chas.Thomson
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Saunderson,Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M.H.(Renfrew
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H.C.(Nrthmb.Tyneside
Smith,James Parker(Lanarks.
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Hn.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan, John
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUni.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Wason,JohnCathcart(Orkney
Webb, ColonelWilliamGeorge
Welby,Lt-ColA.C.E.(Tauntn)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, A.Stanley(York,E.R.
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh.N.
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander(Berks,E.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed

Debate arising; and it being after midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

Resolved, That it is expedient that a Select Committee of Five Members of this House be appointed to join with a Committee of the Lords to consider the various charitable agencies now in operation, and the funds available, or which can properly be made available, for relieving Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors, with a view to ensuring that the funds subscribed by local and private benevolence are applied to the best advantage in supplementing a scheme of Government pensions for Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors who have lost their lives in war.

Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn till Monday next,"—(*Sir William Walrond*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve of the o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 25th February, 1901.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.

Cross Petition of Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Surrey, Earl of Norfolk, Lord Maltravers, Lord Fitzalan of Clun and Oswaldestre, and Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Garter, praying (1) That he may be permitted to appear before their Lordships, by his counsel and agents, to be heard on the petition of Charles Botolph Joseph, Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton, presented on the 21st of this instant February; and (2) That their Lordships will be pleased to signify to the Petitioner whether or not their Lordships will require him, under the circumstances of the case, to lodge a printed case and to produce evidence of his descent from Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, in 1644 to the present time, in order to prove his title to the Earldom of Norfolk, alleged to have been conferred on the said Thomas in 1644; read, and referred to the Committee for Privileges.

HER LATE MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that he had received from the Portuguese Minister the following report of the proceedings in the House of Peers of Portugal relating to the vote of condolence on the death of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria:—

"In moving the vote of condolence the President stated that he felt sure he was faithfully interpreting the sentiments of the House in proposing that reference should be made in the minutes of the day's proceedings to the grief they felt at the death of Queen Victoria, whose long and prosperous reign was a true model of constitutional rule. Portugal could not omit to associate herself with all the manifestations of grief and sympathy shown towards England, her ancient ally, and desired to join in the deep sorrow of those who mourn the loss of a Sovereign so deeply loved by Her people, and respected by the whole world.

"The President concluded by moving the vote and authorising it to be communicated to this House.

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs in associating himself in the name of the Government with what had fallen from the President spoke in feeling terms of Her late Majesty, and he was followed in the same strain by several other Peers."

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

ARLESEY GAS BILL [H.L.].

ASPATRIA, SILLOTH, AND DISTRICT WATER BILL [H.L.].

BARROW-IN-FURNESS CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

BELFAST HARBOUR BILL [H.L.].

BETHLEM HOSPITAL BILL [H.L.].

BOLTON CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

BOURNEMOUTH CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

BRIDEWELL HOSPITAL BILL [H.L.].

BRISTOL CORPORATION CEMETERY BILL [H.L.].

BRISTOL CORPORATION (DOCKS AND RAILWAYS, ETC.) BILL [H.L.].

BROADSTAIRS AND ST. PETER'S WATER AND IMPROVEMENT BILL [H.L.].

CHARING CROSS, HAMMERSMITH, AND DISTRICT ELECTRIC RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

CHESTERFIELD IMPROVEMENT BILL [H.L.].

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL (LONDON) BILL [H.L.].

CITY AND NORTH EAST SUBURBAN ELECTRIC RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

COWES FERRY BILL [H.L.].

DONCASTER TITHE TRUST BILL [H.L.].

DOVER CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

DOVER HARBOUR BILL [H.L.].

FOLKESTONE CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

HANDSWORTH URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL BILL [H.L.].

HARROGATE CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

HARROGATE WATER BILL [H.L.].

HENRY DIAPER AND COMPANY (DELIVERY WARRANTS) BILL [H.L.].

HEYWOOD AND MIDDLETON WATER BOARD BILL [H.L.].

ISLINGTON AND EUSTON RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

KING'S NORTON AND NORTHFIELD URBAN DISTRICT TRAMWAYS BILL [H.L.].

KING'S ROAD RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

LEEDS CHURCHES BILL [H.L.].

Presented, and read 1ª.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

LEEDS CORPORATION (GENERAL POWERS) BILL [H.L.].

LEEDS CORPORATION WATER BILL [H.L.].

LLANELLY HARBOUR BILL [H.L.].

LONDON (CITY) SCHOOL FOR ORPHANS OF FREEMAN BILL [H.L.].

LOWESTOFT CORPORATION BILL [H.L]

MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL ELECTRIC EXPRESS RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

MANCHESTER CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD BILL [H.L.].

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD (CANADA DOCK WORKS, ETC.) BILL [H.L.].

NORTH-EAST LONDON RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

NOTTINGHAM CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

OAKHAM WATER BILL [H.L.].

PICCADILLY AND CITY RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

POULTON-LE-FYLDE GAS BILL [H.L.].

PRESTATYN WATER BILL [H.L.].

RIPON CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

RUGBY WATER AND IMPROVEMENT BILL [H.L.].

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL BILL [H.L.].

SALFORD CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

SHEFFIELD CORPORATION BILL [H.L.

SHIELDS BRIDGE BILL [H.L.].

SMETHWICK CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

SOUTHPORT WATER (TRANSFER) BILL [H.L.].

STOCKTON CORPORATION WATER BILL [H.L.].

STRATTON AND BUDE GAS BILL [H.L.].

STRATTON AND BUDE IMPROVEMENT BILL [H.L.].

SUTTON-IN-ASHFIELD URBAN DISTRICT (WATER) BILL [H.L.].

WARKWORTH HARBOUR BILL [H.L.].

Presented, and read 1^{a}.

AIRE AND CALDER NAVIGATION BILL [H.L.].

ALBION STEAM COAL COMPANY BILL [H.L.].

ALFRETON GAS BILL [H.L.].

BATH GAS LIGHT AND COKE BILL [H.L.].

BIDEFORD AND CLOVELLY RAILWAY (ABANDONMENT) BILL [H.L.].

BIRMINGHAM (CITY) TRAMWAYS BILL [H.L.].

BRISTOL, CLIFTON, AND WEST OF ENGLAND ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY BILL [H.L.].

BROMPTON AND PICCADILLY CIRCUS RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

CARDIFF RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

CENTRAL LONDON RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

CHARING CROSS, EUSTON, AND HAMPSTEAD RAILWAY (No. 1) BILL [H.L.].

CHARING CROSS, EUSTON, AND HAMPSTEAD RAILWAY (No. 2) BILL [H.L.].

CHESTER GAS BILL [H.L.].

CITY AND BRIXTON RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

CITY AND SOUTH LONDON RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

DOVER GAS BILL [H.L.].

ELLAND GAS BILL [H.L.].

FAVERSHAM WATER BILL [H.L.].

FRESHWATER, YARMOUTH, AND NEWPORT RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

LLANELLY AND MYNYDD MAWR RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

LONDON, BRIGHTON, AND SOUTH COAST RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

LYNTON AND BARNSTAPLE RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE AND GATESHEAD GAS BILL [H.L.].

NEWPORT (ISLE OF WIGHT) GAS BILL [H.L.].

NEW SWINDON GAS BILL [H.L.].

NITRATE RAILWAYS COMPANY BILL [H.L.].

OMAGH GAS BILL [H.L.].

OTLEY GAS BILL [H.L.].

Presented; read 1^{a}, and referred to the Examiners.

RHYMNEY AND ABER VALLEYS GAS AND WATER BILL [H.L.].

ROYAL EXCHANGE ASSURANCE BILL [H.L.].

SHEFFIELD DISTRICT GAS BILL [H.L.].

SHREWSBURY GAS BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH EASTERN AND LONDON, CHATHAM, AND DOVER RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH ESSEX WATER BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH WESTERN AND ISLE OF WIGHT JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

WESTON-SUPER-MARE GAS BILL [H.L.].

WISBECH WATER BILL [H.L.].

Presented; read 1^a, and referred to the Examiners.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:—

D. Bedford.
D. Marlborough.
D. Northumberland.
M. Lansdowne.
E. Derby.
E. Denbigh.
E. Chesterfield.
E. Jersey.
E. Lauderdale.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Cadogan.
E. Howe.
E. Amherst.
E. Camperdown.
E. de Montalt.
E. Carrington.
E. Crewe.
V. Sidmouth.
V. Knutsford.
V. Ridley.
L. Clinton.
L. Zouche of Haryngworth.
L. Balfour.
L. Boyle (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Churchill.
L. Colchester.
L. Wigan (*E. Crawford.*)
L. Poltimore.
L. Kintore (*E. Kintore.*)
L. Belper.
L. Brougham and Vaux.
L. Fermanagh (*E. Erne.*)
L. Sudley (*E. Arran.*)
L. de Vesci (*V. de Vesci.*)
L. Herries.
L. Monkswell.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Welby.
L. Ludlow.

All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Committee unless otherwise ordered.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SOUTH AFRICA.

I. Supplementary Despatches.

II. Telegram from Sir A. Milner to the Secretary of State for War, relating to reported outrage on Esau at Calvinia.

TREATY SERIES No. 3 (1901).

Accession of the Kingdom of Sweden to the Venice Sanitary Convention of 19th March, 1897, and to the Declaration additional thereto of 24th January, 1900. 9th December, 1900.

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.

Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of regulations under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for milk and cream; with Minute appointing the Committee.

STATISTICS.

Statistical Tables relating to the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom. Part XXIII. for the years 1897-98.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

INEBRIATES RETREATS (RULES AS TO MANAGEMENT).

Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the domestic management of the Corngreaves Hall Retreat, licensed as a retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879-1899. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

CHARITABLE AGENCIES FOR THE RELIEF OF WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

Message from the Commons, That they have come to the following resolution to which they desire the concurrence of this House, viz. :—

"That it is expedient that a Select Committee of five Members of their House be appointed to join with a Committee of the Lords to consider the various charitable agencies now in operation, and the funds available for relieving widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors, with a view to insuring that the funds subscribed by local and private benevolence are applied to the best advantage in supplementing a scheme of Government Pensions for widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors who have lost their lives in war."

The said Message to be taken into consideration on Friday next.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of such Public Bills as may be committed to it by the House.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Appointed : The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—

E. Cowper.
E. Stanhope.
E. Waldegrave.
L. Balfour.
L. Boyle. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Kintore. (*E. Kintore.*)
L. Colville of Culross.

The Committee to meet To-morrow at Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.

Select Committee appointed: The Lords following, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—

D. Richmond.
D. Northumberland.
M. Cholmondeley.
M. Ripon.
M. Breadalbane.
E. Clarendon. (*L. Chamberlain.*)
E. Chesterfield.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Mount Edgcumbe.
E. Cawdor.
E. Camperdown.
E. Kimberley.
E. de Montalt.
E. Cranbrook.
E. Ancaster.
V. Cross.
V. Peel.
V. Knutsford.
L. Balfour.
L. Boyle. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Churchill.
L. Colchester.
L. Rosebery. (*E. Rosebery.*)
L. Belper.
L. Rowton.
L. Tweedmouth.
L. Monk Bretton.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Macnaghten.
L. Welby.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION.

The Lords following, viz. :—

E. Chesterfield,
E. Waldegrave,
L. Ribblesdale,
L. Colville of Culross,

with the Chairman of Committees, were appointed a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the Five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill.

TRAWLERS CERTIFICATES SUSPENSION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to enable Courts to suspend the certificates of trawlers convicted of illegal trawling, was presented by the Earl of Camperdown; read 1^a; and to be printed. [No. 13.]

EDUCATION—REGINA v. COCKERTON.

*LORD REAY: My Lords, I beg to ask the Lord President of the Council whether the Board of Education contemplate any administrative and legislative measures on the questions raised by the judgment delivered on December 20th, 1900, in Regina *v.* Cockerton. The judgment to which my question refers has caused a great deal of apprehension, but, if it is closely examined, I think it will be found that the Board of Education could adapt its policy to the interpretation given to the law by the judges, with one important exception to which I shall presently allude.

I shall first deal with elementary day schools. As regards those, it is laid down that they are intended for children, and that the limit of childhood is reached "at somewhere between sixteen and seventeen." That limit is higher than the limit of the Higher Elementary Schools' Minute, where it is fifteen, but it is lower than the limit of the Scotch Code, which is eighteen, and a good deal lower than the limit assigned to childhood by the First Lord of the Treasury. Now, is there any reason why this limit of sixteen should not be accepted by the Board of Education, and access to higher elementary schools allowed up to that age, instead of the present age of fifteen?

The next important point is the nature of the instruction which the judgment allows to be given in elementary schools. Upon that Mr. Justice Wills said "that, as far as mere quantum is concerned, any education may be given by the School Board, but that the one condition must always be fulfilled by the school —namely, that it is conducted in accordance with the conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain a Parliamentary grant, which, by the interpretation clause, means the Whitehall grant." It is, therefore, necessary that the instruction should be in accordance with the Code. If the Code were to provide, as the Scotch Code does, for advanced departments and for higher elementary schools with varying and elastic curricula, the difficulty would disappear, and we should then obtain a proper system of graded schools. In Scotland children over twelve years of age who have obtained a merit certificate can either proceed to advanced departments of a day school or to a higher grade school. If in the Code for England advanced departments were introduced, and provision made for higher elementary schools with curricula suitable to the needs of the district, the requirements of the judgment in this respect would be easily met, and education would then be provided for children as defined by the judgment in accordance with the Code.

I may, perhaps, here point out that the higher elementary school is in no sense a secondary school. It has an entirely different curriculum, and the scholars who attend it have had a different preliminary education from that which leads up to a secondary school. Therefore no question of competition between higher elementary schools and secondary schools can arise, if the Code arranges for such a curriculum as is suitable to a higher elementary school.

The judgment severs the connection between elementary schools and the Science and Art Department. That is a decision which is only of retrospective value, because, as there is no longer a Science and Art Department, it pronounces a divorce between two persons, one of whom is no longer alive. It is true that the Science and Art grants are a survival of the Science and Art Department; but the fact that the distribution of those grants can no longer be controlled by the Science and Art Department will make it necessary to reconsider the whole question and to decide by what branch of the Board of Education they are to be distributed and administered. Although Science and Art grants are no longer available for elementary schools, it is quite easy to compensate these schools for the loss without any increase of the estimates, by a transfer of the moneys which were hitherto given from the Science and Art grants to elementary schools to the Parliamentary grant. As regards day schools, therefore, the Board of Education can, by very simple administrative measures, obviate all the difficulties which have arisen from the judgment; no amendment of the Education Acts is needed.

The case is different and more serious with reference to evening continuation schools. The judgment excludes adults from these schools. The number of persons over sixteen years of age in these schools managed by School Boards alone is 150,000, and to this number must be added the pupils over sixteen who attend voluntary evening continuation schools. Their exclusion is so serious a matter that I cannot for one moment imagine that the Board of Education will accept that decision. The teaching of adults in these schools is an imperative necessity, and it has been attended with too good results and is too valuable to be thus extinguished.

A much simpler remedy for this evil than further litigation is to be found, it seems to me, in the introduction of a very short Bill—it could be a non-contentious Bill of one clause—which would make the admission of adults to evening continuation schools legal, as it has been for many years, and thereby prevent alterations in the Departmental Evening Continuation Code which it would be very undesirable to introduce.

It is needless to point out how the uncertainty which has arisen through the judgment affects injuriously both board schools and voluntary schools. They are both in the same plight, and the sooner the uncertainty is removed the better it will be for the cause of education. I have shown that the remedy is a very simple one, and that it is entirely in the hands of the Board of Education.

These questions are educational questions, and they cannot be decided by courts of law. The final solution must come from the Board of Education, whatever may be the ultimate decision of the higher courts, and therefore I think the sooner it is given and further litigation, which is in many respects useless, is avoided the better it will be for continuity of the work undertaken in every case with the sanction of the Education Department. Higher elementary schools and evening continuation schools are the coping stones of the fabric of our education, and the working classes of this country, as well as the industrial and commercial classes generally, are deeply interested in the solution which I have no doubt this question will receive at the hands of the noble Duke. I beg to ask the question which stands in my name.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Duke of DEVONSHIRE): My Lords, the observations with which the noble Lord has prefaced his question will, no doubt, form a valuable contribution to the discussion of this important and difficult question. I do not, however, think that I can follow him exactly in all the points he has touched upon, and I do not know that there would be any advantage on the present occasion in my doing so. I shall, therefore, confine myself to giving such answer as I can to the question the noble Lord has placed upon the Paper. The noble Lord asks me whether the Board of Education contemplate any administrative and legislative measures on the questions raised by the judgment delivered on 20th December, 1900, in Regina *v.* Cockerton. The first answer which I have to give the noble Lord is that I am not yet in the position to know what is the situation which has been created by that judgment. The London School Board, which was virtually one of the parties in that case, has given notice of an appeal against the judgment, and until that appeal has been heard and decided by the Court of Appeal, and possibly by the House of Lords itself, it is not possible to say what is the exact legal position.

The noble Lord has suggested in the observations he has made that if the Board of Education promised to introduce certain administrative and legislative measures, further litigation might be avoided. I do not know whether the noble Lord in making that suggestion was speaking as chairman of the London School Board or in his private capacity as a Member of this House. But, in whichever capacity it was made, that suggestion, I venture to say, is one with which I cannot agree. The learned judge, in giving his judgment, stated that the questions raised were of such importance that it was, in his opinion, desirable and necessary that they should be decided by the highest legal authority—namely, the House of Lords; and I agree in the opinion thus expressed, that this question affecting the powers and duties of school boards having been raised as it has been raised ought to be decided by the highest judicial tribunal of the land. The noble Lord has referred to the numbers of children and adults who will be affected by the judgment, and who might, if it were acted upon, be deprived of the education which they are now receiving. My right hon. friend the Vice-President of the Council has already stated in the House of Commons that, acting upon the suggestion of the learned judge, no disturbance of the present state of things will take place until the appeal has been heard; and that till that time the *status quo* will be maintained. No one, therefore, will be prejudiced by any delay which may arise in waiting until the appeal is heard.

The noble Lord has asked the Board of Education to do two things. In the first place he has asked us to take certain administrative action and to make certain alterations in the Code. The noble Lord's position, I understand, is this. It has been laid down that any form of instruction which, under the Code, can legally receive grants from the Department can be given by the school boards at the cost of the rates, and he asks us to modify the Code in such a manner as to legalise any instruction which has now been decided to be illegal. The noble Lord has asked for a recognition of advanced departments, as is done by the Scotch Code. The noble Lord is aware that the Code has been very extensively modified and extended in the years that have elapsed since 1870, and that it now contains a very large number and a much more extended range of instruction than it originally did. I am very far from saying that the Code in its present state is in an absolutely final condition; but I have to say that, as at present advised, we consider the Code for elementary day schools contains all that is essential to, or ought to be properly comprised within, elementary education properly so called; and I fail to see how the position of the school board will be improved by the adoption and recognition of advanced schools on the Scotch system, for, so far as I am aware, the judgment does not materially affect the action taken by the School Board in the matter of the education given in the day schools. The learned judge decided that the rates could not legally be applied to the free education of adults, and the noble Lord asks us to introduce legislation to remove that disability.

I am not prepared on the part of the Government to promise to adopt either of the suggestions of the noble Lord. And for this reason. Last year, acting upon the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, I introduced a measure into this House for the establishment of authorities to provide and supervise secondary education in areas different from, and much more extensive than, those of the school board districts; and I am bound to say that the state of things which has been described and the state of the law which has been described in the judgment in the case referred to render it more urgent than ever that local authorities for secondary education should be established without further delay; and until Parliament has decided upon the proposals which were introduced last year by the Government, and which, I hope, will be introduced again in the present session, it seems to me that it would be most highly inexpedient either to encourage or to admit the school boards to make further advance in the provision of higher education of a type which was not originally contemplated by Parliament when the school boards were established.

When Parliament has decided upon the proposals made to it, then will be the time to attempt to draw the line between the functions and powers that can be properly exercised by the school boards and the functions and powers that will be more properly exercised in regard to secondary education by the new authorities. The demarcation of that line will be, I admit, one of extreme difficulty, considering the hold school boards have already obtained over portions of secondary education; but that will be a difficulty that will have to be faced by Parliament; and, in my opinion, it would be far better to abandon any attempt to organise secondary education upon the lines suggested by the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, and to leave the school boards in complete possession of the field not only of elementary, but of secondary education—it would be far better to leave affairs in that condition than to set up new authorities and expose them to the competition of the school boards possessing enhanced powers, such as the noble Lord proposes to give them, in addition to those they already possess, in the field of secondary education. What would be the use of the Bill which we proposed last year creating secondary education authorities, if the contention which the School Board has raised in this case were to be admitted? Mr. Justice Wills said in his judgment—

> "To argue, as has been done, that certain action on the part of the Department sets the School Board free to teach at the expense of the ratepayers adults and children indiscriminately higher mathematics, advanced chemistry, both theoretical and practical, political economy, and arts of a kind wholly beyond anything that can be taught to children, French, German, and I know not what, appears to be the *ne plus ultra* of extravagance. If the Acts relating to the elementary education of children are to be transformed into Acts for higher education of a kind usually given in the colleges of a University, then it must be done by Act of Parliament, and not by the stroke of the pen of a Government Department."

I entirely agree with the opinion thus expressed by the learned judge; and I cannot on the part of the Government accept, or make any approach to accepting, that contention which has been described by the learned judge—a contention which would make the school boards in the widest sense authorities for secondary education. If that is to be done, it cannot be done by the stroke of the pen of the Education Department; it must be done by Parliament; and if it is done by Parliament it will not be on the suggestion or the advice of His Majesty's present advisers. I do not suggest that in the observations made by the noble Lord he intended to ask us to adopt any modification of the Code, or any legislative measure which would cover the contention of the School Board thus stated by the learned judge. But he does ask us to make certain changes which would cover, so far as our action could cover it, a considerable advance in the direction of that contention. He asks us to assimilate our system to the Scotch system. But it has been over and over again pointed out in this House and in the other House of Parliament that the Scotch system differs fundamentally and legally from the English system. The Scottish school boards are empowered to provide and direct secondary as well as elementary education. There is nothing connected with secondary education in the Act which constitutes school boards in England.

Of course this is not the proper time to discuss the relative merits of the English and Scottish systems; but I am bound to say that the assimilation which is suggested by the noble Lord is, in our opinion, contrary to the policy which we submitted to Parliament last session, and which I trust we shall have an opportunity of submitting and prosecuting in the present session. That is all the answer I am able at present to give the noble Lord, and I am extremely indebted to him for having given me the opportunity of making this brief statement of the views of His Majesty's Government on this subject.

Earl SPENCER: My Lords, I can quite understand that there is considerable difficulty in going at length into all the different phases which this question has now entered upon. There is an appeal likely to come on, and this involves difficulties in fully discussing the whole matter now. But as the noble Duke has given his own views and the views of His Majesty's Government on this subject, I think it is only right that I should say a few words upon it. I shall not attempt to compare the Scottish with the English system of education. I am quite aware that there is a considerable difference. But without going into that question, I would like to say this: that if the views expressed by the noble Duke are carried out, an immense blow will be given to the higher kind of education which has been conducted for a very long time by a great many school board schools throughout England. It is upon that point that I wish to make some protest against the views of the noble Duke as I understand them.

I do not for a moment say that school boards, or voluntary schools receiving Parliamentary grants, should wholesale adopt secondary education as a part of their scheme, but I do submit that the higher grade schools which have been set up in a great many places in the north of England and in London are most admirable and useful institutions. There are a certain number of children who, after going through all the standards, are able, owing to their parents being perhaps a little better off than the others, to remain on in the school. What are they to be taught? Surely it is right that they should be allowed to be taught higher education, which would be of great use to them in their future career. That has been done with very great success. These children might not have the time or the opportunity, unless a very elaborate scheme is made out for sending them on to secondary schools, to go to those schools, and therefore the time they remained at their schools after passing the standards would be very much wasted.

As I understand, the noble Duke does not wish these higher grade schools to conduct their education as they have done hitherto, for fear they should compete with secondary education. If that view were carried out it would indeed be a great blow to education in many places in England. There is another point of immense importance touched by the judgment—namely, the attendance of adults at continuation schools. Now I believe these schools have been of enormous advantage throughout England, and they are no new thing at all. It was not in the original Act of 1870 that adults should be taught in continuation schools; but I believe that as far back as 1870 continuation schools for adults were established and have been allowed ever since.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: At the cost of the rates?

EARL SPENCER: Yes, I believe that has been allowed. The judgment says it is not legal to pay for them out of the rates, but still these continuation schools have been allowed for a very long time, almost from the beginning of Mr. Forster's scheme. I should very much regret if the change contemplated is carried out, because it will inflict great hardship and do a great deal of harm to education in this country. I do not know whether, if the noble Duke had been favourable to it, that would have affected the question of appeal. I cannot go into that, but I think it only right to the noble Duke to say that when the Bill comes forward later in the session there may be strong opinions among those whom I represent against the views foreshadowed on behalf of the Government.

*LORD NORTON: My Lords, the noble Earl who has just sat down has stated that the views of the noble Duke, if carried out, would be a great blow to the secondary education which is now being given in elementary schools, and look entirely to a transfer of that part of education to a new Department. The noble Earl may have a different view, but it is distinctly the view of the noble Duke—that elementary schools should not exceed higher elementary education, and that provision, and a far better provision, should be made for secondary schools. The noble Earl says that there are a certain number of children in the elementary schools whose parents are able to keep them there longer and give them secondary education. But why should they not go to secondary schools? The noble Earl does not say why; he does not state any difficulty. The mixture of secondary and primary in the elementary schools has been damaging to both, and it has been an error from the first since 1870. The elementary schools immediately began to get out of the province assigned to them by Parliament.

I think the great merit in the views as expressed by the noble Duke is that he will abandon that confusion, and make good provision distinctly for secondary education. I believe it is clearly the noble Duke's view—it certainly is my view—that especially clever children of the working classes should be aided by scholarships publicly provided to go to secondary schools, and the education they will get there will be far better. But I think that what the noble Earl has in his mind is a totally different kind of secondary education. What is really in the minds of those who are pushing this forward as a department of elementary education is that they are looking to provide for a richer class, the children of rich manufacturers and tradesmen, who are to get at the public expense, as in elementary schools, what is practically an apprenticeship for their sons for lucrative employment. That is not the idea at all of the elementary education of 1870, and I do not believe it is now.

If we provide a higher education we do not intend it to be at the public expense. We do not intend to relieve rich parents of the necessity and the responsibility of looking after the education of their children. I therefore feel that it would be in the interest of education and in the interest of the country to support the noble Duke in the very difficult task he has before him; to help in every way to make the education given by the school boards and elementary schools more complete, less mixed up with scientific subjects which do not properly belong to it; and to devote ourselves in every possible way to the new Department of Secondary Education which the noble Duke proposes.

House adjourned at quarter past Five of the clock, till Tomorrow, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 25th February, 1901.

POINT OF PRACTICE — QUESTIONS AND NOTICES OF MOTION.

*MR. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) asked the Speaker if, in view of the fact that a question of which he had given notice appeared in the Papers as a notice of motion, he would be allowed to put the question.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member handed in a question asking if a certain Minister would grant a Return in regard to agricultural rates. In the question he set forth the Return asked for in full, and when a question is handed in in that way it is usually treated as a notice of motion for a Return. Of course there will be no objection to the hon. Member putting a question at the end of the other questions as to whether the Minister will grant the Return.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

ALDEBURGH CORPORATION (WATER) BILL.

"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Aldeburgh to acquire the undertaking of the Aldeburgh Waterworks Company, Limited; and to construct waterworks and supply water; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

ALDERSHOT GAS AND WATER BILL.

"To empower the Aldershot Gas and Water Company to enter into agreements for the acquisition of the undertaking of the York Town and Blackwater Gas and Coke Company, Limited; and to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

ALEXANDRA (NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES) DOCKS AND RAILWAY BILL.

"To empower the Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Company to extend their existing South Dock, and to construct an entrance lock basin, river walls, railways, and other works; for changing the name of the company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BINGLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL BILL.

"To authorise the Urban District Council of Bingley to purchase the undertaking of the Cullingworth Gas Company, Limited; to make certain street works; and to make better provision for the health, local government, and improvement of the district; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BLACKBURN CORPORATION BILL.

"For extending the boundaries of the County Borough of Blackburn; and to authorise the Corporation of that Borough to reconstruct Tramways and to construct new Tramways in the Borough; to make street works; to enlarge the Town Hall and erect an Assembly Room; to erect a new Sessions House, Police, and Fire Brigade Stations; to borrow money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BLACKPOOL IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Blackpool to construct additional Tramways and improvements in that borough; and to make further provisions for the improvement and good government of the said borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BRADFORD CORPORATION BILL.

"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Bradford, in the west riding of the county of York, to construct additional tramways, street improvements, and an outfall sewer, to acquire lands for sewage works, and to extend their gas works, to extend the city, and to make further provision for the health and good government of the city; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BRIGHTON CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Brighton to purchase the Brighton Aquarium; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BRITISH GAS LIGHT COMPANY BILL.

"For empowering the British Gas Light Company, Limited, to enlarge their works and to expend further capita at Kingston-upon-Hull," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BRITISH WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY BILL.

"To facilitate the adaptation for working by electrical power of the railways of the Metropolitan Railway Company and the Metropolitan District Railway Company, and for that purpose to confer powers on those Companies and on the British Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, Limited; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BURGESS HILL WATER BILL.

"To authorise the Burgess Hill Water Company to construct additional waterworks, acquire lands, and raise further moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BURTON-UPON-TRENT CORPORATION BILL.

"To alter the numbers and boundaries of the wards of the boundaries of the borough of Burton-upon-Trent; and to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the said borough to construct tramways in the borough; and to make further provisions for the good government of the borough," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BURY CORPORATION BILL.

"To authorise the Corporation of Bury to purchase and hold lands for the purposes of their sewage, gas, and other works, and to make further and better provision in relation to the Local Government of the Borough of Bury; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BURY CORPORATION TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To authorise the Corporation of Bury to construct additional tramways within and adjacent to the borough; to make certain street works and improvements; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

CALEDONIAN ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Caledonian Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

CALEDONIAN RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Caledonian Railway Company in relation to their undertaking; to extend the periods for the completion of works by the Caledonian, the Callander and Oban, the Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, the Lochearnhead, St. Fillans, and Comrie, and the Paisley and Barrhead District Railway Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CARDIFF CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Cardiff to construct new intercepting and other sewers; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

CITY OF LONDON (SPITALFIELDS MARKET) BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of the city of London to acquire Spitalfields Market, with power to extend and improve the same and to maintain the said market or sell or lease the same; and for other purposes in reference thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time.

CLEVELAND AND DURHAM COUNTY ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

CLYDE VALLEY ELECTRICAL POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Clyde Valley Electrical Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

COLWYN BAY AND COLWYN URBAN DISTRICT GAS BILL.

"To provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Colwyn Bay and District Gas Company to the Colwyn Bay and Colwyn Urban District Council, and to authorise that Council to supply gas; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

CRAWLEY GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Crawley Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CROMER WATER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Cromer Water Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

DERBY CORPORATION BILL.

"To extend the boundaries of the borough of Derby and to empower the Corporation to construct tramways, additional waterworks, sewerage and sewage disposal works, street widenings, and improvements; to repeal Sections 43 to 46, both inclusive, of the Derby Corporation Act, 1877; and to confer further powers in regard to the health, local government, and improvement of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

DERBYSHIRE AND NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

DERWENT VALLEY WATER BOARD BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Derwent Valley Water Board with respect to their water undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

DEVONPORT CORPORATION (GAS) BILL.

"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Devonport to purchase the undertaking of the Devonport Gas and Coke Company, and to supply gas within the borough of Devonport; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

DEVONPORT GAS AND COKE BILL.

"To authorise the Devonport Gas and Coke Company to raise additional capital, to define and extend their limits of supply, to extend their powers; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

DISTRICT MESSENGER AND THEATRE TICKET COMPANY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the District Messenger and Theatre Ticket Company, Limited, with respect to the telegraphic or telephonic communications and the conveyance of letters; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

DORKING GAS BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Dorking Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

DUBLIN CORPORATION (MARKETS, ETC.) BILL.

"To authorise the Municipal Corporation of the City of Dublin to establish and maintain a market for the sale of old clothes and other commodities in certain market buildings to be constructed and conveyed to them as a free gift by the Right Honourable Edward Cecil, Baron Iveagh, K.P.; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

DUBLIN (EQUALISATION OF RATES) BILL.

"To make provision for the equalisation of rates as between the City of Dublin and the urban districts of Rathmines and Rathgar and of Pembroke adjoining the said city," read the first time; to be read a second time.

DUBLIN ST. JAMES' GATE BREWERY TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To authorise Arthur Guinness, Son, and Company (Limited), to construct tramways in the City of Dublin in connection with St. James's Gate Brewery, and to work the same and their existing tramways by mechanical or other power, to construct certain street improvements; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petition for Private Bills.

ECCLES CORPORATION BILL.

"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Eccles to reconstruct their existing and to construct additional tramways; to make street improvements; to raise additional moneys by mortgage; and to make further provision for the good government of the borough," read the first time; to be read a second time.

FAIRFORD AND CIRENCESTER RAILWAY BILL.

"For incorporating the Fairford and Cirencester Railway Company; and authorising the construction of a railway from Fairford to Cirencester; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

GAS LIGHT AND COKE COMPANY BILL.

"To enable the Gas Light and Coke Company to raise additional moneys; and to purchase, take, and hold lands; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GATESHEAD AND DISTRICT TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To enable the Gateshead and District Tramways Company to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GLASGOW AND RENFREW DISTRICT RAILWAY TRANSFER BILL.

"For transferring to and vesting in the Caledonian Railway Company and the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company jointly the undertaking of the Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GLASGOW AND SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company; for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands, and for the purchase of Troon Harbour; for empowering them to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GOLBORNE GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Golborne Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GRAVESEND GAS BILL.

"To convert and consolidate the existing capital of the Gravesend and Milton Gaslight Company; to confer further powers upon that company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT CENTRAL RAILWAY BILL.

"To enable the Great Central Railway Company to make new railways and other works; to acquire additional lands; to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of certain lands, for the completion of certain railways, and for the sale of the superfluous lands of the Manchester, South Junction, and Altrincham Railway Company, and the Wrexham, Mold, and Connah's Quay Railway Company; to confer further powers upon the Nottingham Joint Station Committee; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To authorise the Great Eastern Railway Company to execute further works and to purchase additional lands; to sanction and confirm the purchase of certain lands; to confer further powers upon the Company and the Great Northern and Great Eastern Joint Committee; to extend the periods limited by former Acts for the purchase of lands and the construction of works by the Company; to provide for the consolidation of certain preference stocks of the Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY BILL

"For conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in respect of their own undertaking, and upon that Company and the London and North Western Railway Company in respect of undertakings in which they are jointly interested, and upon the Great Western and Great Central Railways Joint Committee in respect of their undertaking; for vesting the undertakings of the Devon and Somerset and the Bridport Railway Companies in the Great Western Railway Company; for transferring to that Company the powers of the Windsor and Ascot Railway Company and extending the time for the construction of the authorised railways of that Company; for empowering the Lambourn Valley Railway Company to raise further moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

HARTLEPOOLS GAS AND WATER TRANSFER BILL.

"To authorise the sale of the undertakings of the Hartlepool Gas and Water Company to the Corporations of Hartlepool and West Hartlepool; and to empower those Corporations to supply gas and water within the boroughs of Hartlepool and West Hartlepool and places adjacent thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HECKMONDWIKE GAS (TRANSFER) BILL.

"To constitute and incorporate a joint Board for the urban districts of Heckmondwike and Liversedge, in the West Riding of the county of York, and to transfer to and vest in such joint Board the undertaking of the Heckmondwike Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HONLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (GAS) BILL.

"To transfer to and vest in the Honley Urban District Council the undertaking of the Honley Gas Company (Limited), and to confer upon that Council powers for the supply of gas; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HORLEY DISTRICT GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Horley District Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK BILL.

"To authorise the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company to construct new railways; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

HUMBER COMMERCIAL RAILWAY AND DOCK BILL.

"For authorising the construction of a dock, sea walls, railways, and other works adjoining the existing docks at Grimsby, in the county of Lincoln, to be called the Humber Commercial Railway and dock; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

ILKESTON AND HEANOR WATER BOARD BILL.

"To constitute a Joint Board representative of the Corporation of Ilkeston and the Heanor Urban District Council with power to acquire the undertaking of the Meerbrook Sough Company, and to construct works for intercepting and distributing the waters of the Meerbrook Sough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

IRISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH BILL.

"To extend the powers of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland in relation to the investment of money and the accepting, taking, and holding of property; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

KETTERING URBAN DISTRICT WATER BILL.

"To empower the Urban District Council of Kettering to construct additional waterworks; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

KINGSCOURT, KEADY, AND ARMAGH RAILWAY BILL.

"To empower the Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway Company to construct a new railway in the county of Monaghan, and to abandon a portion of their authorised railways; to change the name of the Company; to authorise the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) to work the undertaking of the Company and to subscribe towards their capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Kingston-upon-Hull to make certain street works; to construct a bridge over the River Hull; to lay down tramways; and to confer further powers on the Corporation in regard to the water supply health, local government, and improvement of the city; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY (DEARNE VALLEY JUNCTION RAILWAYS) BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company with respect to the construction of Railways, in the West Riding of the county of York; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY (VARIOUS POWERS) BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company with relation to their own undertaking and upon that Company and the London and North Western Railway Company with relation to the Preston and Wyre Railway and the Great Northern Railway Company with relation to lands at Wakefield; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LEATHERHEAD GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Leatherhead Gas and Lighting Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LLANDRINDOD WELLS URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL WATER BILL.

"To authorise the Urban District Council of Llandrindod Wells to purchase the undertaking of the Llandrindod Wells Water Company; and to authorise the Council to construct additional waterworks and to supply water within the district and adjoining places," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LLANDRINDOD WELLS WATER BILL.

"To extend the limits of supply of the Llandrindod Wells Water Company and to authorise the Company to construct new works; to raise further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON AND INDIA DOCKS (NEW WORKS) BILL.

"To authorise the London and India Docks Company to construct a new dock and other works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"For empowering the London and North Western Railway Company to construct additional dock works at Garston; and for conferring further powers upon that Company in relation to their own undertaking; and upon that Company and the Great Western Railway Company, and the Great Central Railway Company, in relation to their joint undertakings; and upon the Shropshire Union Railways and Canal Company in relation to their undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON BRIDGE WIDENING BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of the City of London to widen London Bridge; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS) BILL.

"To empower the London County Council to make street improvements and works and to purchase lands in the administrative county of London; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (SPITALFIELDS MARKET) BILL.

"To empower the London County Council to acquire Spitalfields Market, in the parish of Christchurch, Spitalfields; and to make various provisions with reference thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON RIVERSIDE FISHMARKET BILL.

"To confirm and give effect to an agreement for the sale and transfer of the London Riverside Fishmarket to the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON, TILBURY, AND SOUTHEND RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON WATER (PURCHASE) BILL.

"To empower the London County Council to acquire the undertakings of the London Water Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONG EATON GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Long Eaton Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MANSFIELD CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Mansfield to make a street widening, to authorise the Corporation to acquire the undertaking of the Mansfield Woodhouse Gas Light and Coke Company, Limited, to make further provisions with respect to their gas, water, and electrical undertakings, to confer further powers in regard to streets, buildings, and sewers, and the health, local government, and improvement of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY BILL.

"To empower the Metropolitan District Railway Company to provide for the conversion and adaptation of their railway for being worked by electric traction; to create a debenture stock with a first charge upon the undertaking of the company; to limit the dividend on their five per cent. preference stock; to apply existing capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

METROPOLITAN ELECTRIC SUPPLY BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company, Limited, with respect to the supply of electrical energy; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

METROPOLITAN RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Metropolitan Railway Company in relation to their own undertaking, and upon that Company and the Harrow and Uxbridge Railway Company in relation to the Harrow and Uxbridge Railway; to revive and extend the powers for the purchase of land and the completion of certain authorised railways and works by the two Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

METROPOLITAN WATER COMPANIES (AMENDMENT OF ACTS) BILL.

"To extend the provisions of the Staines Reservoirs Acts of 1896 and 1898 relating to the purchase of the undertakings of certain metropolitan water companies by any public body or trustees," read the first time; to be read a second time.

MIDLAND RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company and upon the Norfolk and Suffolk Joint Railways Committee, and upon the

Midland and Great Northern Railways Joint Committee, for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MOND GAS BILL.

"To incorporate and confer powers on the South Staffordshire Mond Gas (Power and Heating) Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

NEATH HARBOUR BILL.

"To reduce and regulate the amount of the debt upon the Neath Harbour Undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

NEWRY PORT AND HARBOUR TRUST BILL.

"To incorporate trustees for the maintenance and improvement of the Port and Harbour of Newry, Newry River, and Newry Canal; to transfer to them the Undertaking of the Newry Navigation Company; to authorise the trustees to borrow money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers on the North British Railway Company in connection with their undertaking; to authorise the widening of portions of their Monkland Railway and the construction of new railways; to authorise the said Company to acequire additional lands; to close and discontinue the Harbour of Leven; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer additional powers upon the North Eastern Railway Company for the construction of new railways and other works and the acquisition of additional lands, and upon that Company and the Midland and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Companies in respect of their Normanton Station; and upon the Hull Joint Stock Committee for the execution of works and the acquisition of lands; and for vesting in the Company the Goole and Marshland Light Railway and the Isle of Axholme Light Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NOTTING HILL ELECTRIC LIGHTING BILL.

"To empower the Notting Hill Electric Lighting Company, Limited; to acquire lands and to erect and work generating stations; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PAISLEY POLICE AND PUBLIC HEALTH BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Corporation of Paisley, and to make further provision for the regulation of streets and buildings and the police and public health administration of the burgh; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

PEMBROKE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (COUNTY OF DUBLIN) BILL.

"To confer powers on the urban district council of Pembroke in the county of Dublin with respect to sanitary matters, streets, buildings, and other matters for the good government of their district, and to borrow moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

PETERSFIELD AND SELSEY GAS BILL.

"For supplying with gas the urban district of Petersfield, the parish of Selsey, and other places in the counties of Southampton and Sussex," read the first time; to be read a second time.

RHYL BRIDGE BILL.

"To authorise the reconstruction of the bridge over the River Clwyd constructed under the powers of the Rhyl Bridge Act, 1861; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

RHYL IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To authorise the urban district council of Rhyl to construct additional waterworks and to make further provision in regard to the health, local government, improvement, and finance of the urban district; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

RICHMOND GAS BILL.

"To authorise the Richmond Gas Company to raise additional capital, to convert their existing capital, to enlarge their works, to amend their existing Acts; and for other purposes," read the first time and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

RICKMANSWORTH AND UXBRIDGE VALLEY WATER BILL.

"For extending the limits of supply of and conferring further powers upon the Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SHANNON WATER AND ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Shannon Water and Electric Power Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SHIPLEY IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To confirm the purchase of the undertaking of the Shipley Gaslight Company by the Urban District Council of Shipley; to authorise the construction of tramways, cold air stores, and street improvements; to make further provision with regard to the water and electric light undertakings of the council and the health and local government of the district," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SHIREOAKS, LAUGHTON, AND MALTBY RAILWAY BILL.

"For making a railway in the west riding of the county of York from the Great Central Railway at Shireoaks to Maltby; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SOUTHAMPTON AND WINCHESTER GREAT WESTERN JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL.

"For making a railway between Winchester and Southampton to be called the Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS BILL.

"To empower the South Metropolitan Gas Company to raise additional capital, and to purchase by agreement so much of the southern portion of the undertaking of the Gas Light and Coke Company as is situate in the county of London south of the Thames; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

STALYBRIDGE, HYDE, MOSSLEY, AND DUKINFIELD, TRAMWAYS AND ELECTRICITY BOARD BILL.

"To constitute and incorporate a Joint Board consisting of representatives of the Corporations of Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield; and to authorise the Board to construct and work Tramways and to supply electrical energy within the boroughs of Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

STRATFORD-UPON-AVON, TOWCESTER, AND MIDLAND JUNCTION EAST AND WEST JUNCTION, AND EVESHAM, REDDITCH, AND STRATFORD-UPON-AVON JUNCTION RAILWAY COMPANIES BILL.

"To authorise the sale of the undertakings of the East and West Junction, the Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction, and the Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction Railway Companies," read the first time; to be read a second time.

STROUD GAS BILL.

"To authorise the Stroud Gas Light and Coke Company to convert their existing capital, to raise additional capital, to amend their existing Act; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SWANAGE GAS AND WATER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on a Company, to be called the Swanage Gas and Water Company, and to authorise the transfer to that Company of certain existing gasworks and waterworks and powers in the parish of Swanage, in the county of Dorset, and the construction of additional waterworks; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SWANSEA HARBOUR BILL.

"To authorise the Swansea Harbour Trustees to make a new dock, enlarge and extend the half-tide basin of the south dock, and construct new railways, to extend the limits of the harbour; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

TAFF VALE RAILWAY BILL.

"To enlarge the powers of the Taff Vale Railway Company with reference to the acquisition of lands and the construction of works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

TEES VALLEY WATER BOARD BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Tees Valley Water Board in relation to the supply of water," read the first time; to be read a second time.

TENDRING HUNDRED WATER BILL.

"To extend the limits of supply of the Tendring Hundred Waterworks Company; to authorise that Company to construct new works; to raise further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

THAMES DEEP WATER DOCK BILL.

"To revive the powers and extend the periods for the compulsory purchase of lands for and for the completion of the dock and works authorised by the Thames Deep Water Dock Act, 1881; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

THAMES LIGHTERMEN BILL.

"To make further provisions with reference to the working and navigating of lighters and barges in the Port of London and on the River Thames," read the first time; to be read a second time.

THAMES PIERS AND RIVER SERVICE BILL.

"To provide for the transfer of certain piers and landing places on the River Thames, in the administrative county of London, to the London County Council, and to make provision for a service of boats for passengers and parcels; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

TORRINGTON AND OAKHAMPTON RAILWAY BILL.

"To extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands for and completion of the railways authorised by the Torrington and Oakhampton Railway Act, 1895, and the Torrington and Oakhampton Railway Act, 1898, and to change the name of the Torrington and Oakhampton Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

TOTTENHAM AND HAMPSTEAD JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL.

"For empowering the Tottenham and Hampstead Junction Railway Company to widen a portion of their railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WALLASEY IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To empower the Wallasey Urban District Council to construct a railway to their gasworks, and to make further provision in regard to the health, local government, and improvement of the district and the borrowing of money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WELLS CORPORATION WATER BILL.

"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the city of Wells to purchase the undertaking of the Wells Water Company, Limited, to construct additional waterworks; and to supply water within their city, and the neighbourhood thereof; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WELLS WATER BILL.

"To incorporate and confer powers on the Wells Water Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WEST CUMBERLAND ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To incorporate the West Cumberland Electric Tramways Company; and to empower the Company to make tramways, tramroads, and street improvements, and to erect generating stations, and to supply electricity; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WEST SURREY WATER BILL.

"For extending the limits of supply of the West Surrey Water Company and for authorising that Company to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WOLVERHAMPTON AND CANNOCK CHASE RAILWAY BILL.

"For making a railway in the county of Stafford from Wolverhampton to Great Wyrley; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WOLVERHAMPTON CORPORATION WATER BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Wolverhampton to construct additional waterworks, to extend their limits for the supply of water, and to make further provision in regard to their water undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

YORKSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Electric Power (Yorkshire) Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SELECTION (BY ORDER).

Ordered, That the Committee of Selection do consist of Eleven Members:—Mr. Blake, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir John Dorington, Sir William Hart-Dyke, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. M'Kenna, Sir Edward Reed, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Wodehouse, and the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*)

COMMONS.

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to consider every Report made by the Board of Agriculture certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the enclosure or regulation of a common, and presented to the House during the last or present Sessions, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power in respect of each such Provisional Order to inquire and report to the House whether the same should be confirmed by Parliament; and, if so, whether with or without modification, and in the event of their being of opinion that the same should not be confirmed, except subject to modifications, to report such modifications accordingly with a view to such Provisional Order being remitted to the Board of Agriculture.

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Twelve Members; Seven to be nominated by the House, and Five by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.

Petition from Berwick, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Tipton; Brighouse; Stratton St. Margaret; Walsall; and Sheffield; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Egham; Strood; Easthampstead; Rochester; Sheffield; Shanklin; and Sandown; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Strood; Rochester (two); and Skelton and Stanghow; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INEBRIATE RETREATS (RULES FOR MANAGEMENT).

Copy presented, of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Domestic Management of the Corngreaves Hall Retreat, licensed as a retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MILK AND CREAM REGULATIONS.

Copy presented, of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture to inquire and report upon the desirability of Regulations, under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, for Milk and Cream, with Copy of Minute appointing the Committee [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (ORDNANCE FACTORIES) (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).

Appropriation Account presented, of the sums granted by Parliament for the expense of the Ordnance Factories, the cost of the productions of which have been charged to other Votes for the year ended 31st March, 1900, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 40.]

COLONIAL STATISTICS.

Copy presented, of Statistical Tables relating to the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom. Part XXIII. for the years 1897–8 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (SOUTH AFRICA) (SUPPLEMENTARY DESPATCHES).

Copy presented, of Supplementary Despatches relating to the War in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Copy presented, of Telegram from Sir A. Milner to the Secretary of State for War relating to reported outrage on Esau at Calvinia [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TREATY SERIES (No. 3, 1901).

Copy presented, of Accession of the Kingdom of Sweden to the Venice Sanitary Convention of 19th March, 1897, and to the Declaration additional thereto of 24th January, 1900; 9th December, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2558 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1901-1902.

Copy presented, of Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year ending 31st March, 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 41.]

ARMY (ORDNANCE FACTORIES, 1901-1902).

Copy presented, of the sum required for the year ending 31st March, 1902, to defray the Expense of the Ordnance Factories [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 42.]

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Charitable Endowments (London).—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1894; *Mr. Francis Stevenson*]; to be printed. [No. 43.]

2. Inquiry into Charities (County of Carnarvon).—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 10th February, 1898; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 44.]

AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE.

Return ordered, "showing the number of days, hours, and minutes occupied in the transit of the Royal Mails both outward and inward carried during the year 1900 by steamships between Queenstown and New York, and also between Southampton and New York; the Return to specify the names of the steamers, and to indicate by asterisks or otherwise those not carrying Mails under Contract."—(*Sir John Leng.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—BOER PRISONERS AT GRASPAN.

Mr. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to a public statement, alleged to have been made on 18th December last, by a British officer recently returned from South Africa, to which publicity was given but no contradiction, that while in charge of some Boer prisoners at Graspan, a lot of innocent Dutchmen came in Cape carts to see their friends and relations, that he let them all come in but did not let any out, and that they went to St. Helena with the rest; and whether he will take steps publicly to contradict such a statement or otherwise deal with the alleged author of it.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford): My attention was called to this statement a few days ago, and I at once asked for an explanation. The officer in question states that as a fact, when in charge of the Boer prisoners at Graspan, a Boer ambulance being near, a number of Boers, fully armed, came up, and seizing red cross badges put them on and said they were doctors. They were examined by the Provost-Marshal, and were found equally inaccurate in respect of their names and professions, they being in each particular contradicted by the true members of the ambulance. They were consequently retained as prisoners. The officer in question, in speaking of them as innocent, explains that he spoke ironically, and no doubt the fact that he spoke after dinner prevented his being over cautious in his choice of language. He has been warned to be more careful.

ALLEGED SHOOTING OF KAFFIRS AT KIMBERLEY.

Mr. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the shooting of a number of indentured Kaffirs who were attempting to escape from the compound at the Wesselton Mine, at Kimberley, on 29th October last, resulting in the death of one Kaffir, Titsane, and the wounding of several others; whether he is aware that it appears from the evidence that the guards of the mines, and also fourteen men of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers under Sergeant Howard, and by the orders of Major W. Roper-Caldbeck, took part in the chase and shooting of the Kaffirs; whether he can state under what laws of Cape Colony or of this country guards of mines are empowered to shoot down men who are trying to escape from a civil contract; whether it is permissible under the Army Regulations for officers and men of His Majesty's Regular Army or other forces to aid in recapturing natives trying to escape from the mines and compounds; whether he will direct steps to be taken to secure the punishment of all whose participation in this affair constituted an offence, and to make such action to enforce the civil contracts entered into by natives impossible.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.): I intend making inquiries, and will let the hon. Gentleman know the result.

Mr. CHANNING: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when he is likely to get the particulars?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir.

COLONIAL CONTINGENTS—RATE OF PAY.

Captain LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state whether the rate of pay, namely, 5s. per diem, now drawn by colonial troops in South Africa, is less than the current rate of wages for the lowest class of white labour in such colonies.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Five shillings a day is undoubtedly less than the average rate of daily wages for unskilled white labour in the colonies from which these troops have been sent.

COLONIAL CONTINGENTS—ALLEGED INSUBORDINATION.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War which were the two Colonial Corps among whom Lord Kitchener, in his telegram of 21st January, stated there had been insubordination; what were the periods of service for which the men who refused to march had engaged; and what was the cause of the insubordination.

MR. BRODRICK: Lord Kitchener gave a full account in his telegram of 21st December of the insubordination which occurred in certain South African colonial corps owing to a mistake in carrying out their discharge. He also informed us of the way in which Lord Roberts dealt with it, and I think that quite sufficient notice has been taken of this matter, and I agree with Lord Kitchener's words——

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I wish to know whether the rule of order which applies to questions—namely, that they must not involve matters of opinion—also applies to answers.

*MR. SPEAKER: As the hon. Member stopped the right hon. Gentleman I did not hear the whole of what he was going to say.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: He said he agrees with something Lord Kitchener said. I never asked him that.

*MR. SPEAKER: As I understand the right hon. Gentleman in his answer was adopting some words used by another person, that is not out of order.

*MR. BRYN ROBERTS: My point is, he is going further.

MR. BRODRICK: The words which I quote from Lord Kitchener are necessary in order to convey to the House the decision at which I have arrived. Lord Kitchener said, "It is considered a cruel thing to make public an incident which all regret and which subsequent brilliant services in the field of the South African force have entirely obliterated." I agree with those words, and I do not think it is in the public interest that I should ask the name of the corps.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the point—What was the cause of the insubordination?

MR. BRODRICK: The incident of the insubordination was a mistake in regard to the discharge of the corps, and the matter was fully explained in Lord Kitchener's telegram. I confess I think that further reference to it is absolutely unnecessary.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: That is not the question. The right hon. Gentleman does not explain what I want to know. I am entitled as a Member of the House to an answer giving the information I ask for—namely, for what period of service were these men engaged?

MR. BRODRICK: I do not know the period of service, because I have not asked for the name of the corps. I may remind the House that the hon. Member brought this accusation against another corps which he named without any justification.

PAY OF SOLDIERS CAPTURED AT MAGERSFONTEIN.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether British soldiers who were taken prisoners at Magersfontein, and remained so until released in June, 1900, have yet received their pay for the time during which they were prisoners; and whether, seeing that according to the regulations pay is not allowed for the period during which soldiers have been prisoners until a court of inquiry has decided whether they were to blame or not, a court of inquiry has yet been held in the case of the Magersfontein prisoners; and, if so, whether, on their being found not to blame, their arrears of pay will be promptly paid.

MR. BRODRICK: Courts of enquiry are known to have been held on some of these prisoners, but I cannot say for certain whether on all. As the issues of pay would be in the hands of the General Officer Commanding, and as under regulations recently made the pay is not forfeited unless the man is proved to have been taken prisoner through his own neglect or misconduct, it is not likely that any men are still without their pay. If the hon. Member will give me any instances I will have them inquired into.

TRANSPORT—TREATMENT OF WOUNDED VOLUNTEERS.

Sir BARRINGTON SIMEON (Southampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, taking into consideration the reply which he gave to a question on 30th December, 1900, on the subject of transport for Volunteers returning from South Africa, a wounded Volunteer sent down to Capetown and discharged there, finding that no berth in a troopship returning home was available for six or seven weeks, was not justified in obtaining a trooper's passage home in the next ordinary steamer sailing after his discharge; and whether, considering the expense to which such Volunteer would have been put had he remained for six or seven weeks in enforced idleness at Capetown waiting for a troopship, the Secretary of State will give directions for the expenses of the journey of such Volunteer being refunded wholly or in part.

Mr. BRODRICK: A report on the particular case referred to by my hon. friend has been called for.

"PEACE COMMISSIONERS"—THE REV. ADRIAN HOFMEYER.

Mr. PIRIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will inform himself, by cabling to South Africa, of the appointment of the Rev. Adrian Hofmeyer as Peace Commissioner to the Transvaal: and if he can state by what date he will be able to inform the House as to the particulars of the appointment, this person's present whereabouts, and his antecedents.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I informed the hon. Member in reply to his previous question that I was cabling to Sir A Milner on the subject. I have now received his reply, and am informed that Mr. Hofmeyer was not sent to the Transvaal as Peace Commissioner or any similar capacity. He was, however, sent to Pretoria in January, where it was thought that his knowledge of the language and the people might be of service to the military authorities. The Commander-in-Chief found no occasion for his services, and he returned to Capetown some weeks ago.

Mr. PIRIE: May I ask if Mr. Hofmeyer is the same Mr. Hofmeyer who was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir.

THE NETHERLANDS RAILWAY.

Mr. ALFRED DAVIES (Carmarthen Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the attitude of the British Government towards the Netherlands Railway Company, whose line runs from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria, and more especially whether it is looked upon as an asset of the British nation.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The position of the Netherlands Railway Company is being considered by the Transvaal Concessions Commission, and no statement can be made until their report has been made and considered.

PAY OF TROOPS AT THE FRONT.

Mr. PIRIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state up to what date the troops in South Africa have been paid, and at what intervals pay is issued to troops in the field.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I fear I cannot answer the hon. Member's question. Normally the soldiers' pay is issued weekly. When troops are in the field, the periodical settlement with the men must frequently be interfered with by the conditions of active service, but no avoidable delay is allowed.

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY RECRUITS—PHYSICAL STANDARD.

Mr. PIRIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any physical standard has been fixed for the recruits who are now being accepted for the Imperial Yeomanry; and, if so, will he state what it is; and are the physical measurements taken of those who have been enlisted, can he state what is the average chest measurement and height, and whether any qualification as to character or antecedents is required.

Mr. BRODRICK: The physical standard and the qualifications of character are laid down in Army Order 40 of February, 1901. I am afraid I cannot give the average measurements without requiring an amount of computations and labour which it would be unreasonable to ask from a heavily worked Department at a moment of pressure.

SOLDIERS' WIVES IN IRISH UNIONS.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in the event of women whose husbands are in the Army becoming inmates of poor law unions in Ireland, he will direct that any money which may accrue to them through their husbands, be sent in the first instance to the union of which they are inmates, so that such unions may be in a position to recoup the ratepayers to some extent, as is the case with Army pensioners who become inmates.

LORD STANLEY: If the hon. Member is aware of any cases of wives of soldiers in the Army becoming inmates of unions, I shall be glad if he will bring them to the notice of the War Office.

MR. JOYCE: I will do so.

FARM BURNING, ETC.—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL BRUCE HAMILTON.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Major General Bruce Hamilton published a notice at Ventersburg, dated 1st November, 1900, that the town of Ventersburg had been cleared of supplies and partly burnt, and the farms in the vicinity destroyed, on account of the frequent attacks on the railway line in the neighbourhood; that the Boer women and children who were left behind should apply to the Boer commandants for food, who would supply them unless they wished to see them starved; and that no supplies would be sent from the railway to the town; whether the Boer women and children were deprived of all their food supplies, and then abandened to starvation as threatened in the notice; whether there is any evidence that the attacks on the railway proceeded from the town; and whether he will inform Major General Bruce Hamilton that the Hague Convention recommended that there should be no infliction of any general penalty on a population on account of the acts of individuals for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible.

MR. BRODRICK: As it became evident in October last that Ventersburg was being used by the enemy as a base for supplies, from which constant attacks on the railway were being carried out, the Commander-in-Chief directed that houses in Ventersburg and its vicinity belonging to Boers away fighting should be destroyed, and grain and stores removed. These orders were carried out. The wording of General Bruce Hamilton's notice, however, was not submitted to Lord Roberts, and was not approved by him. It was withdrawn at once. Care was taken that the women and children should not be abandoned to starvation. As regards the third and fourth paragraphs of the hon. Member's question, the general officer commanding on the spot was satisfied that the attacks in question proceeded from the town, and that those who suffered were responsible.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Is it the rule of the British Army that if the enemy occupy a town, and are driven out of it, the British Army are entitled to destroy the town and burn all the houses?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Was the proclamation withdrawn before or after the houses had been burned?

MR. BRODRICK: The proclamation was, I think, put out about the time the houses were burned. The houses were burned, and the proclamation with regard to the treatment of the Boers themselves—the women and children—was withdrawn at once.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): What was done with the women and children?

MR. BRODRICK: They were treated in the same way as women and children have been treated throughout the campaign. They were given rations from the Army stores.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS: Will this man be allowed to continue in command?

***MR. SPEAKER**: Order, order! That does not arise upon the question.

ARGENTINE HORSES.

Mr. PHILIPPS (Pembrokeshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has official information to show that many of the Argentine horses that have been unfavourably reported on by the military authorities in South Africa were bought for less than £7 apiece.

Lord STANLEY: As I have already explained to the House, I cannot give any information as to the prices paid for horses while purchases are still being made.

CAMPS OF REFUGE.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can inform the House as to the number of the camps established by order of Lord Kitchener, where those whose homes have been destroyed and others are concentrated under guard; where the camps are situate; what is the approximate number of men, women, and children respectively therein; in whose hands the arrangements for the supply of provisions are placed; what is the nature of the shelter erected; whether relatives and others desiring to mitigate the situation and sufferings of those thus confined are allowed reasonable access to them; and are the persons in these camps held to be prisoners of war.

Mr. BRODRICK: The numbers and situations of the camps, or the numbers of protected persons in each and the nature of the shelter provided have not been reported, but it is believed that about 15,000 are so accommodated. The arrangements for the supply of provisions have been in the hands of the local military authorities, but are being gradually transferred to civil contract. The husbands and sons of deserted women who desire to live peacefully can freely join them in their laagers, and arrangements have been made to distribute to them any gifts sent by others. The protected persons are not prisoners of war. A full report has been called for.

Mr. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman state whether the women and children in these laagers are at liberty to leave them? Are they prisoners or are they free?

Mr. BRODRICK: They are not prisoners of war.

Mr. DILLON: Are they free to leave the laagers, or are they guarded by sentries with bayonets?

Mr. BRODRICK: They come to these laagers for protection.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS: Will the right hon. Gentleman assure us that no persons are inside these camps who have not come there for protection—that they have not been driven there?

Mr. BRODRICK: I have given the House all the information I can. These camps are voluntary camps formed for protection. Those who come may go.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS, who on again rising was received with loud Ministerial cries of "Order," said: When the Speaker calls me to order I will sit down, and not before. This is a free Parliament. Will the right hon. Gentleman assure the House that, before we discuss this matter in Committee of Supply—a discussion which, I am sure, he does not wish to burke—we shall have full information from South Africa on this subject?

Mr. BRODRICK: I have already told the hon. Member that I have called for a report, and I shall be glad to give it as soon as possible. It has, however, to come from South Africa, and I cannot control the exact time of its arrival here.

BLOEMFONTEIN PROVOST MARSHAL.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether the post of chief clerk to the Provost Marshal at Bloemfontein has been or is held by a person going by the name of Sutherland; whether the real name of this person is Atherstone, and as such he was some years ago found guilty and condemned to death for shooting a native, whose grave he had previously dug; and whether he was reprieved by President Steyn, the death penalty being commuted to penal servitude for life, which sentence he was serving on the entry of the British troops into Bloemfontein, when he was released from the convict prison, and shortly after given the post above described.

MR. BRODRICK: Atherstone is an ex-Sergeant-Major of Royal Artillery, who was discharged in 1886. He was convicted of murder in the Free State in 1894 and his sentence was commuted to penal servitude by the late President Mr. Steyn. Considerable doubt, however, arose subsequently as to the reliability of the evidence on which this conviction was based, and on the British occupation of Bloemfontein it was found that the Executive Council had ordered his release to take place in November, 1900, and that Mr. Steyn had informed Atherstone that he would be released at an earlier date. Under these circumstances the Military Governor of the Orange River Colony, having after inquiry formed the opinion that the conviction could not be upheld, sanctioned the man's release in March, 1900. He was subsequently employed in the purely clerical work of making out returns in the Provost Marshal's office, but was in no sense that official's chief clerk.

MILITIA RESERVISTS ON SERVICE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War are the Governmen empowered in the case of Militiamen who have not received reserve pay to keep them longer in the service than twelve months; and, if not, will they bring home from South Africa and discharge the men of the 5th Battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers who have not received reserve pay since 1889 and who are now serving in South Africa.

LORD STANLEY: The hon. Member's question is not quite clear. There are no Militia Reservists in this battalion called out for permanent service whose liability to serve expires before the 1st July, 1901. Reserve pay whether of Militia or Army Reserve ceases on their mobilisation.

ARMY MEAT AND FORAGE CONTRACTS.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to a meeting of the Innishowen District Council, county Donegal, at which a resolution was passed protesting against the action of the War Office in accepting a tender for the supply of foreign meat for the Army instead of the native article marketed by those who contribute towards the support and maintenance of the Army, and also protesting against the Army horses being fed on foreign forage, to the detriment of Irish tenant farmers; and will steps be taken to place all future contracts as far as possible within the United Kingdom.

LORD STANLEY: My attention has been called to the resolution referred to. The whole question of supply of meat throughout the United Kingdom is being considered.

MR. M'FADDEN (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he has received a copy of a resolution passed at the last quarterly meeting of the county council of Londonderry protesting against the recent action of the War Office in accepting a tender for the supply of foreign meat in preference to the native article, and protesting against the supply of foreign forage to the horses in the Army to the loss of farmers and traders in Ireland, and asking that this policy should be changed; and will he state what steps (if any) the Government intend to take to remedy the matters complained of by this county council and other public bodies in Ireland.

LORD STANLEY: I have not received a copy of the resolution referred to. The whole question of the supply of meat in the United Kingdom is under consideration. As regards forage, I have already explained to the House that all the contracts but two are given to local dealers.

PAY OF RETIRED ARMY OFFICERS IN THE MILITIA.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PRYCE-JONES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the fact that retired Army officers serving in the embodied Militia lose their pensions, and that, in consequence, such officers are to be found serving for less pay than that allotted to sergeant-majors, and whether he will take steps to put an end to this state of matters.

LORD STANLEY: It has been fully explained to the House on previous occasions that in pursuance of the Treasury's decision these officers cannot draw full pay and retired pay simultaneously.

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' SONS AND MILITARY EDUCATION.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PRYCE-JONES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the services rendered by the Volunteers in the war in which the country is at present engaged, and the expenses entailed upon Volunteer officers in keeping up their corps, it can now be found practicable to place volunteer officers upon the same footing as officers of the line with respect to the admission of their sons to the Royal Military Academy at the reduced charge settled under Article 674 of the Royal Warrant for Pay, etc., 1897.

LORD STANLEY: I do not think that the valuable services rendered by the Volunteers in connection with the war would justify a departure from the general principle that the State does not contribute towards the expense of the education at Woolwich and Sandhurst of the sons of Volunteer officers. The cases of sons of officers who have seen active service in South Africa will be favourably considered.

ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the commanding officer of the 5th battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers, who were camped at Lydd on St. Stephen's Day, when asking them to volunteer for service in Malta or Egypt, carried out the requirements of the Militia Act, 1882, by explaining to every man in the battalion that the offer was purely voluntary on his part, and how many of the men volunteered; were the men of the battalion who were on furlough on St. Stephen's Day, on their return to the camp asked to serve in Malta or Egypt; and did they or any of them volunteer to do so; and will the Government see that the men who did volunteer are not deported beyond Malta or Egypt.

I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a number of men belonging to the 5th battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers, who did not volunteer for foreign service and whose period of service has expired, have applied for their discharge to the proper authorities but have not yet obtained it; if so, will directions be given for the discharge of these men without further delay.

LORD STANLEY: In reply to the two questions put by the hon. Member, I have no information to enable me to reply to the first two paragraphs. It is not, nor has it ever been proposed to order this battalion to perform any service abroad for which it has not volunteered. As to the reported applications for discharge, I am not aware that this is so.

GUN LICENCES FOR RIFLE CLUBS.

MR. MACONOCHIE (Aberdeenshire, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether arrangements have been made to grant free gun licences to *bona fide* members of shooting clubs for the use of rifles.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): Instructions were issued on the 21st June last exempting from gun licence duty members of rifle clubs affiliated to the National Rifle Association in respect of the rifles belonging to the club, on condition that the rifles used are the actual property of the club, and are used only at rifle ranges.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Will the privilege be extended to rifle clubs established in Ireland?

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No, Sir. There is a special law as regards the possession of arms in Ireland.

ARMY PORTLAND CEMENT CONTRACTS.

COLONEL TUFNELL (Essex, S.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the War Office proposes to invite tenders from abroad for Portland cement; and whether he will endeavour, consistently with the public interest, to place orders with the manufacturers at home who have invested capital in their works on the Thames and on the Medway.

LORD STANLEY: The reply to the first question is in the negative. As regards the second question all manufacturers on our list in the United Kingdom would be invited to tender for the supplies required.

PRUSSIAN KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now lay before the House a report on the organisation of the Prussian Knights of St. John and the nature of the co-operation and division of duties between them and the Prussian Military authorities in time of war; or whether the Foreign Office have received from His Majesty's Embassy at Berlin the report on the subject called for in July last.

MR. BRODRICK: The report in question has been received, but it is a matter for further consideration whether it can properly be laid on the Table of the House.

ARMY PENSIONERS AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF.

***MR. DELANEY** (Queen's Co., Ossory): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a man named William Miller applied to the Board of Guardians, Mountmellick, at the meeting on the 16th instant, for out-door relief, and that the Guardians, though willing to grant relief, were debarred from doing so in consequence of his being a pensioner in receipt of fourpence a day; and, whether he will therefore take steps to increase this old soldier's pension.

LORD STANLEY: It is not clear why the Board of Guardians felt themselves debarred from giving relief in the case referred to. If the hon. Member will cause me to be supplied with particulars of William Miller's corps, date of discharge and service, I shall be happy to have his case investigated.

LICHFIELD RIFLE RANGE.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what progress has been made in the last six months towards making the rifle range for Whittington Barracks, near Lichfield.

MR. BRODRICK: Steady progress is being made with the acquisition of the land. One owner has been arranged with and the arbitrators hope that terms with the others will shortly be settled.

NEW RIFLE RANGES.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say what has been done towards making new rifle ranges during the last year; what is being done at present; and what steps he proposes to take for supplying adequate accommodation for rifle practice for the Regular Army, Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers.

MR. BRODRICK: I am afraid I cannot, within the limits of an answer, give the hon. Member the information he requires. As he is aware, a large sum was made available for the provision of rifle ranges under the Military Works Acts of 1897 and 1899, and fair progress has been made with its expenditure. Taking the sum provided for ranges and manœuvring grounds together, payments amounting to four-fifths of the total had been authorised by the end of the year 1900.

ARMY HORSE-SHOE NAILS.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether, in view of the fact that the nails required for Army shoeing were until recently mainly obtained from the United Horse Shoe and Nail Company, of Cubitt Town, London, E., he will state whether any notice was given them that nails narrower and thinner in the shanks with larger heads were preferred by the Veterinary Department before placing the contract elsewhere; and whether he can inform the House if the contract has now been given mainly to foreign firms.

LORD STANLEY: It is not the case that the nails required for Army shoeing were until recently mainly obtained from the firm in question. For the three years ending 31st March, 1898, their orders amounted to about one-eighth of the total orders placed, and represented about £200 in value. In 1898 it was decided that the nails supplied by this firm were unsuitable for the service and the War Office discontinued the purchase of them. I am not aware that the firm made any representation to the War Office on the subject. They have during the war been given several opportunities of quoting for nails of the sizes required but have not done so.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): Where are the nails now used made?

LORD STANLEY: I cannot say offhand.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Do you say that they are not made in Germany?

[No answer was given.]

NAVY PORTLAND CEMENT CONTRACTS.

*COLONEL TUFNELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty proposes to invite tenders from abroad for Portland cement; and whether he will endeavour, consistently with the public interest, to place orders with the manufacturers at home, who have invested capital in their works on the Thames and Medway.

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Captain PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): It is not the practice or intention of the Admiralty to invite tenders from abroad for Portland cement. The answer to the second question is in the affirmative, but no preference is given to manufacturers on the Thames and Medway over other home manufacturers.

EUROPEAN GENERAL HOSPITAL AT ADEN.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can state what arrangements have been made, in reference to the European General Hospital at Aden, between his Board and the Secretary of State for India for the provision of a nursing staff to assist the civil surgeon in charge, what payment the Board of Admiralty makes for the diet of sailors and officers in the hospital and what contribution towards the nursing staff, how many patients from the Royal Navy were treated in the hospital last year, whether suitable accommodation has yet been constructed for nurses, and what contribution the Board has made towards such accommodation.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The provision of a nursing staff in the European General Hospital at Aden has been arranged by the Indian Government. Trained nurses are provided by the Roman Catholic Mission at Aden. The Admiralty pays for officers and seamen at the same rates as those charged for ordinary patients—namely, first class patients, four rupees per diem; second class patients, two rupees per diem. These payments cover the services of the nursing staff. In the course of last year, so far as shown by Returns received up to the 3rd November last, thirty-five patients have been received from the Royal Navy. A plan and estimate for the provision of suitable quarters for nurses was sanctioned early in 1898, and it is understood that the work has been carried out. A contribution of £99 6s. 8d. was made by the Admiralty towards this object, this representing one-fifth of the estimated cost.

NAVAL CADETS' OVERCOATS—H.M.S. "BRITANNIA."

MR. NORMAN (Wolverhampton, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether naval cadets, whether on duty or on leave, in inclement weather are debarred by official regulations from wearing great-coats; and whether, as a consequence of recent exposure without great-coats, several cadets are now suffering from pulmonary disease.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: According to the present regulations cadets on H.M.S. "Britannia" are supplied with thick monkey jackets and mackintoshes. They are not debarred by the regulations from wearing either of these garments on official occasions, but the dress to be worn is always prescribed. Monkey jackets were worn on the occasion referred to by the hon. Member. The cadet who unhappily died a few days ago was not, in fact, present on the 2nd February. In reply to the last paragraph of the hon. Member's question, there is no reason to believe that the cases of influenza accompanied by pneumonia, which have occurred on the "Britannia," are due to the fact of the cadets having been without great-coats on the occasion referred to. The hon. Member will be glad to know that the question of supplying cadets with great-coats for use on special occasions is under the consideration of the Admiralty. For ordinary purposes the monkey jacket is found to be sufficient. I may add that the question of great-coats is not unattended with difficulty, owing to the fact that cadets in the "Britannia" are in a stage when they grow very rapidly.

SUGAR BOUNTIES.

SIR JOHN LENG: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the British delegates at the Brussels Conference on Sugar in 1898 having reserved entire liberty of action to Her Majesty's Government, which the development of the sugar question may render necessary, it is open to Parliament to impose a duty on sugar at any time without notice to the Government which took part in that Conference.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): Yes, Sir.

CHINA—ALLEGED LOOTING AT PEKING.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether inquiry has been made, or will be made, into alleged acts of looting by British subjects in Peking after the relief of the Legations; and whether His Majesty's Government propose to follow the example set by France by taking steps to enforce the restitution of articles thus taken by British subjects.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I have been asked to answer this question. I do not know what the allegations are to which the hon. Gentleman refers; but General Gaselee informs me that the discipline and conduct of the British have been excellent. After the relief of the Legations the British troops were strictly forbidden to loot, and strong measures were taken by him to enforce this order. Articles of value, the property of the Chinese Government, which were left in the Summer Palace after its evacuation by the Russians are at present in the care of the British military authorities, and General Gaselee has been instructed to retain them with a view to restitution when peace is restored.

RUSSIA AND MANCHURIA.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government have any information confirming the alleged Russo-Chinese agreement regarding Manchuria between the representatives of Russia and China in Manchuria; whether the following constitute some of the conditions of that agreement: That the Russian troops in occupation of Manchurian towns and posts are to be lodged and fed by the Chinese authorities; that the Chinese General is to disband and disarm all his troops and hand over all munitions of war to the Russian military officials, and that all Chinese forts and defences not already occupied by the Russians are to be dismantled; that Niu-chwang and other places shall be administered by Russian officials until the Russian Government shall be completely satisfied as to the pacification of the country; that a Russian Resident, with full powers of control, be stationed at Mukden, and that the Chinese General must give him full information, and invite Russia to despatch reinforcements whenever emergency arises; that no resistance be offered to the construction of the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria, and that Russia is to purchase and hold the Northern Railway from Shan-hai-kwan to Niu-chwang; that all the Customs in Manchuria are to be under Russian control; and that no kind of commercial concession is to be given to any other Power in Manchuria; and whether the assurances said to have been given by the Russian Government to the British Government regarding Manchuria were given orally or by a formal communication in writing to His Majesty's Government.

*VISCOUNT CRANBORNE: We have no official knowledge of the terms of this agreement, but our information is to the effect that it includes most of the provisions enumerated in the question, and that it is of a temporary and provisional character. The assurances of the Russian Government referred to by my hon. friend were given verbally to His Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the noble Lord have the assurances placed in a formal document?

[No answer was given.]

THE CYPRUS TRIBUTE.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the amount of tribute paid by the people of Cyprus to the Turkish Government; and the mode by which it is raised; and whether he can by representation to the Turkish Government secure some relief from this tribute, which presses upon the industry of the residents of the island.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The Cyprus tribute was fixed on the average paid during the five years preceding the occupation at £92,799 11s. 3d., and is paid out of general revenue. Having regard to the arrangements entered into with the Porte in 1878 it would be useless to make representations as suggested by the hon. Member.

PLAGUE AT CAPETOWN.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can give the House any information as to the plague at Capetown.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The only official information I have received so far is the report published in Saturday's newspapers notifying a total of twenty cases for the week ending 16th February: one European, nineteen coloured, three deaths, also 104 contacts, all coloured. A weekly bulletin will be published.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the Return concerning the operation of the Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887, presented in pursuance of the order of the House of 6th August, 1900, and to the fact thereby disclosed that although in the years 1897, 1898, and 1899 over 14,000 persons were discharged under the Act without imprisonment, and only a small percentage were called up to receive judgment and known to have been subsequently convicted of a fresh offence, some Metropolitan police courts and other courts of summary jurisdiction, beside assize and quarter sessions courts, never once made use of the Act, and if he will consider the advisability of re-issuing a circular on the lines of that of 25th April, 1892, of Mr. Secretary Matthews upon the subject, and pointing out that the powers of the Act are not so fully taken advantage of as they might be in the case of persons charged with offences of a trifling nature, or against whom no previous convictions have been proved.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): It appears from the Return referred to that of the convicted prisoners discharged without punishment in the years 1897, 1898, and 1899, only 14,512 out of 147,505 were dealt with under the Act of 1887. There seems no particular reason to urge courts to use this Act rather than other Acts when the practical effect is the same; and there is no ground for supposing that at the courts where this Act is not made use of, first offenders are treated with greater severity than others.

DEFENCE OF POOR PRISONERS.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, as the Crown pays for the prosecution of prisoners, he will consider the question of providing for the defence of those who are unable through poverty to command legal assistance.

*MR. RITCHIE: The hon. Member is in error in supposing that it is the general practice in England for the Crown to pay for the prosecution of prisoners.

CHILD INSURANCE—BRISTOL CASE.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has received a protest of the grand jury of Bristol against the practice of child insurance; and whether he intends to propose any measure dealing with this matter.

*MR. RITCHIE: The answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative, and to the second in the negative.

TEMPTATIONS TO CRIME.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that judges have repeatedly condemned the practice of certain tradespeople in exhibiting goods on the footways outside of their doors as a dangerous incentive to theft; and whether he will take any measures to abolish this practice.

*MR. RITCHIE: I do not see my way to take any action in this matter.

VACCINATIONS IN LEICESTER AND GLOUCESTER.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-on-Trent): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether vaccination is now being generally practised in the towns of Leicester and Gloucester, and can he state the number of unvaccinated persons in each town, and of persons who have received certificates of exemption as conscientious objectors, and what steps are the Local Government Board taking to secure the due enforcement of the law with regard to vaccination.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative. I cannot state the number of unvaccinated persons in Leicester and Gloucester, but from the latest returns it appears that in Leicester of the children born during the eighteen months ended 30th June last, 388 have been vaccinated, while certificates of conscientious objection have been obtained in respect of 534. The corresponding figures as regards Gloucester are 879 and 395. Medical inspectors of the Local Government Board visited both towns last year in connection with the performance of vaccination. As, however, the latest returns are not satisfactory, I have directed that further visits shall be paid by inspectors as early as possible with a view of ascertaining in what manner the duties of the vaccination officers are now being carried out.

FOOD STANDARDS COMMITTEE.

MR. O'MARA (Kilkenny, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can say when the Departmental Committee who were appointed to set up standards of purity in foods will report.

*MR. WALTER LONG: I think the hon. Member refers to the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture with reference to the desirability of making regulations under Section 4 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, in the case of milk and cream. The Report of that Committee, with the relative minutes of evidence, etc., has been laid on the Table, and will, I hope, be printed and circulated without delay.

AGRICULTURAL RATING ACT.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if, in view of the necessity of renewing the Agricultural Rating Act at an early date, he will grant a Return showing the amount of the rates levied in the different unions in England and Wales on agricultural land and other property for the two years ending 31st March, 1896 and 1900, respectively.

*MR. WALTER LONG: I regret that I am unable to comply with the request of my hon. friend. Great labour would be involved in obtaining from the overseers of the 15,000 parishes in England and Wales the facts necessary for the preparation of the Return desired, and it would not be practicable to do this in time for the Return to be issued during the present session.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE: Does the right hon. Gentleman propose to give no information as to the working of the Act before he asks the House to renew it?

*MR. WALTER LONG: Yes, in general terms. But this specific Return could only be obtained by applying to 15,000 parish overseers, and could not be prepared in time for presentation this session. But I shall be able to give the House a general statement as to the effect of the Act.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY: Is it not possible for the House, then, to have any figures before it before being asked to renew the Act?

*MR. WALTER LONG: That is an extremely general question, which I do not think it is fair to ask me to reply to. If the hon. Member or anyone asks for information of a specific character, the Department will do its best to supply it.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: Could not the Department give the figures for some selected counties?

*MR. WALTER LONG: I should like time to consider that question, as it involves some little responsibility on the part of the Department. I will see if it can be done.

WRECKS OFF NORTH CORNWALL.

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return showing the number of vessels wrecked on the North Cornwall coast from Lands End to Lundy Island, with the number of lives lost, for each year from 1880, and stating the place where each vessel was wrecked.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The information desired by the hon. Member is contained in the Wreck Abstracts annually presented to Parliament. If he will refer to page 61 of the last Return he will see the division of the portions of the coast with regard to which numbers of casualties are given. If there is any further information desired by the hon. Member I shall be happy to obtain it for him, but I scarcely think it necessary to supplement the Return, which is general in its scope, by others which are merely partial

DISCIPLINE ON MERCHANT VESSELS—PROSECUTION OF FIREMEN ON THE "BOHEMIAN."

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a case tried at Dale Street Police Court, Liverpool, on 24th January, when fourteen firemen of the steamship "Bohemian" were sentenced to fourteen days hard labour without the option of a fine for disobeying orders on board ship; whether he is aware that Mr. S. Hough and Mr. C. F. Finney, two of the magistrates before whom the case was tried, are shipowners; and whether shipowners are empowered to try cases in which their interests are so much concerned.

*MR. RITCHIE: I am not aware that the facts stated in the question constitute any legal disqualification of the magistrates who tried the case.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that at Dale Street Police Court, Liverpool, on 24th January, fourteen firemen of the steamship "Bohemian" were summoned by Mr. Cook, chief engineer, for refusing duty, and were sentenced to fourteen days hard labour without the option of a fine; that the duty they refused was to wash paint in the engine-room over the working parts of the engine after their ordinary day's work was finished; and that the ship was rolling a good deal at the time, which would have made the performance of the work dangerous; whether he has any information showing such work to have been necessary for the safety or navigation of the ship; and whether he has any powers to protect men from being prosecuted for similar charges.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The conviction of fourteen firemen belonging to the steamship "Bohemian" for an offence under the Merchant Shipping Act was, as a matter of fact, brought to the notice of the Board of Trade, though the matter is not one coming within the Board's province. The Board of Trade had nothing to do with the prosecution, and they have no power to interfere with the ordinary course of justice.

SWANLEY JUNCTION RAILWAY ACCIDENT.

MR. BELL (Derby): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he has received the report of the inspecting officer who held the inquiry into the cause of the accident which occurred at Swanley Junction, South-Eastern and Chatham and Dover Railway, on 23rd November last, through failure of the automatic brake; if not, can he expedite it in any way, so that the engine-drivers concerned, who have been suspended since the date of the accident, and whose wages have been stopped, may learn their position without further delay.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir; the report in question is now passing through the press, and will be issued in a day or two.

CHISWICK LEVEL-CROSSING ACCIDENT.

Mr. THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been called to the accident at the railway level-crossing at Chiswick; and if he is prepared to enforce in future the provisions of 5 and 6 Vic. c. 55, ss. 9 and 10, and take steps for the enforcement of penalties against the person or persons responsible for this catastrophe.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir; and the Board of Trade have ordered an inquiry into the circumstances of the accident. In the meantime it would be improper for me to express an opinion upon the matter. I am assured by the company that the provisions of the section are complied with, though it is not certain that the section applies. Also that it is the practice that a bell is rung from the signal-box giving warning of the approach of a train.

SUNDAY CLOSING OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

Captain DONELAN (Cork, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that the National Gallery is closed on Sundays during the winter months; and whether, in view of the dearth of rational recreation in London on Sundays, he will recommend that the present rule be reconsidered

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.): The question of opening the National Gallery on Sundays in winter was carefully considered by the Trustees in 1896. There are no means of lighting the gallery artificially, and the Trustees decided that in view of the frequent deficiency of daylight on winter afternoons in London it was not expedient to open the Gallery on Sundays all the year round.

Captain DONELAN: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the British Museum is open on Sundays all the year round?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Yes; but there are artificial means of lighting there.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Cannot artificial light be provided in the National Gallery?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I understand that the Trustees are of opinion that it is undesirable to put artificial light into the National Gallery.

WEST INDIAN MAIL DELAYS.

Sir J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether the West Indian mail steamer arrived at Plymouth at 10 p.m. on the 13th instant. and whether the mails were to be forwarded by a goods train at 4 a.m., and could not have been delivered in London till the following afternoon; whether in fact the mails could have reached London earlier *via* Southampton had the steamer not been bound by contract to land them at Plymouth; whether on the occasion referred to the passengers who had landed procured a special train, making up the cost by private subscription, of which the post office authority availed himself, so that the mails arrived in London at 6.15 a.m. at the cost of private individuals, and without any contribution by the Post Office; and whether the recent practice of not forwarding the mails at any hour by special train, in cases where the mail steamer does not arrive before her contract time, and so misses the ordinary mail train, does not cause a delay of many hours and occasionally postpones the delivery of the letters beyond business hours in London.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The facts are substantially as stated in the first paragraph. If the mail had been landed at Southampton instead of at Plymouth, it would perhaps have reached London earlier than if forwarded from Plymouth by goods train, but later than it did by the means actually employed. It is the fact that the mails were brought to London by special train, but the hon. Member is under a misapprehension in supposing that this was done at the cost of private individuals. The Postmaster General pays for the haulage of the mail carriages, and this fact doubtless affected the price charged to the passengers. As has been more than once explained in this House in answer to similar questions, the principle governing the engagement by the Post Office of special trains for the conveyance from Plymouth of mails landed at that port is to engage them when, by such means and no other, an interval for reply by the next outgoing mail can be afforded. The present was not such a case.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: Are the Post Office authorities indifferent whether the mails are delivered the following day?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: They would be delivered the following day in any case.

ANALYSIS OF IMPORTED FOOD.

Mr. O'MARA: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture if he can state how many samples of consignments of imported food have been taken for analysis by the Commissioners of Customs (under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899) during the year 1900, how many such samples have been found adulterated, and what was the nature of such adulterations; and whether any prosecutions have resulted.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The number of samples analysed was 1,590, of which twenty-six were reported against. In seven cases fines were recovered. In the remaining nineteen the circumstances were not such as in the opinion of the Commissioners of Customs would have warranted prosecution. Legal proceedings are now pending in four cases which have occurred since the beginning of the present year.

SCHOOL TEACHERS AND FIXITY OF TENURE.

Major RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he can now inform the House as to the future position of school teachers with reference to fixity of tenure of office.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the BOARD of EDUCATION (Sir J. Gorst, Cambridge University): I am afraid I cannot yet make any addition to the statement which I made in the House last session. The matter, which is not free from legal difficulty, is still under consideration.

Major RASCH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the hon. Member for Accrington and myself put this question twice last session and received the same answer?

Sir J. GORST: That shows the veracity of the answer that I have given to the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. CAINE: When is the right hon. Gentleman likely to be able to give the information asked for?

Sir J. GORST: When the legal authorities have made up their minds.

CIGARETTE SMOKING BY BOYS.

Colonel WALKER (Widnes): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the increase of cigarette smoking among young boys of all classes, he will take into consideration the advisability of imposing a special tax upon tobacco sold as cigarettes, or upon the paper used in their manufacture.

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY: Before answering that question, I wish to know whether it has been brought to the right hon. Gentleman's notice that these cigarettes are sold in sweet-shops at the rate of ten for a penny, and recently have been offered at ten for a halfpenny.

Sir M. HICKS BEACH: I do not think that any amount of taxation would stop boys from smoking, especially if they are forbidden to do so; while, on the other hand, I am advised that the adoption of the hon. Member's suggestions would derange the whole system of the taxation of tobacco in this country, and cast an unfair burden upon the adult smoker of cigarettes. I fear therefore I cannot hold out any hopes that they will be adopted.

SCOTTISH SALMON FISHERIES—FISHMONGERS' COMPANY'S POWERS.

*Sir WALTER THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate under what statute the Fishmongers' Company are empowered to send detective officers to railway stations in Scotland who open parcels, committed to the railway companies for transmission, in search for salmon in defiance of remonstrances by railway officials; whether he is aware that several people have been charged before the Sheriff at Peebles for sending cuts of salmon to friends at a distance, although such salmon were killed by a legal lure and in the open season, because they were alleged to have been purchased at a period of the year when Tweed salmon cannot be exposed for sale; and whether he is aware that the action of the Fishmongers' Company has aroused indignation among all classes of the community in Peeblesshire, and, if legal, is calculated to bring the administration of the law into contempt.

*The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire): In answer to the first paragraph of the question I am informed that it is the fact that an officer of the Fishmongers' Company, who held a warrant as water bailiff of the Forth and also of the Tweed Commissioners, did on several occasions in conjunction with a detective officer of the Edinburgh police search parcels at the Waverley Station for salmon *in transitu* which were alleged to have been illegally taken. The statute relied on for the power is the Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Act, 1868, Section 25. In answer to the second paragraph the result of nine prosecutions brought in respect of the fish so discovered was as follows: three pleas of guilty, two convictions, three not proven, and one not guilty. As regards the third paragraph it is open either to the consigner or consignee of a parcel and to the railway company, if they are not satisfied as to the applicability of the section already mentioned, to try the question at law.

Captain SINCLAIR (Forfarshire): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether his attention has been directed to the practice on the part of the Fishmongers' Company of London, a Corporation of great wealth, bringing complaints, laid under the Salmon Fisheries Acts, in Newcastle or elsewhere in England, against domiciled Scotsmen living in Scotland (possibly in remote parts of it), and under colour of certain English Acts of Parliament hailing Scotsmen to appear to submit to the jurisdiction of what is to them practically a foreign court; whether he will take all needful steps to put an end to these proceedings and leave Scotsmen to be judged in the courts of their own country for any alleged charge arising there, instead of having, as at present, under the proceedings complained of, and whether the charge made is with or without foundation, to go to England and take witnesses to defend them there at great and sometimes prohibitive expense.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I am aware of the case referred to by the hon. Member, no other instance has been brought under my notice. I am satisfied that there is power under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts (England) to summon persons living in Scotland to attend to answer a charge of an offence committed in England. Such a power may or may not be oppressively used, but I should hesitate to condemn its existence. In the case in question I do not think the person charged would have been convicted had he not, acting under advice which I consider mistaken, pled guilty to the charge.

ASSAULT BY THE TWEED COMMISSIONERS' BAILIFFS.

Sir WALTER THORBURN: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if his attention has been drawn to a case tried in the Innerleithen Police Court recently, where two bailiffs in the employment of the Tweed Commissioners were convicted of an aggravated assault upon Mr. Anderson, farmer, Pirn, Innerleithen, while he was walking through one of the fields upon his farm in pursuit of his calling; whether he is aware that these two bailiffs, while in a state of intoxication, charged Mr. Anderson, who is between 70 and 80 years of age, with poaching salmon in the Tweed, put a cleek into his pocket to support their charge against him, and told him, although he gave them his name and address, that he must go to the police office with them, and although Mr. Anderson promptly offered to accompany them to the police office insisted upon putting handcuffs upon him and dragged him through the High Street of Innerleithen to the police office; and whether he will make representations to the Tweed Commissioners to make strict inquiries as to the character of the men they employ as bailiffs, who while on duty are armed with practically all the powers of a police constable.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I have made inquiry into the regrettable circumstances mentioned by my hon. friend. The statements contained in the first and second paragraphs of the question are not, however, accurate in all particulars. The two bailiffs were charged with assault, but the magistrates while finding that both were intoxicated at the time of the assault convicted in one case only. Also it would not be proper that I should express an opinion as to the accuracy of the assertion in the question that those bailiffs "put a cleek into his (Mr. Anderson's) pocket to support their charge against him." No decision on this point was arrived at by the magistrates, who indeed refused to hear evidence for the defence in regard to it. I have satisfied myself that due care and diligence was used in the appointment of these two bailiffs. They came with good characters from their previous employment and were personally interviewed by trusted servants of the Commissioners. The men were dismissed from the service by the superintendent as soon as the facts were brought to his notice. I am disposed to think, however, that where possible it should be arranged that any two bailiffs appointed to work a strange beat on the river should not both be first-season men, as in this case they were.

GLASGOW SMALL-POX EPIDEMIC.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he can state how many deaths have occurred in Glasgow from the small-pox epidemic.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The Local Government Board informs me that during the period from 7th April, 1900, to 21st February, 1901, 1,086 cases and 122 deaths from small-pox were registered in Glasgow.

ALLOTMENTS IN SCOTLAND.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Ross): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he will grant a Return of all lands acquired in Scotland for allotments under The Allotments (Scotland) Act, 1892, and The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894, showing in how many cases requisitions by the parish council to the county council for the compulsory acquisition of land for allotments have been made and with what result.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: Yes, Sir.

PETERSPONT PIER.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness-shire): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the attention of the Secretary for Scotland has been called to the fact that the Peterspont Pier at Benbecula, constructed by the Congested Districts Board, cannot be made use of until an access road has been formed; and, seeing that the inhabitants are too poor to pay for the construction of this road, but are willing to contribute a reasonable amount of free labour, will he state what steps are proposed to be taken to make the pier available for traffic.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: On 29th December, 1900, the Congested Districts Board received from the County Council of Inverness a representation as to the access by land and sea to Peterspont Pier (which was constructed before the constitution of the Congested Districts Board). The Congested Districts Board are investigating the engineering and other questions involved, and will come to a decision at their next meeting early in March.

COONALOUGHEY (CO. KERRY) LANDING STAGE.

*MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board for Ireland is prepared to carry out the improvements, which have already been sanctioned, at the landing place at Coonaloughey, county Kerry, and at what date work will be commenced.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): A grant for the improvement of the landing place at Coonaloughey was made in 1898. The attitude of the fishermen to the foreman in charge of the work became, however, so threatening as to necessitate his being placed under police protection. Work was in consequence suspended, and the Congested Districts Board have since declined to proceed with the undertaking.

*MR. BOLAND: May I ask if it is not a fact that local opinion was not allowed to have anything to say in this particular case, and whether, seeing that the work would be of great public utility, the Congested Districts Board would not be instructed to take it up?

MR. WYNDHAM: There are a great many demands made upon the Congested Districts Board for which a good case can be made out, and they all have to go through a process of selection, because the state of the public funds does not admit of all being dealt with.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Are we to infer from the right hon. Gentleman's answer that the local fishermen prevented the Congested Districts Board carrying out this work?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. FLAVIN: That is the substance of the right hon. Gentleman's reply, Mr. Speaker.

IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—VETERINARY INSPECTION STAFF—MR. C. NEILL'S APPOINTMENT.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the grounds on which Mr. C. Neill was appointed to the veterinary inspection staff of the Irish Privy Council, while Mr. C. J. Clifford, to whom he was junior assistant in Belfast, and who was qualified as a veterinary surgeon one and a half years previously, was refused the position; and will he explain why has Captain Tuke, who is not a veterinary surgeon and who is over sixty-five years of age, been granted extension of time to the exclusion of qualified practitioners; and will the Government make known the principles on which appointments to their veterinary staff are made.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Veterinary Department of the Irish Privy Council was transferred to the Department of Agriculture on the 1st April, 1900, and it was subsequently to this date that Mr. Neill was appointed on the veterinary inspection staff. I am informed that Mr. Neill was appointed because he was considered to be the most suitable of the applicants. There is only an interval of four months between the dates on which Messrs. Clifford and Neill became duly qualified veterinary surgeons, but in any case these appointments are not made on the ground of seniority in the profession. The services of Captain Tuke have been retained until the 31st March, proximo, pending a settlement of the new arrangements now being carried out in the matter of transit inspection. For the performance of his duties a veterinary qualification was not necessary.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government would be prepared to accept a change in the Labourers Act which would enable the occupying tenants of these plots to acquire the ownership on terms fair to the district councils and the ratepayers; and whether any resolutions have recently been received by the Department in favour of such a change in the law.

MR. WYNDHAM: The reply to the second paragraph is in the affirmative. I believe a suggestion to the effect mentioned was made at the time of the passing of the Labourers Act of 1896, but the Government declined to accept it. More recently still, in 1899, a provision was inserted in the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act of that year expressly exempting from the operation of this Act cottages held by a district council under the Labourers Acts. The Government is not prepared to depart from the policy adopted in 1896 and 1899.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: May I ask whether the Small Dwellings Act is not practically inoperative, and, that being so, will not the Government deal with this question?

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not think sufficient time has elapsed since 1899 to make it expedient to consider the question of amending legislation at present.

GRANARD (CO. LONGFORD) ESTATE.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any, and, if so, what steps have been taken to ascertain the cause of delay in offering sales to tenants whose applications had previously been rejected as too high by the Land Commission on the Granard, county Longford, Estate; whether a request under the fortieth section has been applied for or granted; and whether steps to facilitate the sales will now be taken.

MR. WYNDHAM: I understand from the solicitors having carriage of the proceedings that the tenants are responsible for any delay that has occurred, and that when their objections are withdrawn the matter will proceed under the fortieth section. The solicitors deny that the previous applications were rejected by the Land Commissioners on the ground stated.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in this case it is only one tenant who is obstructing? Cannot the cases of the other tenants be expedited?

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not think it is possible. It may be the case that the obstruction is at the instance of one tenant, but the case has not yet come before the Land Court.

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST AN ARMAGH MAGISTRATE.

MR. M'FADDEN: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General for Ireland whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been directed to a judgment delivered by his honour Judge Kisbey, at the recent Armagh Quarter Sessions, in the case of Mary Anne Ballantine *v.* Lord Gosford, in which the county court judge characterised the conduct of Mr. H. A. Johnston, B.L., a magistrate of county Armagh, as an unworthy juggle calculated and intended to mislead and deceive the plaintiff and cause her completely and, as he thought, irrevocably to change her position to her pecuniary loss, also that in another part of the same judgment an act of Mr. Johnston's is described as a map trick, and a cunning and disgraceful piece of misrepresentation; and whether, seeing that Mr. Johnston is a magistrate for the county of Armagh, it is the intention of the Lord Chancellor to continue him in the commission of the peace.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): I understand that an appeal has been lodged by Mr. Johnston against the decision of the county court judge, pending which it would be premature to refer the matter to the Lord Chancellor, as is apparently suggested in the question.

CONVICT J. R. SULLIVAN.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a man named John R. O'Sullivan, of Millstreet district, county Cork, was sentenced at the Cork Assizes in 1892 to two terms of imprisonment of ten and fourteen years, to run successively; and whether, in view of the sympathy felt for the man's wife and family, he will communicate with the Lord Lieutenant with a view of recommending the exercise of the Royal Clemency in this case.

MR. WYNDHAM: The prisoner named in the question was convicted at the Munster Winter Assizes of 1891 of two separate offences and sentenced, as stated. His case has been considered by the Lord Lieutenant several times, on memorial, the last occasion so recently as the 10th January, when it was decided that the law must take its course.

MR. FLAVIN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say why the same clemency was not extended to this man as was shown to the bailiff of Lord Kenmare, who committed a murder?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

BELFAST NIGHT LONDON MAIL.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that although the night mail from Belfast for Dublin, the provinces, and England is despatched at 10 p.m. the principal office closes at 9 p.m. for postal and telegraph business, and the work is transferred to an office in a back street, which arrangement causes public inconvenience; whether he is aware that the hour of closing is now the same as twenty years ago; can he say approximately the annual saving by the present arrangement, and whether representations have been received by the postal authorities upon this subject from the local chamber of commerce; and whether, in view of the acceleration of mails in recent years, and the practice in other large offices of closing the chief office until some time after the despatch of the night mails, he will arrange to have the principal office kept open for an extended time.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No representations on the subject have been received from the chamber of commerce; but the Postmaster General has decided to keep the public counter at the head office, Belfast, open until 10 p.m., and the necessary instructions will be given as early as practicable.

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC MAGISTRATES.

MR. BOYLE (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the respective numbers of the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations in the petty sessions districts of Dunfanaghy, Falcarragh, Bunbeg, and Stranorlar, in the county of Donegal, and the number of Roman Catholic and Protestant magistrates entitled to sit on the local benches in each of said districts; and whether he will take steps to give the Roman Catholic populations a representation on the local benches in said districts, if not in proportion to their numbers at least equal to the number of Protestant magistrates entitled to sit in each of said petty sessions districts.

MR. WYNDHAM: So far as can be ascertained, the religious denominations of the local justices of the peace entitled to sit at the petty sessions, in the order named in the question, are as follows: Protestants, 7, 6, 2, and 9; and Roman Catholics, 2, 3, 2, and 7, respectively. There is no official information on the distribution of religious denominations by petty sessional districts. Recommendations for the commission of the peace should be made to the Lieutenant of the county, who will submit them, if he considers them suitable, to the Lord Chancellor. It is not in my province to intervene in the matter as suggested.

ACQUISITION OF SMALL HOUSES IN IRELAND.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state how many purchases have been completed in Ireland under the Small Houses (Acquisition of Houses) Act; whether he has had any complaint of the obstacles placed in the working of the Act by technical objections; and whether the Government intend to simplify and cheapen the machinery of the Act.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Local Government Board have sanctioned one loan, applied for by the Dublin Corporation under the provisions of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act of 1899, to enable the corporation to make advances for the purchase of five dwellings. No complaints of the nature mentioned in the second paragraph have been received by the board, but the evidence given at the inquiry held in reference to the Dublin loan indicated that there were some technical difficulties in connection with the registration of titles. In answer to the last paragraph, the Act has been in operation in Ireland for so limited a time as to offer insufficient grounds for considering the question of further legislation.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN (Tipperary, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state what is the total number of applications under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts for cottages and plots and for allotments made since 1883, specifying the number of applications under each schedule in the representation forms, how many of these applications were rejected by the Local Government Board on the recommendation of their inspectors and by the Privy Council on appeal, specifying the number rejected in respect of each schedule.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Information in respect to the different schedules of the forms of applications for cottages could only be obtained from the clerks of district councils, and this would entail an enormous amount of labour upon these officials without any commensurate result. The total number of cottages applied for to the Local Government Board from the inception of the Labourers Acts to the 31st March, 1899, was 31,742, of which 16,056 were finally authorised to be built. The number of cottages rejected by the Privy Council was 560, and of the remaining 15,126 cases it would be impossible to say how many were invalid or how many were rejected by the Local Government Board without an examination of every scheme, which would occupy several weeks.

Mr. KENDAL O'BRIEN put a long supplementary question which was inaudible in the press gallery, and Mr. Speaker warned him that he was exceeding the limits of such questions.

Mr. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether at the local inquiries under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts the inspectors of the Local Government Board, as a general rule, pass all applications for additional half-acres by labourers who have already got one half acre under said Acts, and recognise no ground of objection except the neglect of the district council to endeavour to arrive at an agreement to acquire the additional plots before seeking compulsory powers; and whether the desirability of taking this step beforehand will be pointed out by circular to the district councils.

Mr. WYNDHAM: It is not, I am informed, a fact that all applications for additional half-acres are, as a general rule, approved of if it is shown that all reasonable efforts have been made to acquire the additional plots by agreement. On the contrary, various other matters arise for consideration in such cases, for example, the tenant's avocation and his care of the existing plot, the size of the farm from which the plot is to be taken, etc. In fact, it is on grounds such as these that any applications for additional half-acres which have been thrown out have been rejected, and not on the ground mentioned in the question.

Mr. O'SHEE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what amount remains unexpended in each county of Munster and Leinster, out of the Exchequer contribution of £40,000 per annum granted under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, in aid of the rates leviable in respect of cottages provided since 1891 under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No portion of the grant in question remained unissued in either Munster or Leinster at the date of the last distribution, which took place in March, 1900.

SINKING OF A DREDGER OFF CORK HARBOUR.

Captain DONELAN: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, with reference to the loss of a dredger outside Cork Harbour with twelve lives, whether she was surveyed previous to her departure by engineers or shipwrights who have had no practical experience in charge of ships, or in the actual use of boats and life-saving equipment generally, or by ex-shipmasters who, by reason of their previous service, are fully conversant with these necessary appliances, and able to judge as to their efficiency or otherwise.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: The Board of Trade surveyors who surveyed the dredger to which the hon. Member refers were a shipwright and an engineer. Having undergone special training, and being guided by definite rules, they were fully qualified to deal with the question of boats and life-saving equipments generally as well as with the question of stability.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he can say what practical experience engineers possess as to the actual use of boats and life saving at sea.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: That is a question of which notice should, I think, be given.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that considerable dissatisfaction exists in the merchant service at the manner in which these ships are surveyed?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I must decline to answer this question?

BELFAST VALUATION.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will agree to the Return respecting Belfast Valuation standing on to-day's Paper.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The new valuation of Belfast will not be completed before 1st March, and until the appeals have been heard and the final amounts settled it will not be possible to give the information asked for.

CORK CORONER AND THE PUBLIC EXECUTIONER.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a summons was issued by the coroner for Cork City for the attendance of a witness named Billington, who, when so summoned, refused to attend the court, and that a warrant issued by the coroner for Billington's arrest was not executed by the police authorities; also that, at an inquest in Belfast within the past few days, a summons was issued by the coroner for the attendance of a witness named Carlisle, who, when so summoned, did not attend the court, and that a warrant issued by the coroner was acted upon by the police; and can he explain why the coroner's warrant was acted upon in Belfast and not in Cork; and will he state whether a coroner's warrant for the arrest of a witness for contempt of court is as efficacious as a warrant issued by a magistrate; and what is the procedure adopted in England in similar cases.

MR. ATKINSON: At the request of my right hon. friend I will reply to this question. The coroner's warrant was acted upon by the police in Belfast because there was nothing to show that it was not duly issued by the coroner in the rightful discharge of his duties, whereas in Cork it was obvious from the proceedings which took place before the coroner before he issued his warrant that the presence of Executioner Billington was not required at the inquest for the purposes of the only inquiry on which the coroner had jurisdiction to enter, but for an indirect and improper purpose. The practice in England and Ireland is, I believe, identical—the presence of the executioner at the inquest is, I believe, never required. The different warrants mentioned in the last paragraph are equally efficacious.

MR. O'DOHERTY: Can the right hon. Gentleman say if the police authorities are a court of appeal to which a coroner's court is subject?

MR. ATKINSON: No, Sir.

MR. FLYNN: With regard to the warrant issued by the coroner of the city of Cork, what is the right hon. Gentleman's ground for stating that the attendance of the executioner was required for an improper purpose?

MR. ATKINSON: It is quite impossible to discuss this matter in the form of question and answer, but if the hon. Gentleman brings it forward on the Estimates I shall be happy to explain and defend the action that has been taken.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: May I ask whether it is a fact that the law in Ireland requires that in all cases of a death in prison an inquest shall be held and a record kept of the verdict?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is a general question, which does not arise out of the question on the Paper. General questions of law cannot be raised in this manner.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I want to know, is there any record of the death and of the verdict of the jury in this case, and, if not, what is the reason?

MR. ATKINSON: The reason is that the coroner most improperly and illegally refused to complete the inquest.

MR. O'DOHERTY: If the coroner acted improperly, why has he not been dismissed by the Lord Chancellor?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SMALL-POX IN DONEGAL.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been directed to a case of small-pox near Cardonagh, county Donegal, imported into that district lately from Glasgow; and what steps (if any) the Local Government Board for Ireland will take to prevent any more such cases being imported from Glasgow; whether he is aware that the request made by the Public Health Committee of the Londonderry Corporation to the Local Government Board to issue a sealed order preventing the importation of old clothes and rags into that city and district from Glasgow during the prevalence of the small-pox epidemic in the latter city has been refused; and whether, considering the intimate touch of Londonderry and district with Glasgow, the Local Government Board will direct the Londonderry port sanitary authority to take precautions with respect to the examination of the cross-channel steamers similar to those taken by them during the late bubonic plague epidemic in Glasgow.

MR. WYNDHAM: The medical inspector of the Local Government Board, who has made careful inquiry into the allegation contained in the first paragraph, states it is absolutely without foundation. The Board were unable to comply with the request made by the Public Health Committee, as it has not been shown that small-pox is conveyed through the medium of old clothes. The Board do not consider it necessary to enforce in respect of small-pox the precautionary measures which were held to be essential in respect of bubonic plague. The Board have informed the authorities at Londonderry and other ports that vaccination or re-vaccination provide the best safeguards against a spread of small-pox.

IRISH RAILWAY EXTENSION.

MR. M'GOVERN (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the agreement entered into by the Great Northern and Midland Great Western Railway Companies of Ireland, in the year 1894, not to contribute to or promote or encourage in any way, directly or indirectly, the construction of new lines into the district of the other company; and will he state what steps the Government intend to take to protect the traders and farmers in the districts referred to in this agreement from the monopoly of these two railway companies.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir; the Board of Trade have no information with regard to any such agreement, nor, if it exists, is it one in connection with which they have any legal or administrative control. The question of quasi-monopoly enjoyed by any railway company or railway companies is one for the determination of the Legislature in connection with any competing schemes which may be brought before it, and not for the Board of Trade.

TOBACCO CULTIVATION IN IRELAND

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the acreage under cultivation of tobacco in the various counties of Ireland last year, the average yield per acre, the cost of cultivation, the price obtained, and the net profit per acre.

MR. WYNDHAM: Experiments in tobacco culture were carried out by the Department of Agriculture in fourteen counties last year, with results sufficiently satisfactory to justify further trials this year. So far, only the stages of drying and fermenting in regard to last year's crop have been reached, and until the manufacture is complete it would not be possible to give figures as to the cost of cultivation, etc. All available details of the experiments will be found in the November and February issues of the Journal of the Department.

THE RECENT "DAY OF GENERAL MOURNING"—POLICE AND WICKLOW SHOPKEEPERS.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state on whose authority Constable Garry, on the evening of 1st February, visited the shopkeepers of Carnew, county Wicklow, and told them that the following day, Saturday, 2nd of February, would be a holiday, and that they were not to sell any goods, and that all business was to be suspended as a mark of respect for the memory of the late Queen.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed that the constable made no communication to the shopkeepers of Carnew such as is alleged in the question.

LONDONDERRY POST OFFICE STAFF.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he will state the number of clerks appointed to the Londonderry Post Office during the past year; whether examinations are held for the positions of clerks in the said post office, and with whom the nomination (if any) required by candidates lies; and how many examinations were held during the past year; and, seeing that the practice in post offices in other Irish cities is to duly advertise or give public notice of the qualifications required of candidates and the dates of the examinations, will he explain why this practice is not followed in Londonderry; and whether, in future, the Postmaster General will take steps to have all such examinations duly advertised.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: There were no male sorting clerks and telegraphists appointed at Londonderry last year, but two females were appointed. Limited competitions are held from time to time, as vacancies occur, for the position of learner at Londonderry, nomination by the Postmaster General through the postmaster being necessary. One competition for female learners was held last year. Such competitions, whether held at Londonderry or other towns where the same system exists, are not advertised, as a sufficient number of candidates is obtainable without advertising. At Belfast, Cork, and Dublin, where open competitions are held, the examinations are advertised by the Civil Service Commissioners in the local papers. No alteration of the existing practice is in contemplation.

MAIDSTONE ELECTION PETITION.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN (Gloucestershire, Stroud): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the circumstances connected with the recent Maidstone Election Petition, he can hold out any hope of an amendment of the Law relating to Corrupt Practices at Elections.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am not aware of any circumstances connected with the Maidstone Election which seem to me to suggest any general alteration in our law in regard to bribery.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It may be for the convenience of the House that I should give notice that at the very earliest opportunity I shall move, as a sessional order, the Friday Supply Rule, and also move to amend Standing Order 51 by omitting the words "Ways and Means." I am afraid that I shall also have to ask the House to give the Government special facilities for Supply before Easter. The amount of work we have got to get through in order to carry out the law before Easter is very considerable. Very important subjects of debate must arise, and I confess, though I have no other complaint to make, that I view the prolongation of the debate on the Address with some alarm, simply from the fact that the discussion on the Estimates must be got through by a certain fixed date; and every day on which we maintain the general discussion going on for the last week makes it rather more difficult for us without putting ourselves to considerable inconvenience in getting through the necessary work.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Does the right hon. Gentleman propose to take Committee of Supply early this week?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes.

MR. LOUGH: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether he will consider the advisability of setting apart Tuesdays instead of Fridays to Supply, or whether he will not take an opportunity of consulting the House on the point?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is a question which I have considered already, and I must admit that, on the whole, I do not think the general opinion of the House is in favour of it.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will give fair notice of the proposed innovation of the abolition of the opportunity for moving Amendments on the Speaker leaving the chair when the House goes into Committee of Ways and Means?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can give the hon. Gentleman the information he asks for now. It is simply after Standing Order 51 to leave out the words "or Ways and Means."

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I want notice as to the day on which he proposes to move his motion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That depends upon the length of time the House desires to discuss the Speech from the Throne.

MR. M'KENNA (Monmouthshire, N.): Can the right hon. Gentleman say if he proposes to move the suspension of the Twelve o'clock Rule to-morrow?

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): And whether before he moves his motion he will be prepared to muzzle Members of the House of Commons?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No; I do not propose to move the suspension of the Twelve o'clock Rule to-morrow.

MR. DILLON: I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman not to deprive me of the opportunity of moving the Amendment I have on the Paper.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! Questions as to the time at which the Government will move the closure are irregular. They are practically debating the question.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[EIGHTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

GIBRALTAR DOCKS.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said the matter which he had now to introduce to the notice of the House was one of great importance—of national importance. The question was whether Gibraltar had ceased to be an impregnable fortress and a safe naval refuge, and had become an untenable refuge for ships, owing to the character of certain works made there, and to the great improvements and the increased range, mobility, and invisibility of modern guns. By his Amendment he asked that an inquiry, a prompt, complete, and thorough inquiry, should be made into the circumstances which had arisen and which might render Gibraltar a source of weakness to the Empire instead of being a source of strength. He had feared at one time that he would have had to discuss the question and endeavour to persuade the House that the view he took upon the question was the right one, and he thought he could have so persuaded the House. But such a discussion would have involved many considerations with regard to foreign nations which he would have hesitated to adduce and have been sorry to discuss in the House. He had always been anxious not to debate this question in the House, and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House would not question the fact that he (Mr. Bowles) had taken months before, and repeatedly since, such steps as lay in his power to induce the Government, by private representations, to undertake the inquiry he desired. He assured the House that it was only because those efforts failed that he was, as he thought, driven to resort to the pamphlet he had published upon the subject and to put the Amendment on the Paper. To his great relief he had now received a communication from the Government, which made him hope it might be unnecessary to proceed further with his Amendment; and he had, if he might use the metaphor, not come down to lay siege to the Government, but to receive the keys of the fortress.

He had few more words to say upon the subject. It was, in his opinion, his duty towards the question itself, and also to those who had promised to support him in his resolution not to withdraw the Amendment quite silently or without some assurance from the Government that they would take steps to satisfy himself, and those who had done him the honour to support him, by agreeing to such an inquiry as he desired into the safety and adequacy and defensibility of the works, and the comparative advantages of the east and west sides of the Rock. It was a question whether any of the works on the western side might not require to be transferred to the eastern, and, if so, whether any other works would require to be erected there.

He trusted he might receive that assurance, and he also trusted that if the inquiry showed, as it undoubtedly would show, that there were dangers in the present system which it was essential to remedy, the Government would consider what remedy to apply and would apply it. The Government might consider that he had taken up this matter with an undue amount of determination and pressed it with what might be considered an undue amount of pertinacity, but if that were so he had done it solely from a sense of public duty and to avoid what he, at all events, thought was likely to be a danger to the Empire. He had done his duty so far as he could, and he was glad to admit that he had been met with an open-mindedness on the part of the Government which was as novel as it was agreeable. He formally moved the Amendment of which he had given notice.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words,—'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty the desirability of now making a further and more complete inquiry into the works under construction at Gibraltar, and the dangers to which those works are exposed; and of suspending the further prosecution of work on Docks Nos. 1 and 2 until such inquiry has been completed and its results considered by Your Majesty's Government.'"—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): As my hon. friend has only moved this formally, I hope the House will forgive me for rising to reply without awaiting the formality of the Amendment being seconded. I am sure everybody will agree that my hon. friend made no undue claim upon the House when he said he was moved solely by a sense of public duty and by no other motive in bringing up this question. In refraining from pressing the Amendment he has, I think, given additional proof of the patriotism and public spirit with which he is animated. I am glad, although I am in one respect sorry, that my hon. friend has not had an opportunity of making a speech upon this subject, because a speech from him upon a subject with regard to which he possesses a minute knowledge and does not depend upon hearsay for his facts would be most welcome. But my hon. friend must realise that it is impossible to have a discussion upon this question without raising international and strategical problems which in the public interest it would not be wise to thrash thoroughly out across the floor of the House.

It is possible that international questions might be dragged by accident into the discussion, and when such international questions are dragged into a debate it is difficult to be assured that there may not be misunderstandings and misconceptions, which it is always desirable to avoid. Now we thoroughly recognise the necessity, with my hon. friend, that the ever changing nature of naval warfare requires us from time to time to review the conditions under which a great naval base like Gibraltar is defended, and my hon. friend has done much to show that such occasion of review presents itself at the present time, and I am sure, if he will give us his valuable assistance in carrying out that review, either formally or informally, we shall be grateful to him, and I know, through private communications with him, that my hon. friend is quite ready to lay before the Admiralty and the War Office all the information at his disposal. In the meantime I do not think it is necessary for me to do more than thank him for the patriotic line he has taken.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES made an observation which did not reach the gallery.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. friend whispers to me that I have not promised the inquiry; but that I will certainly do now, and I ask my hon. friend to take notice of the fact that I hope he will serve upon it and give us the benefit of his information and advice.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) concurred in the views of the Leader of the House, and thought the inquiry would be an extremely useful one. His only object in intervening in the discussion was to make it perfectly clear that the scheme for the defence of Gibraltar, which was now called into question, was not in any way thoughtlessly adopted either by the late Liberal Government or the House itself. He believed there never was a scheme sanctioned more deliberately by the House with its eyes open than this scheme. At the time it was proposed an informal expert Committee sat for several days. The Committee consisted of every Member of the House who chose to take part in it, and it was satisfactory to all, including the hon. Member for King's Lynn, who expressed in the debate which subsequently took place an opinion in favour of the dock in the position decided on, and said that even in the unlikely event of a war with Spain it would not in all probability suffer much damage.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that if the hon. Gentleman was going to enter into a discussion to which he would not have an opportunity of replying, and to refer to observations made by him in a debate which took place in 1896, he should also read the reply made by him in his pamphlet.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said that he only referred to the debate in order to show that the scheme at that time was apparently satisfactory to the hon. Member. At the same time the hon. Gentleman was quite entitled to take the line he had. He had discharged his public duty conscientiously, and he (Mr. Robertson) was glad that he had received a favourable reply from the Government.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): This seems to me to raise a question of a somewhat serious nature. It appears to me a very strange thing that both the Governments—the late Liberal Government and the Conservative Government—should propose to spend many millions upon works at Gibraltar, and that it should fall to the lot of my hon. friend, a civilian Member, to find out that this was not a wise thing to do. Having regard to the many naval experts there are in the Service, it is strange that it should fall to my hon. friend to discover that there is sufficient doubt about the construction of these forts, or harbours, or docks, or whatever they are, to necessitate having a Committee to inquire into them. I do find it extremely difficult to understand how it came to be possible for my hon. friend to go to Gibraltar and see things which ought to be, to the ordinary military man, obvious, and then to write a pamphlet which induces the Government practically to alter the plans they have adopted. If this be true of the greatest fortress we hold, one of the wonders of the world, and one of the glories of the Empire, how can we who profess to know nothing about the Army or Navy feel satisfied that the Army and Navy are being managed properly in other directions? The First Lord of the Treasury acknowledges that he wants a Committee to inquire into this question, and he asks a gentleman who is neither a soldier nor a sailor to act upon it. That seems to me to be a most extraordinary thing. The alterations in the conditions of warfare, no doubt, have been very great, but have we to learn from the Boers that modern artillery has a range of 9,000 or 10,000 yards? We should have known this long ago. Many civilians knew it, and my hon. friend knew it. Lord Goschen was for years at the head of the Navy. He has been succeeded by a great man (the Earl of Selborne). Did any of these people know about the dangers which have been pointed out by my hon. friend? It has fallen to my hon. friend, a civilian, to point out to the Army and Navy these elementary principles. If this is the way the affairs of our Army and Navy are conducted, all I can say is that the public will demand, more than ever before, that there should be most sweeping reforms.

This is not a party question in any sense, because at the General Election the question next to the war was the reform of the Army and Navy, and there is a feeling abroad that, in spite of the enormous sums which we have expended, in spite of the many millions, now amounting to over £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 annually, for the Army and Navy, we have not got a technical body in any of these branches of the service able to find out the dangers which have been referred to. It remains for a private Member of this House to discover them. It is for the purpose of inquiring into these things that a Committee is to be appointed. I do say that, in the interest of our great country, and in the interest of the Army and Navy, it is necessary that this matter should be looked into. We should, with these facts before us, look more carefully than ever into every detail of Army and Navy administration, so as to put the country on a footing of real security. I am sure that the public will agree that the Army and Navy organisation is completely wrong, and the idea will be forced upon them that something of a drastic nature should be carried out at once.

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has based his statements on a large assumption—namely, that the hon. Member for King's Lynn is correct in his facts with regard to this issue. I do not at all regret that this Committee has been granted; but I must endorse to a very large extent what has been said by the hon. Member opposite. I do not think that any question has been more elaborately inquired into by all the experts available than this question, and I hope the House will not assume that the hon. Member for King's Lynn—whose great authority on these questions I admit, and who is very often correct in his views—is right in this case, because there is a great deal to be said on the other side, as will no doubt appear when the new Committee sifts all the evidence available.

The whole question is a very simple one, and may be put into a single sentence: whether the risk of war with Spain—and that is a very small one—is not completely outweighed by the great and undoubted dangers which the east side of the dock presents for the dock accommodation now being provided. That is the principal question that the Committee will have to consider. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] There are the great depth of the sea, exposure to the wind and waves, and to the attacks from the sea to be set off. That is the main question the Committee will have to consider, and I doubt if the evidence will bear out what my hon. friend has stated. I trust the House will not assume that my hon. friend is correct in this case because he has published a pamphlet and obtained a Committee.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I extremely rejoice at the turn this debate has taken, and I congratulate my hon. friend the mover of the Amendment. I also rejoice at the prompt action of my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury in at once meeting my hon. friend, and thus avoiding further discussion.

I only rise now to draw attention to a matter which I have often brought before the House on former occasions, and that is the position of this House with regard to the expenditure of money on the Army and Navy. The body I want to have an explanation about as regards this matter of Gibraltar is the Cabinet Defence Committee. That is the body I consider entirely responsible for the existing state of things. I am not going into any details. I shall confine myself broadly to the commonplace fact that this important question concerning Gibraltar is partly naval and partly military. It involves considerations of naval strategy, and when you come to the details it requires technical military knowledge. I hope that by and by we shall get at the fact whether this matter was or was not decided by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. Was it decided by two Defence Committees of two different Governments or not? We are told that this Defence Committee keeps no records, and therefore perhaps we shall never know. I trust I shall have an opportunity to illustrate more fully the evil of our present system in dealing with these problems—the system which precludes the action of this most responsible Defence Committee of the Cabinet from being commented upon by this House. The whole difficulty would be got over if the Government would allocate £5 as salary to the President of the Defence Committee on the Army or Navy Estimates. This House would then be in a position to find out who was responsible in this country for what has been done and what has been left undone at Gibraltar and elsewhere. I am delighted at the course events have taken.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I have to thank the First Lord of the Treasury for the assurance he has given. I assure him that, so far as I can, consistently with my public duty, I shall give him every assistance I am able to afford. I beg leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

South Africa (Surrenders of Troops).

Mr. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): I want to bring before the House the necessity of inquiring into the surrenders that have taken place in South Africa, so that by the lesson there learned we shall prevent a recurrence of them in the future. There is no subject which has more profoundly moved the British people than the continual list of surrenders in South Africa. They have not said much about them, because "surrender" has rather a bitter taste in an Englishman's mouth. For my part, I do not mean to impugn the bravery of our officers and soldiers in South Africa. I do not think that any man, however hostile he may be to the war, can say that the officers and men in South Africa have not behaved with the greatest gallantry and courage, and I do not want in the smallest degree to gloat over the disasters that have taken place. I do not intend to follow the example of hon. Gentlemen opposite who during the election placarded the walls with the word "Majuba." For my own part I would prefer to leave in oblivion any disasters to the British forces, but if hon. Gentlemen opposite intend to follow the course to which they frequently had recourse during the election, they will have to considerably increase the number of the placards, because one placard would not contain the tale of surrenders in South Africa. In the casualty lists published in January there are lumped together some 8,703 men and 329 officers, a total of over 9,000, who have surrendered to the Boers, and in addition about 30 of our guns have been captured.

I contend that we are entitled to information on these points, seeing that it is granted on the highest authority that the bravery of our officers and men in South Africa is unchallenged. If they are brave, and if the army in South Africa has shown the greatest courage, as I am glad to say it has been shown, there must be something wrong in connection with the surrenders that have taken place. They began at the commencement of the war, and they have been going on almost continually ever since. No greater humiliation has been inflicted on the British forces since the great war of last century in America, That is a sufficiently ominous parallel. and we do not wish to carry it further. The Prime Minister said we wanted to have pointed out the defects of the system. That is my view. We know there must have been defects, because the British have an army of 250,000 men in South Africa, and the Boers have never been able to bring into the field more than 50,000 men. We have suffered the losses I have mentioned in men taken prisoners. Supposing we had been at war with a first-class Power, why, of course, these 9,000 who were taken would not have been released again. Now that they have been released, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to assure us that he will give publicity to this inquiry, so that if we should ever be engaged in war with a first-class Power we shall never have to undergo the humiliation we have undergone during the last fifteen months. The information at our disposal is of the most meagre and unsatisfactory character. We know that the press censorship in South Africa is extremely severe. It cannot be exercised with more courtesy, but I hope it will be exercised with a little more leniency. We have not been able to get that information about the disasters to which we are entitled.

Some people will say that this is a question of washing dirty linen in public. I do not quite agree. These matters have been published, and it is far better for our Army and our strength that this linen should be thoroughly cleansed, rather than tied up with red tape and hidden in some obscure corner of the War Office. The right hon. Gentleman told us it was his object to lay before the Parliament as full and frank a declaration as possible in these matters, and he hoped it would be contained in the despatches recently published. That, however, is hardly so. I have gone very carefully through the despatches, but the information they contain does not carry us much further. Take the case of Nicholson's Nek, which occurred on 30th October, 1899. Thirty-seven officers and 917 men were taken prisoners—more than the effective strength of many regiments now in South Africa. What is the information Sir George White is able to give us? He says—

> "My information has been obtained from subordinate officers who, being severely wounded, were sent into my camp by General Joubert."

Is it reasonable to suppose that we can be satisfied with such information upon a disaster of this magnitude? It really gives us no information at all. When we consider that the names of all these officers and men were mentioned, it is most important, not only for the credit of the Army and the bravery of the soldiers but also for the credit of these officers themselves, to show where the true blame lies. Another case is that of Stormberg, on 10th December, when two guns and 630 prisoners were taken. These men were twenty-four hours on their legs, and if the Boers had been more active they would have captured the whole force. Upon whom does the blame rest? That is what we want to kow.n Have sufficient precautions been taken that no such occurrences shall take place in future? Then there is the Sanna's Post disaster, on 31st March last, when seven guns and 426 prisoners were taken. That was the result of an ambush, and Lord Roberts says that the disaster—

> "was mainly due to the failure of the patrol from Bolsman's Kop to warn their comrades of the ambush."

We should like to know who instructed the four men composing that patrol, and why they did not fire their guns to warn their comrades, especially as by so doing at that point this disaster would have been prevented? I do not pose as a military expert, but I think this illustrates one of the defects of our Army training. We do not give sufficient attention to field training; we think far too much about marching past in barrack square and pipeclaying accoutrements. I mention this not to cast blame upon anybody, but in order that the authorities should draw conclusions which will make the British Army more efficient in the future than it has unfortunately proved to be in South Africa. There is not the smallest doubt that field training is one of the most important questions, and we are told in drill book and elsewhere that the question of outposts and reconnoitring is among the most important in the training of the private soldier. We had another case just afterwards. Encouraged by this success the Boers went out and captured more than 400 officers and men at Reddersburg. These men were sent to Dewetsdorp by General Gatacre, but withdrawn by Lord Roberts's orders. Here again, why were they sent to Dewetsdorp? What was the reason of their surrender? Was it want of ammunition or want of water? We have no information whatever. I do not want to know for the purpose of impugning the gallantry of our soldiers, but I believe they must have been led by some person or other into a death-trap and obliged to surrender. It has been stated in the public press that though they surrendered at twelve o'clock, in the morning of that day they heard volleys of firing from the relief troops, and yet they were unable to hold out until relief came. Unfortunately it has been only too common in South Africa that the relief forces have arrived a day too late, and that is a point which I think is well worth the attention of the War Office. Then I come to a series of disasters connected with the name of Lindley. On the 31st May last a force of Yeomanry surrendered to the Boers. All we know is that they were ordered to join the Highland Brigade at Lindley; that on their arrival, instead of finding the British there, they found the Boers, and that General Colvile had marched with them. Colonel Spragge halted three miles to the west of Lindley; there were very few Boers in front of him, but they immediately assembled on hearing of the defenceless position of his force. Colonel Spragge was able to send messages to General Rundle, General Colvile, and Lord Methuen, and it is extraordinary that, while he apparently was in the centre of this triangle, neither of these generals was able to relieve him, nor was he able to take his troops to the nearest British force and so prevent this surrender to the enemy. General Rundle, we are told, tried to relieve the pressure, but did not succeed. Lord Methuen marched forty-four miles in twenty-four hours, but arrived too late. What we should like to know is, whether these troops held out as long as they could. The force was composed of the very highest type of British chivalry, at any rate, and it has been stated that the troops composing it were mainly millionaires. I do not wish in the slightest degree to impugn the conduct of millionaires. We know that when my right hon. friend below me passed his Budget in 1894 they were not willing to pay for their country, but I am sure they are willing to die for it; at any rate, millionaires should not have the undeserved reflection left upon them that they surrendered before they should have done. It is also stated that these battalions were seen to march away under the escort of eight armed Boers without making any attempt to escape. These are points which the right hon. Gentleman would do well to clear up in the interests not only of his own Department, but also of the Army at large.

Another question is, what is the value of the patriotic but untrained soldiers who volunteer to go and fight the enemy in South Africa or elsewhere? We are undoubtedly largely relying at this moment upon the patriotic but untrained men sent out to the Cape, and we want to know whether these forces are really capable of sustaining — not by their courage, that is beyond doubt, but by their training—the credit of the Empire in foreign countries. Would they be sufficient to meet the trained armies of Continental nations should they be called upon to face them? But to return to this matter. There must have been some mismanagement somewhere, because two days after the capture of this Yeomanry detachment a convoy consisting of fifty wagons, with an escort of the Highland Brigade, left Rhenoster River station. Surely, after the capture two days before of 500 Yeomanry, this convoy should not have started, as Rhenoster River station is not more than twenty-five miles from the scene of the disaster. However, it started on the morning of one day, and on the afternoon of the next it was captured by the Boers. That made the Boers still more militant, and they attacked Rhenoster River station itself, where there were immense stores. There is not a single word in the despatches of Lord Roberts about these stores, but we know from reports in the press that the stores were there, and that they were guarded by the Derbyshire Militia. In this case Lord Roberts says, after five officers and thirty-two men had been killed and one hundred wounded out of a total force of 700, that "further resistance would have been useless." He does not say that of any other force to which a disaster occurred upon which he has reported. I hope that may lead the right hon. Gentleman to believe that the Militia has a right to claim more attention from his Department in the future than it has received in the past. I do not want to go through the whole of this list, but there is the occurrence at Dewetsdorp, on 26th November, when 500 men and two guns were taken by the Boers. That place had been in our possession for months. Why was that outpost not entrenched? Why were the British not able to reply to the Boers? Why had 500 men to lay down their arms to a force of 2,000 Boers with six guns? We used to think that one British soldier was equal to four foreigners, but at present it looks very different indeed.

Here I may show how injustice may be done to British officers by these surrenders. In many of the disasters of the past the greatest heroism has been displayed. At the small post of Helvetia, a very strong position reported on by Lord Kitchener, 200 prisoners and one gun were taken. Here is an extract from the *Morning Post* special correspondent's account of this incident (dated 12th February)—

> "The capture of the Liverpools at Helvetia some time before was executed in a similar manner. Descriptions of that affair have no doubt reached home already, but it may not be known that after——" (I will not mention his name—a certain major) "had surrendered with his men and the 4·7 in. gun the Boers sent to Captain ——, who held a detached position with fifty men, demanding his surrender also. This he indignantly refused, and successfully beat off the enemy."

This is a direct imputation of cowardice against the major in command of this detachment, because the correspondent says he had 200 men and a gun at his disposal.

Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: He was severely wounded.

Mr. LAMBERT: I know; I am coming to that. This is an imputation of cowardice; but if you refer to Lord Kitchener's telegram you will see that the officer was severely wounded, and ought not to have this reflection on his courage cast upon him by an uninformed correspondent of the *Morning Post.* It is therefore in the interest of the officers themselves, as well as of the Army, that I bring forward these matters. Will the right hon. Gentleman give the information for which I ask? I think it is reasonable, and I hope he will give it. At any rate, the country will not be satisfied unless we have it.

As the hon. Member for North Islington said just now, one of the great questions at issue at the last election was the reform of the War Office. In the address of almost every hon. Gentleman opposite that question took a very prominent part. The War Office has not the confidence of the country. In my opinion, that is undoubted. It may have the confidence of the right hon. Gentleman. I believe he is the only man who really defends it through thick and thin, but he has appointed a Committee to tell him whether even he ought to have that confidence. Undoubtedly grave miscalculations have taken place which have shaken the confidence of the country with the War Office. We were within an ace, as is shown by General Buller's despatches, of the greatest calamity that has ever occurred to a British garrison in the history of the Army — we were within an ace of the surrender of Ladysmith, with 10,500 men and about thirty-six guns. If Ladysmith had fallen it would have been a disaster the like of which has never been suffered by the British Army. The War Office were able to send out what they thought to be a sufficient force in October, 1899, but a really sufficient force did not arrive until January or February, 1900. If we were at war with a foreign Power the enemy would not wait for us; they would not wait for Lord Roberts to get out there, or until reinforcements arrived; they would strike at once at our vulnerable points. Therefore we ought, in the light of our past experience, to get some information which will guide us in the future, and prevent such risks as we have run during the last twelve months. We on this side of the House do not think the War Office reputation was raised by that dream of last September that the war was over. At that time it was a ridiculous fallacy to state that the war was over, though possibly this military perspicacity was more worthy of and would do honour to the Primrose League. It is extraordinary that this military perspicacity came in at the exact moment to suit the electoral exigencies of hon. Members opposite. I do not think that has raised the War Office in the eyes of the country. We do not feel justified in giving the War Office a blank cheque. The right hon. Gentleman claims credit for the War Office that not a single man went hungry and not a single man suffered through want of supplies being landed at Cape Town. That may be true. Precisely the same excuse was put forward during the Crimean War.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): No, no!

MR. LAMBERT: Does the right hon. Gentleman deny that?

MR. BRODRICK: Yes, I do.

MR. LAMBERT: Then I will quote the authority of Lord Palmerston, who said, after the inquiry had taken place into the Crimean War, and after all the evils which our soldiers had suffered had been disclosed—

> "It is true that ample supplies were sent from this country to the Crimea, but from want of arrangements on the spot the troops there derived no advantage from them."

It is just the same in South Africa. The Government have sent ample supplies to Cape Town, but from want of arrangements on the spot the troops derived no advantage from them. Of course, the War Office can send any amount of supplies to Cape Town, for it has at its disposal the whole of the mercantile marine to send supplies and the unlimited credit of the British Empire.

MR. BRODRICK: I rise to a point of order. I wish to know whether the hon. Member is in order in bringing in the question of the whole of the supply of the troops in the war upon an Amendment which applies only to the surrender of certain troops?

MR. LAMBERT: I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that I have not yet moved my Amendment, but I was endeavouring to show that the War Office was not, by its previous action, entitled to take credit for this or be trusted in regard to these matters.

*MR. SPEAKER: It is quite true that the hon. Member is speaking to the main question. He is not out of order, because he is not confined to the terms of any Amendment before the House.

MR. LAMBERT: I can quite understand that the right hon. Gentleman would rather not go into the question of supplies.

MR. BRODRICK: I am perfectly ready to go into the question at any moment, but I wish to do so upon a motion on which I am entitled to reply.

MR. LAMBERT: And I hope the right hon. Gentleman will reply with more accuracy than he did upon the last occasion. This sort of thing has a very bad effect on the recruiting for our Army. It is impossible to get men of high intelligence if recruits have an inkling that they may be led into death-traps. [Ministerial cries of "Oh, oh!"] Will the hon. Gentlemen opposite say that they have not been led into death-traps? In former days the British soldier thought it a disgrace to lay down his arms, and British soldiers to-day do think it is a disgrace to lay down their arms to Boer forces. You will not get the highest standard of recruits if you have not the fullest assurance that the state of organisation and training of the troops is of the highest possible efficiency. The country will very cheerfully meet any demands made upon it for increasing the efficiency of the force, but they will not pay money without considerable demur unless they are perfectly certain that it is going to be well spent. It is in the hope that this Amendment which I now move may have some effect in that direction, and that the publication of the explanation of these disasters may have some effect upon public opinion in the country, and show that the right hon. Gentleman and the War Office are endeavouring to remedy these defects, that I move this Amendment.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross) seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly suggest to Your Majesty that there should be published as early as practicable the proceedings of full

inquiries into the circumstances that have occasioned the surrender of considerable bodies of Your Majesty's troops in South Africa.'"—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be added."

*SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I think that the House generally will feel that the speech which the hon. Member made in introducing this motion was not one which was animated by party feeling, and that he has raised a subject which deserves the deep attention of the House. I have myself contended that during the whole course of this war one of the most serious questions which faces this country, and which deserves the close interest of the authorities of the Army, has been this question of the surrender of such large bodies of troops during the war. I do not think it would be fair to accuse those who take the view that some, at all events, of these disasters might have been avoided by the officers commanding the troops, of imputing want of courage to British troops in the field. There is ample evidence to show that, wherever our troops have been well and intelligently led—and on many occasions where they have not been intelligently led—they have displayed during this war an unfailing and remarkable courage. I agree very largely with the hon. Gentleman who moved this motion when he said that it is not fair to expose troops who have shown such splendid courage, as our troops have shown throughout the war, to the conditions and the risks to which they have been on several occasions exposed in regard to these surrenders. I think it is a fair argument for him to use that such unjust exposure shakes the confidence of the men. It is most unfortunate that more notice of these surrenders was not taken earlier in the war. This want of attention on the part of the military authorities in regard to these surrenders has tended to make some of the officers in command on subsequent occasions careless both in choosing their positions and in fortifying them.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all these surrenders was the first, which took place at Nicholson's Nek. It is a very extraordinary thing that, so far as I know, no criticism has been passed by the War Office upon that important event. It is hardly possible to blame the officers in command upon that occasion, but I think that it is a most extraordinary thing that the general who commanded the whole army should have allowed this force to remain so long in an exposed and critical position without making any attempt to relieve it. When I find that some generals have been severely condemned by His Majesty's Government, and some of them even removed from the Army, I ask again the question which I asked the other day, Whether the same treatment would be meted out to most highly placed generals, which is apparently to be meted out to those who have committed even less faults, but who are not so highly placed? The condition of our troops at Nicholson's Nek was known to the general in command during the night, and yet that unfortunate force, which had lost its guns and ammunition waggons in consequence of an accident, was allowed to remain in a most precarious position, without any serious attempt being made to relieve it, until two or three o'clock the next day, when it was forced to yield. Two of these disasters—Sanna's Post and Reddersburg—had a most injurious effect upon the whole course of the war. I believe that there was a great chance of the Boers surrendering after the successful march of our troops to Johannesburg and Pretoria had it not been for those two disasters and others which followed. Those two surrenders greatly encouraged the Boer Government and President Kruger and his friends, and we owe a great deal of the continuation of the war to these disasters. The defeat at Sanna's Post was probably one of the most extraordinary events which has ever happened in the history of warfare. A considerable force was retreating, with a large convoy in front of it, and there was absolutely no advance guard to the convoy to see that the way was clear. The enemy were actually allowed to conceal themselves in a spruit or donga on the Bloemfontein side, and they were not discovered by our scouts, because there were no scouts. When Burnham, the famous American scout, was asked for his explanation he humorously replied that this disaster "came of scouting with buck wagons." The affair at Lindley has been referred to very often, and it was a very astonishing case, for which a general has been brought home. So far as one can judge, the means of defence of this force were not completely exhausted by the officer in actual command before surrendering.

I pass over Dewetsdorp and Rhenoster River, though at the latter place the Derbyshire Militia were compelled to surrender, because their camp was placed close under a commanding kopje on which no guard was placed, and also one or two other events which have been referred to. I come to our last heavy loss, which occurred at a place called Nooitgedacht, some twenty-five miles north-west of Pretoria. Here is an extraordinary case, in which a force, under the command of a general officer who has had a brilliant career, was left for five days without any entrenchments being thrown up, or without any efforts to fortify a circular hill which commanded the camp, and without any attempt being made even to construct sangars, although it was known that the enemy were in the neighbourhood in force. We have not had any official reports of this disaster, and all we know is what we have been able to gather from the accounts given by officers and men and by the newspaper reports. If it be true that that position was occupied for five days without any attempt being made to entrench it or to erect sangars, I say that it is a discreditable case, which calls for the closest investigation on the part of the War Office. When we think of the loss and the suffering which have been caused by this want of preparation and want of military knowledge on the part of our generals; when we consider the long list of killed and wounded which has accompanied these surrenders, we are fully justified in asking the War Office for a complete inquiry, and for a very full report upon these disasters. I do not propose to trouble the House further on this question. It is a question which demands the fullest investigation in the interests of the Army itself, and I sincerely hope that this investigation will be specially made, and that some steps will be taken on the one hand to mete out justice to those who are responsible for these very severe blows to the strength of the Army, and on the other hand to fairly reward those who have done well.

I believe that this war will lead not only to a great reform in the Army, but also to a reform of the instruction given to our officers and men, as well as to the drastic reorganisation of the Army. I believe that this war has proved before the world the courage and the endurance of our troops, the resolution of our generals, and, I hope, the tenacity and determination of the Government; but there are great lessons to be learned from this war which this country must learn, if it is not to meet a series of catastrophes, in the event of our ever being engaged in a great war with a Continental Power. Happily for us we have received our lessons where we are able to deal with our difficulties and overcome them; and I believe it is almost by the direct blessing of Providence that these tremendous lessons have been taught our country when our Army and people were not in the presence, as they might have been, of *force majeure*. I sincerely hope that these disasters will result in the great improvement of the instruction of our officers and men. I am confident that there are no troops in the world who will fight so well as our troops, and that there are no officers that are more capable of leading their men with skill and courage than British officers, when properly trained and properly experienced.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I do not wish to detain the House or to prolong the debate. Indeed, I look upon it as about the most hopeless debate which the House could enter into—where civilians, as most of of us are, venture to discuss the points where our generals have failed in the field. I hope we shall not be treated to a repetition of the series of disasters of which we have had a long list—many more, indeed, than I at first thought.

There is one remark that civilians as well as soldiers would like to make to the War Office, and that is that the result of the proceedings of courts of inquiry should be published, and whenever an officer leads his troops into disaster there should be a public inquiry, just as when a captain loses his ship. If a court of inquiry sits on an army officer the public do not know whether he has been acquitted or not; and in the interest both of officers themselves and the Army, there should be a public inquiry, so that no blame should attach to the innocent.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): It is always difficult to discuss in this House, while we have been remaining comfortably at home and not fully aware of all the circumstances of the case, the question of the behaviour of our troops in the field. I confess when the hon. Member for South Molton first opened his remarks I was in considerable sympathy with him; but when he proceeded with his comments as to the conduct of the War Office, and the re-organisation of the War Office, I felt it impossible for me to go with him if he went to a division. There is no doubt that the surrender of large bodies of troops in South Africa has left an extraordinarily painful impression, not only on our soldiers and sailors, but on the public generally. The inconvenience of discussing the question in this way was shown when the hon. Member for South Molton went on to discuss matters of strategy.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg pardon; I did not discuss strategy at all. All that I asked for was that information should be given to the House in regard to these surrenders.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: There I am with the hon. Member; but when he goes on to say "Why was not this or that done?" when he acknowledges that he is not in possession of information, and yet lays down what ought to have been done, or rather inquires why so and so was not done—then I say he is not capable of discussing questions of military tactics or strategy. I agree that in all cases of surrender of troops, as in all cases in which ships are lost, the officers ought to stand a court of inquiry. I noticed in the remarks of both the hon. Member for South Molton and the hon. Member for Ecclesall that each of them seemed to drift away from the terms of the motion to discuss why such and such things were or were not done. We cannot possibly discuss why such surrenders took place until we have got full information from the War Office, and therefore I hope the right hon. the Secretary for War when he comes to make his statement will give us more information than we have at present in regard to all these surrenders, but especially the most painful of all, that at Nicholson's Nek. I would say, possibly many of these surrenders are due to the want of education, not only on military matters, but on other matters as well, amongst both officers and soldiers. When a man is in a difficult place, if he is thoroughly educated, he will be able to act on his own initiative. Hon. Members may say that we shall have to wait until the country is thoroughly well educated until we can recruit men from the higher educated classes rather than from the class of men we have to look to at the present time.

The hon. Member for South Molton and the hon. Member for Ecclesall alluded several times to what might have taken place if we had been at war with a first-class Power; but it would have been much easier to have taken the field against such a Power than against the nation whom we are fighting in South Africa, because of the enormous extent of country in which the operations are being conducted, and because our enemies there are masters of a knowledge of every pass in the mountains and of the whole topography of the country. On the other hand, if we were engaged fighting against a first-class foreign Power it would never be our lot to invade their country, but we should be able to make a choice of the ground on which the encounter was to take place. I have no doubt that the Secretary for War will see that the demand from both sides of the House for inquiry is reasonable, and that it is absolutely necessary that the House and the nation should be informed of his opinion on a subject upon which the Government has been pledged for a long time.

*SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): This is a question in which I quite agree with my hon. and gallant friend opposite who has just spoken, that the country is deeply interested. We all know that for twelve months past, when there has been extreme anxiety throughout the country with reference to our military position in South Africa, the Government promised and vowed to the country that there should be a full inquiry into all that had taken place in the war. They said so in the House of Commons; they said so in the country; and by giving those pledges they diverted for the time an inquiry that might be considered inconvenient. I therefore am not speaking merely on the question of surrender, because that is only a part of the whole, but I think we are entitled to-night to have from the Government a categorical statement of what they intend to do with reference to inquiries as to what has occurred in the war. We have only had a vague statement on that subject, and I know that the impression has gone forth that, now that the difficulties have been surmounted, the inquiry is not to be granted, or, at all events, is to be granted in a very limited manner. I am happy to hear from the Leader of the House that that view is unfounded; but I hope that through the mouth of the Government to-night we shall have a distinct statement of the inquiry that is intended to be made, when it is to be made, and in what form it is to be made. They have had quite time enough to consider that, and I hope we will have a statement on the subject.

With reference to the particular matter that the hon. Member for South Molton has raised, no doubt it is one of the most painful incidents in the whole of this war. I do not suppose that in any war—I do not speak of wars where British forces were opposed by enemies five or six times their numbers—such a series of continuous surrenders has ever been recorded. In all foreign armies, so far as I know, such inquiries are made as a matter of course. I remember perfectly well when the great court-martial upon Marshal Bazaine took place it was founded upon the fundamental principle of the discipline of the French army that a surrender of troops in open campaign is necessarily a subject of court-martial or other form of inquiry. As my hon. and gallant friend opposite has said, we know nothing officially about the circumstances. I cannot say I know nothing at all about the circumstances. We know from the public press and newspaper correspondents, as far as the censor permitted, that circumstances occurred which led to surrender. They may or they may not be accurate, but the circumstances which have been made public are such as appear to be utterly insufficient to justify the surrenders. Therefore, when it is said that we ought not to allude to them, I say we must allude to them because the public both in this country and abroad have been supplied with information as to the circumstances which led to these surrenders, and I do not think I am wrong in saying that, at all events to an unprofessional opinion, those circumstances have seemed in many cases not to justify those surrenders.

That is a state of things which makes it absolutely necessary that we should have an official and public inquiry into a thing which, I venture to say, has not been to the credit of the military reputation of this country. That being so, without professing to examine particular cases, which I feel totally incompetent to do, I share the opinion which I believe is generally spread throughout the country, that surrenders of this character ought not to have taken place, that there must have been miscarriage somewhere, and that we ought to know where that miscarriage has been. I hope and believe that we shall have an assurance that there shall be such an inquiry instituted as shall repair the mischief that has been done to the credit of British arms by surrenders the circumstances of which have never been explained, and which, as far as we know them, require a very clear and satisfactory explanation.

MR. BRODRICK: Nobody will complain of the tone taken by the right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken in dealing with what is, after all, a very important subject, and one on which the Government recognise no division between themselves and the vast majority of the Members of this House.

The hon. Member who introduced the motion was, I think, if I may say so, very ill-advised in mixing up subjects of general attack with a matter of this kind. While, in one way, every Member of the House will desire to arrive at a right conclusion as regards the surrender of these large bodies of troops at different times, there must, obviously, be a difference of opinion on some of the topics which he introduced; and I think it is not only unusual under the orders of the House, but, at the same time, extremely undesirable, to accompany these questions of mistakes made by officers in the field with sneers at the War Office, which could not by any possibility have interfered, and would not have the right to interfere, in regard to the action of officers in the field. The hon. Member went further than that, and indulged in what I thought was a most ungenerous suggestion with regard to the surrender of the Yeomanry under Colonel Spragge. They were not too willing to pay taxes, but, he said, with an irony which was unmistakable, probably they were willing to give their lives.

MR. LAMBERT dissented.

MR. BRODRICK: I beg pardon. I am in the recollection of the House. I am not going to allow the hon. Member, without protest, to make these observations about a body of men who fought admirably, with a very insufficient allowance of food—they were almost starving—for several days, until they had sustained heavy losses, until all their doctors were either killed or wounded, so that their own wounded could not be attended to, and who, finally, only gave way when, in the opinion of the Court of Inquiry, to which I referred in this House in December, and which the hon. Member might have read if he had taken the trouble to look up *Hansard*, they could not resist any further. The Court of Inquiry accordingly exonerated Colonel Spragge and his officers altogether from blame.

MR. LAMBERT: May I ask what the right hon. Gentleman is quoting from? Have the proceedings of this Court of Inquiry been laid on the Table of the House? If not, why does he quote them in the House?

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member's repartee is no excuse for making insinuations which, as I have already told the House, in December last in reply to an interrogation from the Irish benches, on the authority of the Government, were not upheld by the Court of Inquiry.* If the hon. Gentleman, who seems to be very fond of drawing a bow at a venture and is not very particular whom he attacks provided he can, in some way, connect it with the Government, is going to take that line, I think we shall have to revise the arrangements of the usual forms of criticism which we have hitherto employed in regard to the Army. I would much rather enter on the subject in the spirit which has animated the other speakers in the debate.

There is no question whatever that the country has seen with great regret the continual surrender of considerable bodies of men. The reasons I might go into at some length, but I may say that there is no doubt that this war has been a very unusual one. The enormous range of country, and especially the topographical character of it, has rendered the isolation of bodies of men perhaps more frequent than in any other war in which this country has been engaged for a great number of years. The rapidity of firing of modern ammunition, too, lends itself to the exhaustion of the weaker party. But the whole question is whether or not the system of military law which we have at this moment for dealing with these charges is adequate to enable those who are responsible to judge whether the officers immediately in command are to blame, or whether the superior officer who placed them in that position should be made responsible. My hon. friend the Member for Ecclesall made a suggestion as regards Nicholson's Nek. Undoubtedly that disaster sent a thrill throughout the country, but there has been no disaster about which it has been so difficult to arrive at a conclusion. In order that the House may realise what the difficulties are, I would just remind the House of the fact that the men at Nicholson's Nek were taken prisoners at the beginning of November, and were not released for many months afterwards. When they were released, the officers who had been responsible, both in the actual engagement and also in command, were scattered all over South Africa. The attempt, therefore, to arrive at a complete decision by Lord Roberts as to the responsibility in the case was an extremely difficult one. I should like to say, as Sir George White's name has been mentioned, that I think we ought to be careful of carrying too far the responsibility which has been assigned to that officer in this business. He is the last man to put responsibility on the shoulders of anyone else. He did, as a matter of fact, take upon himself the responsibility for the whole, and if any man could redeem a mistake, I think not only the admirable defence which he afterwards made, but the cheerful spirit in which during many months he upheld his own troops and prompted those who were coming to the rescue was, in itself, as great an atonement as any man could make. But, again, we have to decide in a case like that what was the degree of blame attached not only to Sir George White, but also to the officers in immediate command, who, having got into this difficult position and having lost their mules and ammunition, made up their minds to advance rather than retire. As a matter of fact, there have been courts of inquiry held in all these cases where it was possible to hold them. There have been ninety-nine courts of inquiry in regard to about twenty different operations, and in a large number of these cases officers have been made responsible. Ten officers, I think, have been dismissed from the Army or have been put on half-pay, and penalties have been imposed on other officers, and in those cases where a penalty has not actually been imposed, from the military point of view, the result has been to impair the probability of promotion of the officers concerned.

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* Refer to *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxviii., p. 795.

The hon. Member asks that the findings of these courts of inquiry should be laid on the Table of the House. I must say at once that I think the House is as much interested as the Government in considering whether that course would be conducive to military advantage. A court-martial may be fatal to an officer. The finding of a court of inquiry is only a suggestion to the Commander-in-Chief, it is not a sentence. The finding of a court-martial is followed by a sentence. I most honestly agree with what has fallen from various Members on this subject, and desire to say that, as far as I am concerned, wherever the result of a court of inquiry establishes a *prima facie* case, I shall insist that the officer be brought to a court-martial. I know that that is the opinion of Lord Kitchener, and I know that the Commander-in-Chief is prepared to recommend it. I think that, in cases which are sufficiently bad to cause an officer to be put on his trial by court-martial, we must not be afraid of publicity. But when you come to the delicate questions that arise under courts of inquiry, where officers are brought under the review of the Court but against whom no charge may be sustained, I am not sure that it would be wise to subject all those cases—it would give infinite pain to those connected with the officers in cases where the decision happens to be unfavourable, or where the Commander-in-Chief notices one and not another—to a re-trial at the bar of public opinion.

Before quoting the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, perhaps I may be allowed to cite that held by the Duke of Wellington with regard to such cases—an opinion which, I think, is not worn out by the length of time which has elapsed since it was given. The question of bravery or skill in the field in difficult circumstances is exactly the same now as it was in the time of the Duke of Wellington. Our national character, I hope, is the same also, and the opinion of the Duke of Wellington was that the less cases of misconduct in the field were brought before the public the better for the Army. I find in the despatch of 29th August, 1811, the Duke of Wellington said—

> "My reason for entertaining this opinion is that the instances of want of spirit among the officers of our Army are very rare, and the example of punishment of crime is not required. This being the case, I should wish to avoid giving soldiers and the world information of an officer, particularly if he belonged to a foreign nation, behaving otherwise than well in the presence of the enemy. If there should be an unfortunate person who fails in that respect I would prefer to allow him to retire to a private station rather than expose his weakness."

That is a very strong opinion, and without having seen this despatch, to which I called his attention this morning, Lord Roberts holds identically the same view. His view is that the Commander-in-Chief must take the responsibility in the field of recommending action with regard to any officer who has failed in his duty. He has, in the course of the last few months, found it his duty to make a large number of such recommendations. I know it to my cost. I have only been in office three months and a half, but not one week has elapsed during which I have not had the duty, on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, either of removing from the Army or of enforcing the resignation of some officer who has failed in South Africa.

I think the House, in asking for the proceedings of these courts of inquiry to be published, should be to some extent swayed by their confidence in Lord Roberts's determination to take action wherever such action is necessary. I do not for a moment ignore the importance of what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman opposite with regard to a general inquiry into the War Office. The right hon. Gentleman has asked whether the Government will reiterate the pledge that was given with regard to an inquiry. He said that the promise of the First Lord of the Treasury should be made more precisely. I should have said, on the contrary, that the promise which my right hon. friend made in February of last year has been most definitely renewed whenever the occasion seemed to warrant it. We have recognised our obligation, if asked for, to have a full inquiry into the War.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If asked for by whom?

MR. BRODRICK: If asked for by the House. It the House feels it desirable to have a full inquiry into the war, a full inquiry there will be. But it will not be an inquiry limited merely to the conduct of the War Office; it must be an inquiry also into the conduct of operations in the field. I say this on my own behalf as Secretary of State, though I cannot help hoping that such inquiry, if made, will have some regard to the desirability of making public all such questions as those on which we are engaged. No doubt those who will conduct the inquiry will have as strong and patriotic feelings in these matters as anybody in this House. That is not a question as between the Government and the House. I may say that with regard to the date of this inquiry we have not in the slightest degree diverged from what my right hon. friend stated in the first instance—namely, that it must take place when the war has substantially reached its conclusion. Nobody can say at this moment that the war, in which over 200,000 troops are engaged, has substantially reached its conclusion. And I would add to that that any inquiry which was held in those circumstances would, in some respects, fail of its object, because, obviously, many witnesses must be required who are still in South Africa, and it would be impossible for the inquiry not to come to a standstill.

Our position, then, with regard to these courts of inquiry is this. In the first place, if there is an inquiry into the war, then most certainly all these matters and all these Papers will come before the Committee or Commission, if they desire to inquire into them. The second point is, that in cases which are brought before the House on which some special public interest induces either this House or the House of Lords to demand a special explanation, it is always possible for us to produce such Papers as are necessary to give the proper enlightenment. But our general feeling is that it is not desirable, without reference to particular cases but in every case in which there has been a surrender, to put, not before this House merely, but before the country and the world, all the circumstances which are brought to light in these courts of inquiry. That is a point upon which I would ask the House to have some confidence in Lord Roberts, and also to remember that the Government have nothing whatever to gain by acting too lightly with regard to those who have made mistakes. I can only say this for myself. I alluded just now to the number of cases of, usually, junior officers who have failed in some duty and on whom military discipline has had to be exercised. I laid it down within a fortnight of the time when I took office, that no officer, whatever his rank or whatever his previous record, would be allowed to be re-employed in Great Britain or in any

Home command on his return from South Africa, whether he had held it before or not, unless under the direct recommendation of Lord Roberts, or Lord Kitchener, if now serving under Lord Kitchener. That decision, which must, of course, hit some officers very hard, but will only hit those who have deserved to be suspended from further employment, will be some guarantee to the House that officers who have failed will not be allowed to come home without being actually removed from the Army. We are determined to deal severely with these cases. But I attach the greatest importance, in reference to these operations in the field, not merely to prompt punishment, but also to prompt reward. Cases have occurred in which one man has failed to maintain his post, and a man close by, in perhaps almost as difficult conditions, has maintained himself and driven off a body of the enemy. It is the opinion of Lord Kitchener that prompt reward should be given in such cases, and that encouragement should be given to a man who, having gone through many months of most arduous labours, certainly deserves any recognition that we can give him on such an occasion. I wrote to Lord Kitchener some time ago, and telegraphed to him a few days ago, asking him to put forward at once such names, and assured him that the most prompt reply that was possible would be given.

It is recognised by my hon. friend below the gangway that this war and the experience of it must lead to great reforms in the Army, and not merely in the organisation of the Army, but also in the training of the Army. I can only say that not one of these episodes will be allowed to pass by without giving us some instruction in that respect .Whether the officer is immediately to blame or not, not merely the officer but the regiment is brought in review by an episode of this character ; and I think the House will believe that Lord Roberts, whose whole life and career have been devoted to the practice of his profession, and who has obtained the confidence of those who have served under him by his intimate knowledge of the Army, is the best man that can possibly deal with it. We ask the House to rest satisfied with this declaration. It is, of course, possible to urge us to allow a public discussion in each case. I am not sure, from what I have heard of the speeches to-night, whether that would have the effect desired. There must be some feeling excited, some partiality shown, which would not aid in the elucidation of the facts. The one and only consideration which we have before us is how the discipline of the Army can best be maintained, and how we can most satisfactorily prevent the recurrence of these evils. Upon these points we are at one with the military authorities. We desire to see prompt dealing with all these episodes ; we are determined that the officers responsible for them, whatever their station, shall not escape. And in asking the House to have confidence in us in this respect, I ask them always to recollect that, should we fail in that duty, at the inquiry which my right hon. friend proposed, there will be ample opportunity for the House of Commons and the country to judge of our performance of the trust committed to us.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): There are many things that the right hon. Gentleman has said which will be very agreeable to the House and the country, and there are others, I am afraid, which will not be so satisfactory. All that the right hon. Gentleman said as to the expediency and policy of promptness, both in dealing with necessary severity with cases in which severity is required, and also in giving rewards where rewards have been notoriously and obviously earned—all that he said on that subject will be entirely approved. But I was greatly astonished and disappointed at the attitude which the right hon. Gentleman assumed towards the inquiry which has been promised. To begin with, we will put aside the question of the end of the war, which the right hon. Gentleman raised, because, really, his argument is somewhat strange. He says the war cannot be said to be ended now because there are 200,000 men in South Africa. There were 200,000 men in South Africa in October last, when the right hon. Gentleman and his friends were telling us that the war was at an end.

Mr. BRODRICK: I never said the war was ended. It was the right hon. Gentleman who said so in his address.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That is a quibble. As that has been raised, let me make this explanation. I am supposed to have been a partner in the guilt of the Government because, hearing them talk of nothing else, I thought they had high authority for it, and I had none. And then I was attacked by the First Lord of the Treasury, who said that he learned the information from me.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never said so.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Oh, yes. And afterwards it turned out that, as a matter of fact, he had the advantage of me by about twenty-four hours. But that is by the way. The right hon. Gentleman postpones this inquiry until the mysterious time when the war will be at an end. The right hon. Gentleman now says that the Government were prepared to redeem their promise if such an inquiry was asked for; but that was never the footing upon which it was put. There was no question as to the inquiry being asked for a year ago; it was, on the contrary, explicitly and categorically promised, and, what is more, it was used as the means of stopping inquiry. Questions would have been asked either in debate or in the ordinary course on the Votes, but we were told that all this would come out at the inquiry to be held at the end of the war. But it will not do for the right hon. Gentleman to adopt this attitude. If he cannot redeem his promise, let him give some reason for it, and we will judge; but certainly it does not rest with anybody in this House or out of it to ask for such an inquiry, because it is the Government who have promised without qualification that such an inquiry should take place.

Well, Sir, as to the matter before us, as to the publication of the inquiries into these disasters, the right hon. Gentleman quoted the opinion of the Duke of Wellington. The opinion of the Duke of Wellington was practically to the effect that many people's feelings might be hurt and much harm might be done, not only to the individuals but to the reputation of our countrymen as a whole, if publicity was given to questions of this kind. That was in a different state of circumstances, when the public heard little or nothing of disasters that occurred. That was before the days of newspaper correspondents and an active press. We know now, unfortunately, all about these disasters. But we may possibly have a wrong impression of the facts, and this is another reason why they should be perfectly investigated. There is another view. While you are saving the reputation of some men you may be allowing the reputation of others to be injured or ruined—men who did not deserve it. As a matter of common justice as well as the right of the House of Commons for full information, I think my hon. friend and those who support him are justified in pressing for this inquiry. I am well aware that there are many cases where mischief might be done by a full statement of all the facts being published, but we must take the bad with the good in these matters. Undoubtedly the country will not be satisfied if we have not all the information given to us as to this series of disasters, commencing on the first or second day of the campaign, when the greater part of a regiment of cavalry rode off into captivity, and coming down through all the unpleasant gamut. I think we are entitled to know how far the stories we hear are true or not. Let us have the most complete inquiry we can, accomplished in the most pleasant manner possible; but whether it is by Departmental Committee at the end of the war or whatever means are employed, surely we are entitled to go to the bottom of these mysterious events. I will not say more upon this matter than to repeat my surprise at the attitude that the Government have taken up with regard to this inquiry, and all I can say is I think they will greatly mislead Parliament and the people, involuntarily no doubt, if they fail to carry out the undertaking which they gave, unless there is some very good and adequate reason for not completely carrying out their promise.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not mean to speak at any length; but I think, from one or two observations which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, he would like me, I will not say to answer, but to touch upon the one or two points to which he referred and clear up any doubts there may be. My opinion is that courts-martial have not been much used in the past in regard to surrenders in the field, and he desires to approximate the War Office practice to the Naval practice of dealing by courts-martial with disasters of that character. But in the nature of the case every court-martial will be held, and so far the desire of the hon. Member will be met; but there may be cases of inquiries which are not courts-martial, and all that my right hon. friend has laid down is this—that he does not think it desirable to make it an invariable practice or even the ordinary practice to make public the results of the military inquiries. Those military inquiries may not have to do with cases of surrender, but these in the main are to be handed over to courts-martial. My right hon. friend and the Government, who agree with him, do not hold that we ought for a moment to lay down the proposition that inquiries are in the nature of the case to be brought before this House and the country. Sometimes they may be and sometimes they may not be. It depends on the circumstances of the case, and whether it is desirable in the public interest. I hope that that is a clear statement of the matter.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: But inquiries into all cases of surrender will be made public?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think that the view of the War Office is that they should voluntarily, apart from the general inquiry which is promised, make all those inquiries public.

Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): But they were promised.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: When?

Sir CHARLES DILKE: In February of last year.

Mr. BRODRICK: No. I beg your pardon; I did not say so.

Sir CHARLES DILKE: No; the present Chief Secretary for Ireland last year said so. I understood it to be a promise. I asked the question whether they would be made public, and he said, "Of course they will." I took that to be a promise.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course that was not within my knowledge, or my right right hon. friend's knowledge. But any statement publicly made shall be carried out. Putting that on one side, the Commander-in-Chief was of opinion that with regard to these preliminary inquiries and not on oath no absolute general rule could be laid down in the matter.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street): In the course of his speech the right hon. Gentleman said, as I understand, that in these preliminary inquiries wherever there was a *prima facie* case there would be a court-martial in the future, although there might not necessarily be publicity in the preliminary inquiry.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Let us have no misunderstanding. It has been laid down that in cases of surrender in the future there would always be a court-martial. Then what I want to know is, how far in cases of surrender in the time of war—there can hardly be surrenders in time of peace—in the past there will be a court-martial? There should be no distinction between the two cases. We are not seeking for anything to take place with regard to the future and not with regard to the past. What we want is an inquiry into the surrenders in the time of the war. All inquiries, to be of any value, will be inquiries into the past. What I desire to know from the right hon. Gentleman is, when the witnesses are available, and when the courts-martial are held, whether the inquiries will be with regard to the surrenders of the past. These are the only inquiries which can be of any value to the discipline of the Army in the future.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Just so. I understand. My right hon. friend informs me that he has already ordered some courts-martial into past cases, and that he is now engaged in seeing how far that system should be extended. A retrospective system has a somewhat different aspect to the prospective system. I do not think we should be pressed too far to lay down a general rule. Then the only other point with which I have to deal referred to by the right hon. Gentleman is as to the general inquiry. which, he truly said, had been on more than one occasion promised. He seemed to think that my right hon. friend had introduced a new principle when he said, "If asked for." Now, if a promise is given to a person who does not ask for its fulfilment, I do not see why it need be fulfilled.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Cicero *de Officiis.*

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course he could not hold you to a promise if he had absolved you. I have no doubt that my right hon. friend had in his mind when he used these words this fact: that if the Commander-in-Chief considered that it was expedient that these inquiries should be made public, they should be made public. But, after all, it is not a matter for the Commander-in-Chief to decide. It is outside his province. However that may be, I can only say that the pledges which have been given will be adhered to unconditionally.

Then comes the question of the date of the inquiry. It had better begin as soon as the war, to use the phrase of my right hon. friend, is substantially over, and as soon as the necessary witnesses are obtainable. I hope that statement is sufficiently extensive and explicit. There is only to add that the Committee of Inquiry will have the power of bringing before it all witnesses, all documents, and everything material. It is quite clear that these surrenders, in common with everything else connected with the war in South Africa, will come within the purview of the Committee, and no attempt at concealment will be possible in any matter in which, in the interest of the public, that Committee is of opinion that inquiry is desirable. In conclusion, I will say that, in the first place, no concealment is desired, and, in the second place, no concealment is possible. Having given that pledge in those broad and clear terms, I trust the House will allow this debate to come to a conclusion.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: In regard to these promises of inquiry there have been overlapping promises. Since Lord Palmerston made his famous declaration, contrary to the opinion of theologians, that all children are born good, I do not think any public man has shocked the House of Commons more than the right hon. Gentleman opposite has by his doctrine of promises. Let me remind him that the promise of general inquiry was a volunteered promise by himself. It was not asked for.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What difference does that make if the person to whom you made the promise does not want you to to keep it?

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Why, personally, I attach some importance to the point is this: I have never had much belief in an entirely general inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman volunteered a general inquiry in his Manchester speeches and afterwards repeated his statements in the House. There were also specific statements made by the Government with regard to enquiries on specific points, and I ventured just now to remind the House of the promises made, as I understood, by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. We debated the matter of these surrenders here on two former occasions, in February and July of last year, and I distinctly understood, and I believe all present understood, that the result of the inquiries, in so far as it could safely be done, would be given to the House. It was because that was generally understood that specific cases were not pressed on the House, and that several Members who showed a disposition to press specific cases were put off by all of us.

The only other thing I wish to say is that all through the debate to-night this has been treated entirely as if it were a question affecting the officers only; but there is a much larger question involved, and that is the discipline and training of the Army, for which the War Office is responsible. So far as I am concerned I feel deeply the responsibility that must attach to anyone on such an inquiry. My fear is that in a general inquiry the essential points may be lost in the enormous mass of detail. We all desire to get at the exact points which really affect the discipline and training of the Army in future, but in the course of doing this there is a danger that we may roam over a larger field, and that the essential points on which we ought to learn will be lost. It is perhaps unfortunate that the only defence against specific attack made here to-night concerns the conduct of the Yeomanry. The only specific defence was made with regard to Lindley. It is impossible to consider such a case as Lindley without considering the light it sheds on the question of employing in the field under similar conditions regular troops along with irregular troops which have not had the same amount of training. I understand that the Secretary of State for War contends that the War Office has nothing to do with this. I hold that the way in which the War Office has sent out untrained men is very largely responsible for a great many of these surrenders. Even now waiters from clubs, men who have never seen a horse before they enlisted, are being sent out at a high rate of pay. What can you expect in such cases? I shall not dwell on this matter, but I am most anxious that it should not be treated as one that concerns only the conduct of officers in the field. The whole House believes that British officers have maintained their past traditions. The question must be treated as one that concerns also the training of the Army and the organisation of the War Office.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) earnestly hoped that the First Lord of the Treasury would find some means of escaping from the promise to grant the general inquiry which he had acknowledged he had given. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean that a general inquiry would be most unsatisfactory. It would be too vague, it would be immense in its scope, and it would be many months before any conclusion could be reached, and in the course of the inquiry every kind of incident would be dragged up and discussed at inordinate length, and the public would cease to take any interest even in questions that might be of the greatest importance. They did not want that.

He entirely associated himself with the mover of the Amendment in his desire that a full and clear account should be given of the many extraordinary incidents that had happened in the war. There of course had been reports from press correspondents. He had in several cases himself supplied the only report given to the country on some of these important matters. He felt keenly the responsibility which had thus been placed on him, and he thought it was time for the Government and the War Office to relieve him of some of it. He quite agreed that it would be utterly impossible for the House of Commons to embark on the discussion of any of these particular surrenders. The only point private Members had a right to insist on was that the promise given by the late Under Secretary for War of a full and thorough inquiry into all the surrenders that had taken place should be faithfully and scrupulously carried out. They wanted the opinion of high military authorities on the various "incidents," put forward with the same uncompromising vigour as was displayed by Lord Roberts in his comments on the Spion Kop operations. It would then be a question whether it would be necessary to carry the matter to a court-martial. These committees of inquiry were not regular courts. Officers who were to blame would still be liable to come up for trial. What was wanted was an official verdict on what did happen, which would apportion the praise and blame and leave the country in no doubt on the matter.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): My hon. friend opposite in the beginning of his speech deprecated a general inquiry into the history of the war. If only to relieve him from a part of that burden and responsibility which at present rests so heavily on his shoulders, I think he ought to welcome a general investigation. I think this debate on the whole has been not only an interesting, but a very satisfactory one, and has amply justified the course taken by my hon. friend behind me in putting down this Amendment. At one moment the First Lord of the Treasury startled the House by propounding a doctrine so novel and revolutionary as to amount almost to a new departure in ethics; but a second and diluted version of the right hon. Gentleman's proposition revealed it to be after all an innocuous and commonplace observation. But what I desire to make perfectly clear is this. We all understand the Government to have made two promises. In the first place, that wherever it is still practicable to do so they will bring the cases of persons who are *prima facie* responsible for any of these surrenders before a court-martial, which is an open court, where the evidence is taken on oath, and where you have all the responsibility attaching to persons who are acting in the light of day, subject to public criticism. Secondly, that as regards those cases—I hope they are very few—where, from the lack of a *prima facie* case against any specific individual it is impossible in accordance with the practice of military law to hold a court-martial, the Government promise that they will form part of the general inquiry which is to take place at the close of the war, and that the facts, so far as they are ascertainable, will thus be brought to the light of day. On that distinct assurance I think my hon. friend may be well content with the result he has achieved in initiating the debate, and that he should not, in accordance with the general feelings of the House, proceed to a division.

MR. LAMBERT: I entirely concur with my right hon. friend. There is one observation I would like to make in asking leave to withdraw the Amendment. I hope that the inquiry will not be prolonged, and that the whole circumstances will be placed before the country as soon as possible.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent) said he should like to say one or two words on the Amendment before it was withdrawn. Of course they all remembered last September they were told that a General Election must take place before the war would come to an end, and then they were told that the war had come to an end, and it was necessary that the opinion of the country should be taken on the war by the Government. He was surprised to hear the Secretary of State for War allude to certain difficulties which our troops had had to encounter in South Africa. He had referred to the difficulty of the topography there. They all knew that a great many of our misfortunes in South Africa were due to the insufficient knowledge of the country that our officers possessed. He must say that he rather regretted that the hon. Member for South Molton should have taken the particular shortcomings he had selected to bring before the notice of the House. He was sure that there were plenty of other shortcomings at the War Office the hon. Gentleman might have mentioned that evening. He must say that he had a great deal of sympathy with the officers and men who had surrendered in the war. The difficulties in their way had been enormous, and a great deal of blame had been put on some junior officers which ought not to have been. He remembered a sentence written in a letter by the junior Member for Oldham to the *Morning Post*, in which he said there had been too many surrenders in the war. Almost immediately afterwards, however, he found himself a prisoner. He thought, therefore, every hon. Member in the House must see the great difficulties there were in the way of our officers, and he for one most heartily sympathised with all those who were taken prisoners.

But there were plenty of shortcomings at the War office for which the strongest condemnation of the House was necessary. Why not put blame on the proper shoulders? Why not put the blame on the shoulders of the man who was principally responsible? That man was undoubtedly Lord Lansdowne, who was at the head of the War Office, and the man responsible for all the blunders in South Africa. Instead, however, of getting rid of him, as the Government ought to have done, they had actually promoted him to the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. If the Government were going to blame their officers, let them do it justly. There had been too much favouritism and family influence at the War Office. The British public desired that that state of things should come to an end. Until it did, we should never have a full and fair reform of the War Office. Eighteen months ago the First Lord of the Treasury in a speech at Manchester said that he was——

*MR. SPEAKER, interposing, reminded the hon. Member that the debate was not upon the conduct of the War Office, and that his remarks were therefore out of order.

Mr. COGHILL said he bowed at once to the Speaker's ruling. All he had to say was that he welcomed the promise made that night that they were to have an inquiry into the doings of the War Office; but he was afraid that the inquiry when it did take place would come all too late. People would have lost all interest in the subject, and he was afraid either that a great deal of evidence would have become stale, or that a great many of the witnesses would have died or disappeared. He hoped and trusted the inquiry would be held within a reasonable time, because they could not help remembering that Lord Salisbury said only last week that he deprecated even now any inquiry into the conduct of the war. The public were determined to have an inquiry, and that the existing jobbery and favouritism should once and for ever be put an end to.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

Indian Expenditure.

Mr. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): The Amendment that stands in my name refers to the Report of the Royal Commission appointed two or three Parliaments back. This is the first opportunity which has presented itself to the House of raising any discussion on the recommendations of the Commission. The Commission was appointed in consequence of an Amendment moved to the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech in 1895 by Mr. Naoroji.* As a result of the debate, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Henry Fowler, agreed to the appointment of a Commission. The Commission was appointed by common consent of both Front Benches, the Members being Lord Welby, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Curzon, Sir D. Stewart, Sir E. W. Hamilton, Sir R. H. Knox, Sir J. Peile, Sir A. Scoble, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Buchanan, Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. Naoroji, and myself. Later on, when Mr. Curzon was appointed Viceroy of India, Sir R. Mowbray joined the Committee. The inquiry lasted five years, and the Commission reported in April last year. The Report was a very complete one. There was a Minority as well as a Majority Report, but the minority agreed in the main with the majority. They simply carried the recommendations of the majority a step further.

The Report is divided into three sections—first, the financial machinery of India; second, the progress of expenditure; and third, the apportionment that takes place in the expenditure between India and the United Kingdom. I only intend to deal with the third section of the Report.

My Amendment asks that those recommendations of the Report on which unanimity has been secured should not only be carried out in the future, but should be made retrospective. It goes a step further than that. It calls attention to the recommendation in the Report, made by the minority of the Commission, it is true, but none the less deserving the attention of Parliament on that account, and suggests that, to save further inquiry and delay, a lump sum should be paid by the Government of the United Kingdom to India in settlement of the arrears of the items which the Government has arranged shall in future be transferred from the Indian to the British Exchequer. The definite recommendations made by the Commission unanimously were that the Imperial Government should make a grant in aid of the charge for the India Office of £50,000; half the military charges for Aden, £72,000; increased contribution to the charges for Persian Mission, £5,000; and half the cost of transport of troops to and from India, £130,000—or a total of £257,000. How have the British and Indian Treasuries agreed to meet these recommendations? They give the full amount recommended, but raise it from other sources. They grant for the transport of troops, £130,000; the military charges for Aden, £100,000; the Zanzibar maritime cable, £10,000; China establishments, £12,500; and Persian Mission, £5,000. These items amount to £500 more than the sum recommended by the Majority Report of the Royal Commission, and agreed to by the minority. I ask the House to note that all these items will from 1st April be charged to the British Exchequer instead of the Indian. If it is just that this should be done in the accounts of 1901–2, it is equally just for last year, and for every previous year, so long as any of these misappropriations have taken place. But these items are in themselves utterly inadequate to meet the justice of the case. Half the small charge for Aden, £100,000, is agreed to by the British Treasury, but in my judgment the whole of these charges for Aden ought to fall on the British Exchequer. Aden is not an Indian port. Aden is the key to the great commercial routes to Australia and China, as well as to India itself. It is a position absolutely essential to the Imperial interests of Great Britain. It holds precisely the same position to the Suez Canal on the south as Malta holds on the north. Take the proportion of shipping and the trade involved which has called at Aden during a year. In recent years the trade between the United Kingdom and British India has averaged about £70,000,000; between the United Kingdom and other Asiatic countries, £45,000,000; between the United Kingdom and Australasia, £55,000,000; so that the proportion of the Eastern trade of this country other than that with India using this fortified coaling station is as £100,000,000 to £70,000,000. Therefore, if India is to bear only her proportion on the basis of trade relations, the recommendation of the Royal Commission and the arrangement between the British and the Indian Treasury would have been £145,000, rather than £100,000. I have no intention of claiming the whole, but if India is compelled to bear any of the charges for Aden surely the Colonies ought to bear their fair share also. Aden exists quite as much for the defence of East Africa, the Mauritius, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, and the Australasian Colonies as for that of India. Each of the places should bear its share, and if they do not India should not.

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. xxx., p. 567.

Take the item of £10,000 for the Zanzibar and Mauritius cable. A cable was made eighteen years ago between Zanzibar and Mauritius, communicating with the mainland. A subsidy was granted from the Imperial revenues for this cable, and the British Treasury charged £10,000 of this to India. In 1894, when I raised this question, I was told that the reason this £10,000 was charged to India was the important strategic position of Mauritius with regard to the defence of the Indian Empire. If any hon. Member will take the trouble to look at the map he will see that Mauritius is about 2,000 miles from Aden, and about the same from India, and there being no cable from the Mauritius to India, it is ridiculous to talk of it as a position of any importance whatever with regard to the defence of India. This is £10,000 of sheer plunder from the Indian Exchequer by the British Treasury. Why? Because it is unjust. If it is dropped to-day it ought to have been dropped eighteen years ago. I have no hesitation whatever in claiming on behalf of the Indian Government and the Indian people that this unjust charge for the eighteen years should be refunded. Let us note what is stated in the communication from the Treasury to the India Office of 11th September, 1900, published in a recent Paper giving the details of the apportionment which has been made. This sentence occurs with reference to this charge—

> "For their part," says the British Treasury, "they readily agree to give up the Indian contribution of £10,000 a year towards the subsidy of the Zanzibar-Mauritius cable."

Why has not the Secretary of State long since availed himself of this readiness on the part of the Treasury? I have never before known the Treasury to show any readiness to part with £10,000 a year. The justice of the case really needs no other evidence than this sentence from the Treasury itself.

Then there are the matters of the Persian Mission and the establishments in China. The House would hardly believe that of the charges connected with our Embassy in Persia and our consular establishments in China India is compelled to pay a very large portion. The Consulates in China are a great deal more important to our wealthy colony of Hong Kong than they are to India, especially with regard to the trade of Hong Kong, which is drawn almost entirely from the ports at which these various consulates are established. There is a large trade carried on by our Australasian colonies with China, but not one penny of these charges is cast on our wealthy colonies. India has had to bear her share for many years, but now relief is given to the extent of £12,500. With regard to the Persian Mission, for the last fifty years we have been taking £7,000 a year out of the pockets of the Indian taxpayer to pay for our British Ambassador at the Court of Persia. At last we have been able to get from the British Treasury a concession of £5,000 of this amount, but still some £2,000 is kept standing. The total payments by India to the British Treasury in regard to diplomatic and consular charges in countries outside India amount to £43,000. These are Imperial duties, and every penny of the charges ought to be charged on Imperial funds and not to India. Why is this £2,000 retained in regard to the Persian Mission? If it is unfair to charge the £5,000, it is unfair to charge the whole £7,000, and it is ridiculous that the British Exchequer should expect India to pay towards the salary and expenses of our Persian Ambassador. This amount with regard to the establishments in China is one of the items the Secretary of State has thrown in; it is not asked for by the Majority Report, nor indeed is it asked for by the Minority Report, except indirectly in connection with Imperial charges and consular and embassy services. The Minority Report was signed by three members of the Commission—Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Naoroji, and myself—who had some claim to represent the Indian people; we simply accepted the recommendations of the Majority Report, and did not go into details. That this amount has not been asked by the majority shows, I think, the extreme moderation of their demands, because here it is thrown into their laps by a generous Treasury. The arrears under both these heads should be refunded. Surely the terms to which the Treasury "readily agree," and others which are given without any recommendation from the Commission should in common justice include the restitution of arrears. I have endeavoured to show that the £257,000 transferred under all these items fails to meet the full justice of their own particular claim by at least £47,000 on the recommendations of the Royal Commission. This would raise the amount which ought to be paid from £257,000 to £304,000.

Then the Treasury and the India Office entirely ignore the unanimous recommendations of the Commission that a grant should be made by the Imperial Government in aid of the charges for the India Office amounting to £50,000 a year. No doubt the Secretary of State will urge that the total grant proposed equals the total grant recommended. But that is a futile argument, because, first of all, the total amount recommended is made up of specific items, of which this £50,000 is one, and then the arrangement made by the Treasury and the India Office is also composed of specific items, of which this £50,000 is not one. Does the Secretary of State say that any one of these items is unjust? I am sure he will say nothing of the kind. That leaves us clear to consider the justice of the claim for the £50,000, which is not included in this arrangement, but was unanimously recommended by the Commission. Let me, as a simple way of putting the case before the House, read a brief summary from the Report of the Commission (p. 90) showing how they deal with and why they recommend this grant of £50,000:—

> "The charge for the India Office is at present borne entirely by India. It may, however, be urged that, in a special sense, both the United Kingdom and India are interested in that organisation which exists in the capital of the Empire, and there brings together in a kind of co-ordination the Government of India and the United Kingdom, and we have considered the question whether the charge of this organisation is not a proper subject of apportionment. Light is thrown on this subject by a study of the treatment of similar questions in relation to colonies, whether Crown or self-governing. Historical circumstances explain the origin of the difference, but in relation to the colonies the ultimate solution arrived at is: the United Kingdom pays the whole cost of the committee of its own Government which represents it in relation to the colonies; the colony pays the whole cost of agencies established here in this country for the transaction of its business. Upon this principle the cost of the India Office would be thus apportioned; its Parliamentary representatives, with an adequate staff, would be paid by the United Kingdom, and the rest of the establishment would be paid by India. There is, however, a difference between the two cases. The East India Company paid the whole charge of its establishment in England, including that of the Board of Control. The Crown, in taking over the government of India, took it over on existing conditions, and the present arrangement is sanctioned by tradition and long practice. Tradition and long practice have established another arrangement in the colonies. A con-

tribution has never been asked from them, and the great self-governing colonies throw so little work on the Colonial Office, that their share of the charge of that office would be infinitesimal. Although, therefore, in theory they might fairly be asked to contribute, it would not be worth while to raise the question with them for so small a result. The cases, therefore, are not, on examination, as parallel as they appear at first sight. It is, however, a fact that the colonies do not contribute to the charge of the Colonial Office, and in order that there may be no ground for allegation that India is treated less favourably than other parts of Her Majesty's Empire, we recommend that Parliament should be asked to make a contribution towards the charge of the India Office. This contribution may be made the subject either of a charge on the Consolidated Fund, or of an annual vote in aid of the home charges of the establishment of the Secretary of State. A choice between the two methods of procedure involves a a question of policy. These home charges amounted in the years 1897–8 to £240,000. The larger part, however, of this sum represented costs of ordinary Indian administration. The vote from the Colonial Office, including non-effective allowances, amounts to about £50,000 a year, and a like amount would be, we think, a fair contribution towards the cost of the India Office."

For the reasons I have read the Commission unanimously recommended this grant of £50,000. The Secretary of State for India is only an hon. Member of the Cabinet of this country. He is none the less efficient on that account, but is it fair that the great and valuable services of the Secretary of State for India should be available for the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire as a Member of His Majesty's Cabinet, with all the responsibility which Cabinet rank involves, without one penny being paid towards his salary by the taxpayers of this country? It is most unfair, and I think that at any rate the salaries of the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary should be paid by this country and not by India. The whole cost of the Secretary of State's establishment ought to be paid by the British Exchequer. Why has the recommendation as to this amount been ignored? I hope the right hon. Gentleman in his reply will inform us. It cannot be from pecuniary or economical reasons, because the declared object for the other items is that they will simplify the accounts between the two countries. The real object of the recommendation being ignored is because if it were adopted it would give this House a due and proper opportunity of raising a debate on Indian questions on the Vote for the Secretary of State's salary. He is the only Minister of the Crown who has this exclusive privilege. Upon the salary of any other Minister, whether it be great or small, reductions may be moved, and this, that, or the other question raised affecting the administration of the Department to which the Minister belongs. But it cannot be done with regard to India, and the result is, although any question affecting any one of our colonies, either Crown or self-governing, or the Isle of Man or Jersey, can be raised upon the salary of the Colonial Secretary or the Home Secretary, that any question, no matter how great its urgency, affecting India cannot be raised in this House at all except on an Amendment to the Address, a motion for the adjournment of the House—a course to which nobody likes to resort if it can be avoided—or upon the Indian Budget. If any portion of these charges were placed on the Estimates it would give the House just that opportunity which is most needed by Members taking an interest in Indian questions of raising matters at a time when they could be properly discussed by the House

There are many other recommendations to which I should like to refer, but I do not wish to take up the time of the House more than is necessary, as there are many other Amendments to follow, and I wish to make way for them. I feel I have sufficiently made out the case for my Amendment from the recommendations with which I have already dealt, but I cannot refrain from dwelling upon one particular point recommended in the Minority Report which has been powerfully accentuated since the Report was completed. I will read Clause 99 on page 187 of the Report—

"We are strongly of opinion that India ought no longer to bear the heavy financial strain of 75,000 British troops. At the present time about 10,000 of these troops have been withdrawn from India for employment in the Transvaal War, while 5,000 native troops have also been withdrawn to replace British troops transferred from Ceylon, Mauritius, and Singapore for service in South Africa. If in a time of war, when the strain is great on the Empire, it is considered safe to withdraw 15,000 troops from India it is clear that on a peace footing the number of British troops may be safely reduced by 20,000. We do not recommend their withdrawal from India, where they should continue to be quartered, but equity requires that the revenues of India should be relieved of their entire charges, and that they should be treated as part of the reserve forces of the Eastern portion of the British Empire generally and borne in future upon the Army Estimates in that capacity."

A few days ago I put a question to the Secretary of State asking what troops belonging to the Indian Army were at present stationed in countries outside the frontier of India, and the right hon. Gentleman told the House that there are now 5,200 British troops belonging to the Indian Army in South Africa, 300 British and 16,300 native troops in China and Hong Kong, 1,500 native troops in the Mauritius, 800 at Singapore, 2,100 British and 800 native in Ceylon, and 600 natives in Juba Land—a total of 7,600 British and 20,000 native troops. I think I am right in understanding that these are men only, officers not included.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing) was understood to intimate that officers were included.

MR. CAINE: In my question I asked only for men, I did not put officers in. But it does not matter, the figures are near enough for my purpose. If there is one thing more than another necessary in the interests of India, and especially for the prevention of these recurring famines which wring our hearts whenever we read our papers, it is that money should be available for irrigation and other purposes which tend to prevent famine. The reason these enterprises are paralysed in India is the enormous amount of the military charges which India is called upon to bear. It is no concern of mine to-day to go into the question as to whether the Army is too great or too small in India, but here is the actual fact, that the Imperial Government think it perfectly safe at this moment to denude India of 30,000 British and native troops. Are these 30,000 wanted permanently in India or are they not? That is the question. If you can take them away at a time like this you can do without them altogether. We are going to have debates on Army organisation. I would recommend the Secretary of State for War to realise that he might easily, with perfect safety, add 30,000 to the British Army from India. I want the House to remember the history of the administration in India during the last five years. I do not want to go into the question of whether that administration has been right or wrong, but there is no doubt whatever, according to the Government, that India has been seething with sedition. Personally, I deny it altogether. But the Government have suspended the Habeas Corpus Act or its equivalent in India. If that had been done in Ireland I do not know what hon. Members below the gangway would have done, but there would have been ructions at any rate. Men have been prosecuted for sedition, and a stringent Press Act has been passed. On the top of this so-called sedition there have been plague, pestilence, and famine, and the condition of things in India has been such, according to the policy of the Government, as to make it most unsafe to take these troops out of the country. I think the fact that they have been taken out of the country settles once for all the controversy as to whether India has been seething with discontent. It is perfectly clear that nothing of the sort was the case. But if it was safe to denude the country of all these troops at a time when India has been more strained than at any time since the Mutiny, it is safe to keep them out altogether. But I do not propose that they should be kept out altogether. Leave them there, but inasmuch as they are continually being used by the Government whenever there is any trouble in the East they ought, though kept in India, to be charged against British revenues and looked upon as a reserve force for the defence of the whole Empire.

My Amendment suggests that all these arrears and the ignored recommendations should be lumped together and sunk once for all in a liberal grant in relief of the Indian famine. It is very difficult always to go back on these various difficult and intricate questions of apportionments, and I believe the Indian people will be quite willing to accept such a settlement. They know the extent of their grievances just as well as we do in this country, but I think in the face of a large grant they would accept the clean slate, and let the dead past bury its dead. The Treasury and the India Office agree to £257,000. As I have already said, if it is right now that this sum should be paid by the British Exchequer instead of by the Indian Treasury, it has been right ever since the apportionment was made. Taking it at the low figure of twenty years, it comes to a sum of £5,000,000, which, to put it plainly, has been cheated out of the Indian Government and the Indian people by the British Treasury, while, if interest at the rate of 3 per cent. is added, the amount is about £7,000,000. I am not alone in making this recommendation. One of the greatest authorities on Indian questions, the Earl of Northbrook, an ex-Viceroy of India, said it would be only just if twelve years, at any rate, were refunded to the Indian people. No grant can equitably extinguish the enormous sums of which India in the past has been defrauded by the British Exchequer. The claim of India as laid before the Commission by the Indian Government was twofold. They first asked for a specific reduction on various services, and, secondly, they appealed for liberal treatment in the apportionment of common charges. An attempt has been made by the Treasury to meet the first; but the second can only be met by a generous and liberal grant from the one Government to the other. I plead for this on the ground of equity, and I leave it to my hon. friend who will second the Amendment to plead for it on the ground of generous sentiment to a great dependency which has borne sore trouble and affliction with bravery and to the admiration of the whole world. I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name.

*MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): It has always been said that if ever India is lost to this country it will be through the action of this House. My opinion is absolutely contrary to that dictum. If that event should ever occur, it will be through the inaction of this House. I think there is proof of this fact. Two cases are before us, one of which has been given in detail by the hon. Member for Camborne. He has explained that owing to the action of the Royal Commission £257,000 is now to be deducted from the payments of India to England. Who are the gentlemen who appealed for and demanded this Commission? They were nearly all Members or ex-Members of this House. The hon. Member for Camborne himself, Mr. Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn, and one or two others brought this appeal before the Secretary of State. The Commission was granted, and we now see the large revision which is going to be made of the payments made by India. I think that is one clear proof that the intervention of this House in the affairs of India is not always a bad thing, but, on the contrary, it is very often very beneficial. I might mention in this respect some of the frontier wars, and more especially the case of Chitral. That question was debated at great length in this House, and the result has been that Lord Curzon, the present Viceroy, has come round very largely to the opinion expressed in this House, and he now seems to have adopted very largely the principles of Lord Lawrence.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: He has adopted the proposals made by myself in this House.

*MR. SCHWANN: I know that the proposals made by the noble Lord were endorsed by this House, and that shows that this House takes part in Indian affairs with great advantage to India. Having proved to some extent that the action of this House is beneficial and desirable, I think we shall all feel that when India has been subject to so many misfortunes, not only last year, but misfortunes which commenced in the year 1897; when famines have struck at the root of prosperity and added large burdens to India; when famines have been followed by plague, and the resources of the country has been crippled to a very great extent, then I say that there is some justification for asking what means are to be devised to mitigate the effects of drought and famine in the future. Last year we had in India a a combination of all the misfortunes which happened in 1897, for the famine was far more wide-reaching and far more disastrous upon India, and during the whole of that time the bubonic plague attacked the nation. With this combination of evils before us, I think it is not unnatural that this House should turn its attention to this question, and ask the noble lord what means he suggests to avoid such evils in the future. Everybody thoroughly understands that you cannot interfere in any way with the atmospheric conditions of India, for you cannot cause rain to fall there by the firing of cannons, and we know that a country like India is exposed at intervals to the ravages of drought. I think that we have a right to draw the right hon. Gentleman's attention to this, and to urge him to do all that is possible in this direction in India. We contend that a large portion of this sum which the hon. Member for Camborne has suggested should be repaid to India should be given in the form of a sum to be devoted to means and devices for at any rate mitigating, if not avoiding entirely, the effects of famine in India in the future. Perhaps the House will allow me to read a very short extract which gives approximately an idea of what has been happening in India. Mr. Vaughan Nash says—

> "The distinctive mark of the famine was its three-fold character, the lack of crops, of fodder, and of water. To the first cause the rush to the famine works and the terrible sufferings in the villages was due; to the second the loss of cattle, of which millons upon millions perished; whilst the scarcity of water added to the sufferings of the people and their beasts, and paved the way for the attack of cholera which is still raging through the famine districts. The visitation, therefore, was one of merciless severity. It gave no quarter to any living thing, man, woman, or child; and the beasts in the jungle, the birds whose bright plumage makes the only bit of vivid colour in the brown wilderness of an Indian famine, the patient bullocks who draw the plough and haul the farm produce to the market, the milch cows, and the goats and kids perished together. Besides the famine and the diseases following in its train, the plague was busy at work."

While all this misery and suffering was going on, we know that the Government of India did all that was in its power to alleviate the ravages of famine by carrying out the Famine Code, and establishing centres and famine camps. I will not say a word against the Indian officials in this respect. They behaved like heroes and died at their posts. Many of them were moved to these acts of devotion by the fortitude and the patience with which they saw the inhabitants of India bore the dreadful losses and suffering laid upon them. Mr. Nash said—and it is a fact—

> "There was grain enough in India for everyone, and sufficient food for the needs of the cattle, but the people had no money to buy it."

Of course that seems in itself very self-evident, for famine naturally occurs when the people have not got the money to buy food with, but we must remember that the necessities of the Indian people are very small indeed. We know that there are families in India who live on two annas per day (2d.), and we know that it does not require a very large sum to enable one of the agricultural class in India to maintain life. There are one or two circumstances in connection with the distribution of relief which I hope the noble Lord will be able to explain to the House. In several districts of India during the time of the famine, suspicions—no doubt well grounded—passed through the minds of the officials that there was in connection with the relief a good deal of either skulking or malingering, or people who placed themselves upon relief without due reason and cause, and in the relief camps, in one or two of the presidencies, even the minimum amount of relief was reduced. I think myself that this requires some explanation from the noble Lord as to why under the circumstances, when famine was raging throughout these districts of India, in some of these places it was found necessary to put certain relief camps upon what are called "deterrent conditions." There may have been a number of natives who thought the conditions laid down were very exacting, and this may have kept many people who needed assistance from the camps.

I do hope that the noble Lord will give us the information which is necessary to explain why this took place. The fact is that the Indian cultivator has for some years, as far as we can judge, been going from bad to worse. In 1882 it was said by Lord Cromer in his Budget speech that the average total income of the Hindoo people was 27 rupees, or 33s. 6d., per head. In 1898–99 it fell to 70 rupees, or 23s. 2d., and I am not sure whether last year the total income in some of these famine districts was not reduced to something like 12 rupees. If in years without a famine the annual income of an agriculturist has fallen, as it has done in the years between 1877 and 1897, by 10 rupees, it seems to me that it is highly desirable that what we recommend should be done, and that Commissioners should be appointed and some of them sent out from England to find out whether greater attention cannot be paid to the mitigation of these famines. I was very sorry to read that famine again threatens India this year. I think it is desirable that an inquiry should be made as to what means can be adopted for increasing the wealth and mitigating the misery and obviating famines in the future. I am glad to think that the noble Lord himself, on the 26th January, 1897, used these words—

> "That the opportunity this famine affords ought not to be allowed to pass without our taking every opportunity to inquire into and ascertain the best methods of protecting the people of India from the recurrence of similar calamities."

I would also suggest that it would be desirable to go into the question of land tenure, because it seems that recent experience of India proves that our western ideas of land tenure are not always applicable to India. I am bound to say that from the information I have had of those who are most interested in this question, I have serious doubts upon the question.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that the terms of the Amendment do not cover general observations about the finances of India.

*MR. SCHWANN: I am only trying, Sir, to suggest some means of employing the sum of money which my hon. friend is asking the Government to transfer. The following quotation is from the preamble of the Government of India's Bill to "amend the law relating to agricultural land in the Punjab"—

> "The expropriation of the hereditary agriculturist in many parts of the province through the machinery of restricted sale and mortgage has been regarded for many years past as a serious political danger. It is recognised that the danger is accompanied with bad economic results, that it is increasing, and that if not arrested it will grow to formidable dimensions. It is also recognised that the idea of a free transferable interest in land which is at the root of the trouble is of comparatively modern origin, and is contrary both to the existing practice in most native States and to the traditions and sentiments, if no longer to the practice, of the people of the Punjab."

This draws attention to one point which it seems to me might be usefully considered by the Government of India. Then, again, a more elastic assessment of taxes has been found to be desirable because by degrees the land is becoming alienated, and getting into the hands of the village money lenders. Lord Cromer, in Egypt, has introduced legislation which will have a tendency to free the people from the clutches of the village Shylocks who abound in the country. Some such similar laws are necessary in India. In other native provinces they enjoy milder systems of taxation and tenure, and they have greater elasticity. It has been said that the laws of the native States are "laws of leather, while those of British India are of iron." Talking of the alienation of the land which is gradually taking place in the four districts of the Punjab, the following figures will show to what an enormous extent this evil has grown. In the first district in the year 1895, in an area of 120 square miles and a population of 108,000, 20 per cent. of the lands were alienated to moneylenders. In the second district, containing an area of 349 square miles and a population of 108,000, the percentage of alienated lands was 28. In the third district, containing 333 square miles and a population of 50,000, the percentage was 17; and in the fourth district, with 349 square miles and a population of 30,000 people, the percentage of alienated lands was 11 per cent. I think the greatest stress should be laid upon these facts. I should also like to recommend to the noble Lord the question of irrigation. This is a subject in which the Indian Government has always interested itself, but in which I do not think it has quite carried out the recommendations of its own Commission. For example, take the example of the Famine Commission in 1879–80. Page 150, Part 2 of the Report says—

> "Among the means that may be adopted for giving India direct protection from famine arising from drought, the first place must unquestionably be assigned to works of irrigation. There must be reckoned the direct protection afforded by the saving of human life, by the avoidance of loss of revenue remitted and of

> the outlay incurred in costly measures of relief. But it is not only in years of drought that they are useful. In seasons of average rainfall they are of great service and a great source of wealth, giving certainty to all agricultural occupations, increasing the out-turn per acre of the crops, and enabling more valuable descriptions of crops to be grown.'

What has been the action of the Government in the years 1882 to 1898? If I summarise the figures given in the statistical abstracts, I find that the combined totals of railway expenditure for all those years has been £246,000,000, while the total for irrigation only amounts to £39,000,000, leaving a balance in favour of railways as against irrigation of £207,000,000. Everybody must admit that railways are very useful, but at the same time they do not produce the food by which milions of the people of India are to be sustained. Irrigation does that in the most ample manner, and I think this House will see the propriety of urging upon the Government of India and the noble Lord the necessity of promoting irrigation. Railways are useful to convey grain, but they do not prevent famine. I will quote to the House an extract from the *Standard's* Simla correspondent in reference to what was said by Sir Mackworth Young, the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, who has been making a tour of the provinces. In regard to the Chenab Canal and irrigation works which had just been opened, the Lieut.-Governor made an important speech, of which the following is an extract—

> "He pointed out that India had just passed through a famine, which at one time imposed on the Government the duty of supporting directly upwards of six millions of people. All this time the inhabitants of the Chenab Colony had been living in a tract of country which a few years ago was a waterless desert, utterly dry and barren. Yet the existence of the famine was hardly known to those assembled. The land had brought forth abundantly, the people had lived in peace and plenty; their surplus stocks, which were enormous, being carried off by the railway which the Government had built, to be sold at famine prices in less favoured parts of India."

I would like just to refer to the classical case of the success of irrigation works in India; I mean the Godaveri Delta. At one time there were only 150,000 acres which afforded a precarious livelihood to the people, and now there are 700,000 acres producing certain crops. There is now there 500 miles of canals which have been found very useful for agricultural purposes. The population previous to irrigation was 600,000, and now it is 2,500,000. I can give other details in regard to revenues, exports, and imports which would show that this country, which was smiling as a rose garden now, was before a desert, and highly unproductive. There is also the question of technical education which I would also impress as strongly as I can upon the noble Lord, for he knows that, through the advance of civilisation by the railways, and by the free introduction of goods from all parts of the world—from England, Germany, America, and other countries—many of the native village industries have been swept away, and the result has been that a much larger proportion of the inhabitants of India have been obliged to turn their attention to agriculture. That means, as is the case in Ireland, that there is too great a pressure upon agriculture as a means of livelihood, and the produce is scarcely sufficient to maintain the population. It has been stated that there are millions of people in India who have never known what it is to have their hunger satisfied.

I believe that this House contains a great many new Members, and I hope that they will take an interest in Indian debates, for the responsibility rests upon their shoulders quite as much as upon ours. I hope that the suggestion of my hon. friend may be carried out, and that we shall have certain amounts put upon the Estimates, so that we may have more frequent opportunities of discussing the affairs of India. These discussions are generally relegated to the dog-days, and the natural result is that many Members of this House do not take that interest in these Indian debates which they should do. Many hon. Members of the present Parliament have been out in India and they possess a knowledge of her wants and needs. Therefore, it is highly desirable that they should give the House the benefit of that knowledge, and to the best of their ability promote the interests of the millions of their fellow subjects in that great Empire.

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty, that although Your Majesty's Government have arranged that from the 1st

day of April next charges amounting to £257,500 shall for the future, in accordance with an unanimous recommendation of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, be transferred from Indian to British expenditure, no provision has been made for any repayment of the arrears of these charges, while other recommendations of the Commission have been ignored altogether; and that, in justice to the people of India, all these arrears should be repaid by the British Exchequer to the Indian in the form of a liberal grant in relief of the Indian famine.'"—(*Mr. Caine.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said that the details and facts furnished to the House by the hon. Member for Camborne in his opinion perfectly justified the appeal made by the Amendment. He had never concealed his disappointment at the refusal of the Imperial Government to make a grant to India for the relief of the sufferings she passed through during the famine. The reasons urged for the making of a grant were certainly just, and were such as would enable the Government to make an adequate contribution to the Indian Exchequer with a good deal of grace. Although he concurred in the Amendment, he felt bound to take exception to one argument used by the mover in support. The hon. Gentleman attempted to prove that it was on the ground that India was seething with sedition that it was found necessary to keep 30,000 additional troops in the country in order to over-awe a disorderly people. But he contended that the military forces, both British and native, were maintained in India for no such purpose, but for the protection of the country mainly against foreign aggression, and for Imperial requirements. It had never been pretended that there had ever been any danger to the Empire from within the frontier. It was now generally admitted that the necessity for keeping up the strength of the Anglo-Indian army in excess of actual requirement was to have 30,000 men in a convenient situation so that they might be ordered out for Imperial purposes if necessary. It had been stated on the highest authority that India was a school where a large contingent of military forces might be trained and kept ready to hand in case of emergency, and therefore it was only just that the expense of those troops should be defrayed by the English and not by the Indian Exchequer. The Royal Commission had recommended the payment of a sum of £257,500, heretofore defrayed by India, to be levied from the British Exchequer, and he thought from the point of view of a fair business adjustment and sound policy, that it would be a graceful act on the part of the Imperial Government to the Empire of India if a sum of from £5,000,000 to £7,000,000 were awarded to the Indian Exchequer, nominally, under the head of famine relief, but really as an act of justice in payment of arrears, which would be accepted by the Indian people as an act of Imperial generosity. It was unnecessary to enlarge upon the sufferings of India during the last few years on account of the famine; at the same time he regretted to have to say that a very severe state of scarcity, if not actual famine, at present existed throughout Western and Central India, and relief measures would have to be adopted. He ventured, therefore, to make an appeal to the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India that he should give this Amendment his favourable consideration.

No one had more readily or persistently acknowledged the blessings India derived from British rule than he had done, but he felt bound to say that when it was a question of £ s. d., India did not always have that sympathetic treatment which was her due at the hands of Parliament. For instance, a great outcry had been made in the past about the advantages which India was supposed to possess over Lancashire in the cotton industry. Whatever the position might have been before, in the last five years it had disappeared. Famine had stopped the supply of cotton, and the plague and the Chinese disturbances had sent to ruin many of the mills one after another until the industry had entirely become unremunerative. He therefore appealed to the noble Lord to reconsider the subject of the cotton duties.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must remind the hon. Member that the terms of this Amendment are very narrow. They do not include the question of the treatment of India by England, but only that of whether certain sums shall be returned to India in the form of a grant for the Indian famine. Under these circumstances I must request the hon. Member to confine his observations to the question raised by the Amendment.

*SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE said that one of the objections urged when a grant was suggested on former occasions was that India had sufficient credit for all her needs. No doubt India, with the British Government at her back, had credit, but to have credit was one thing and to have ready money was another. He supported the Amendment on the ground that from the highest dictates of Imperialism, and from a sense of the obligation which that sentiment imposed on the Government, it was absolutely necessary that a grant should be made to the Exchequer of India in the manner indicated in the Amendment.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) thought it would be generally admitted that it was highly necessary that this question in regard to the adjustment of the finances of India should be brought before the House at the present time. As hon. Members were aware, this was a matter which had often been debated in the House, and Commission after Commission had sat upon it, but seemed to be a long time coming to a decision. He was informed the reason for this delay was that in these matters concerning India the money was not paid by England but by India, and therefore it was all the more necessary that the House should be scrupulously careful in doing what was right.

The charges in support of the Amendment had been fully made out, and it was not his intention to weary the House with any general representation of the case. He would merely draw attention to one specific point, which was the recommendation made on page 188 of the Report—the Minority Report—of the Commission, in regard to the desirability of altering in some direction the military charges now borne by India. He was glad to notice that that was one of the main principles of the Amendment, and he would be glad to hear that the noble Lord shared the general opinion. On the ground of sentiment it appeared to him that the Government ought to make some arrangement which would provide that a certain number of troops should be stationed in India as an Imperial force, and should be paid out of the Imperial revenue. Such troops could be used on occasions of emergency, and such a course would bind still more closely India to this country, and it would also be a practical way of enabling the people of India to understand that as an Empire they shared not only the responsibilities but the expense of the Empire to which they were so much attached. From the point of view of financial justice he merely desired to point out what he believed would be the practical way of bringing about the relief to the Indian Exchequer which he thought the justice of the case demanded in regard to the repayment of the arrears which were claimed by the Indian Government. A proposal of this kind would, he thought, be useful and important from the military point of view. The history of the present time emphasised the importance of our position in the East. In his work, entitled "Problems of the Far East," the Viceroy of India had stated his belief that the great centre of future problems would be Hindustan. He also held that view, and on any question arising in the East our interests demanded that we should have a mobile and well-equipped force in India always ready for Imperial purposes in cases of emergency.

No one would doubt that if the exigencies of the Empire in the East demanded it a strong military force ought to be stationed in India, which was the most convenient situation. The history of the last two years, the war in South Africa and the operations in China, showed the importance of our having a force always at hand in case of danger not only in the East but in South Africa as well. The last point of view from which he would deal with this question was the practical point of view. Such an arrangement would get rid of the bad feeling of the last forty or fifty years as to the financial relations between the two countries. We had drawn on India for troops for Imperial purposes no less than nine times in the course of forty years; and in the future, no doubt, there would be still greater necessity for doing so. It seemed to him that such an arrangement as he had sketched out would be a practical means of dealing in a fair way with the arrears of payment which were claimed by the Indian Government, and would be a practical and final solution just alike to India and to this country.

*MR. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire): The question which for the last two or three years has overshadowed all others in connection with India is that of the famine, and this Amendment deals with certain means of alleviation. Famine is of frequent occurrence in India, but the last one exceeded them all in the extent of territory it affected. It has affected no less than a quarter of the total area of India, and about one-fifth of the population. The Government of India is always in a thorough state of preparedness to deal with normal famines, but this famine was of unexampled magnitude, and the Government of India acted in a manner deserving the greatest credit. During the time the famine was at its height there was a larger number than ever before simultaneously relieved, and no Government in the world could have grappled so effectively with the situation as the Indian Government have done. The officials of the Government, from the Viceroy downwards, have acted with the greatest self-devotion.

I do not at all concur with the proposal made by the mover and seconder of the Amendment, that because a certain sum of money has come into the Indian Exchequer, pretty much by way of windfall, it should be appropriated for the famine. I think the Indian Government requires no injunction to increase the means of alleviating the famine. A question has come before the House in the course of this discussion very prominently—namely, How can famines be averted? This is infinitely more important to India, and very much more worthy the consideration of this House. The causes of famine in India are manifold, but there are two or three great causes. The first and principal cause is the failure of the rain supply, which occurs periodically in periods varying from one to ten years.

*MR. SPEAKER: I have to remind the hon. Gentleman that the causes of the famine do not arise on this Amendment.

MR. WYLIE: Well, Sir, I bow to your ruling. I was following the discussion which has occurred on the Amendment.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member also that the mover and seconder of the Amendment were not bound to confine themselves to the terms of the Amendment.

MR. WYLIE: I quite bow to your ruling. I was going to refer to the causes of famine and to the means of preventing famine, but I shall take the opportunity of doing so on the Indian Budget. I confine my remarks to dissenting from the proposal of the mover and seconder of the Amendment, which I think is a direct injunction to the Indian Government to increase the means to be devoted to the famine fund. I think it should be left to their entire discretion, because they have shown the greatest liberality and the greatest statesmanship in dealing with this appalling disaster.

SIR ROBERT MOWBRAY (Lambeth, Brixton) said he would endeavour to confine himself strictly and absolutely to the Amendment before the House. The hon. Member for Camborne continually referred to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. If this were a matter of sentiment, he would support the hon. Member in asking for a very generous and liberal grant to India to meet any difficulties in which it had been placed by the famine. He thought we owed a debt of gratitude to the Government and the Princes of India, and it would be a generous thing on the part of this country to acknowledge it. But that was not the proposition before the House. The proposition was, in the words of the hon. Member who moved the Amendment, that we had been drawing from India what we were not entitled to draw, and had put ourselves in the wrong in that way, and that we ought to make atonement for the wrong by paying twenty years arrears. When the question of arrears was gone into, he did not know why the hon. Member stopped at twenty years. Why did he not go back to the time when the Government was taken over from the East India Company? He confessed that the hon. Member was very generous when he only took twenty years. He did not think that after the Government had agreed to the recommendations of the Commission the House would consider that they ought to pay arrears also. He was bound to say that, so far as his recollection of the discussions in the Commission went, he did not remember the recommendation which was now made being laid before the Royal Commission at the time its Report was in preparation, and it ought to have been laid before the Commission when the Report was being considered.

He was exceedingly glad that His Majesty's Government had seen their way to carry out in full, so far as the amount of money went, the recommendations of the Royal Commission. It was quite true, as his hon. friend had said, that the Government had not acted in accordance with the precise recommendations in the Report, but India would get more than was recommended by the Commission. He would support the Government in opposing the Amendment.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: I think everyone who has listened to the debate on this Amendment will admit that it has been supported by speeches of sincerity, moderation, and ability. The proposition before the House is that the Government should undertake to pay a lump sum to the credit of the Indian Treasury, and that proposition is based on the fact that the Commission which was appointed some years ago made certain proposals in regard to the apportionment of expenditure between the two Exchequers by which India is to benefit to the extent of £257,000. The Member for Camborne, who was a prominent member of that Commission, suggests that the Government should make up arrears for twenty years. The Report of the Commission is a very long and a very interesting document, but it roughly comes to this conclusion, that there is no injustice in the existing arrangement between England and India. The Report, for the purpose of liberal treatment for the future, makes a proposition by which certain charges should be transferred to England.

I hope the House will allow me, for a few minutes, to give my own experience in connection with this most difficult subject of the relative amounts which the two Exchequers should contribute towards the objects in which they are commonly interested. I was Under Secretary for India many years ago, and I had been but a short time in office when I came to the conclusion that the Admiralty and the War Office were unjustly putting charges on the Indian revenue, and I obtained very shortly after I became Under Secretary the appointment of a Select Committee in 1874 to inquire into the home charges of the Indian Government. They took a great deal of evidence, sitting for four years. The Committee had before it Mr. Cardwell and the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, and I am bound to say that the conclusions forced on my mind, from the investigations then made, greatly altered the ideas I had before entertained. The charges placed on India might be heavy, but in no single case were we able to ascertain a charge which the Imperial Government put on India out of which it made a profit. And the more I have looked into these charges since the more I have come to the conclusion that, speaking of the expenditure of the two Governments, the connection of Great Britain with India does not reduce her expenditure, but, on the contrary, adds to the Estimates which annually have to be presented to Parliament.

This Committee to which I allude, and which was appointed twenty-six years ago, had its recommendations included in the Report of the Commission, and the Commission expressed the highest approval at the conclusions at which they then arrived. I may roughly indicate them, because I think the principle will recommend itself to both sides of the House. Their first recommendation is that strict impartiality should be secured in the financial arrangements. I think that the supervision and general control of the House of Commons is very beneficial to India. The next recommendation is that the English Estimates should not be relieved at the expense of the Indian revenue, and that we should always consult India on all charges which may affect India. That is the view which I held twenty-six years ago, and to that view I adhere. The Commission never asserted that money has been appropriated or that, as the hon. Member said, India has been cheated. They are certain that the charges made were justifiable in themselves and that no benefit accrued to the British Government from the charges so made, but they suggested, and this is the whole point, that for the purpose of securing liberal treatment for the future certain proportions of the charges hitherto borne by India should be transferred to the Imperial Exchequer, the amount being £257,000. Therefore I have to deal with a specific suggestion made by a Commission based on certain arguments and conclusions—namely, that the Imperial Exchequer should relieve the Indian Exchequer of that amount. I went, fortified by that Report, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and discussed the matter with him. He took a most liberal view of the situation, and he said, "I will assent to the propositions of the Commission." I wonder of how many Commissions appointed in recent years that can be said. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in fact, said, "So far as the amount is concerned I am ready to give the amount which the Commission recommend." I think that was a very generous and prompt response. What is now asked? It is asked that I should turn round on the Chancellor of the Exchequer and say, "It is true you have acceded to the Commission's recommendations, but you are asked for arrears." What arrears? If this Report had been based on the contention that a gross injustice had been done to India in the past, then there might be reason for asking for arrears, but the Report says that the charges, in the main, have been just, and therefore it is impossible to press this request for arrears. If I went to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and made a request for arrears I should be guilty of a breach of faith. Could anybody justify that disingenuous dealing with the head of Imperial finance?

My hon. friend the Member for North-East Bethnal Green indulged in a very happy phrase when he said he was an Imperialist and believed in the enormous benefits which British rule has conferred on India, but that he wished that the British Government would not take such a £ s. d. view of the transaction between the two Treasuries. I do not want to indulge in anything like party animadversions, but may I ask the hon. Gentlemen opposite, the majority of whom will probably vote for the Amendment, what is the foundation for the allegations made as to the charges being unduly put on the Indian revenue? When I came to the House of Commons the Manchester school of politicians was supreme. They dominated English finance, and their test of the efficiency of the administrator was regulated by the amount by which he could reduce the expenditure which he inherited from his predecessor. I always thought that was a short-sighted view to take of effective administration. After all, money is given to achieve a certain object, and the effective point is to see whether that object is achieved. The First Lord of the Admiralty in Mr. Gladstone's Government took enormous credit to himself when he brought down the Navy expenditure under a certain figure. I think it was ten millions. One of the means by which he did that was to claim for services rendered in Indian waters by the British Navy to the tune of many thousands of pounds. We have secured for the future a juster and a fairer appreciation of what is to the benefit of India, and I certainly do not think that, having obtained, as I think, a large and generous contribution from the Treasury, I should be justified in putting forward a claim for arrears which is absolutely contrary to the whole of the trend of the Report of the Commission. The hon. Gentleman called attention to the fact that, although the amount we propose to give to India somewhat exceeds the amount recommended by the Commission, we have not adhered to the details of expenditure which they recommended; and the hon. Gentleman specially alluded to the fact that the proposition was made that £50,000 should be voted as an appropriation in aid of the India Office, that that £50,000 should be put on the Estimates, and that consequently the House of Commons should get an additional opportunity to those which they now enjoy of discussing

Indian affairs. But the motive that induced the Commission to make that recommendation was not that the House of Commons should have that additional opportunity.

MR. CAINE: What I said was that your salary and the salary of the Under Secretary should be put on the Estimates.

SIR ROBERT MOWBRAY: May I also say that the recommendation of the Commission was that, although £50,000 should be paid for the India Office, the charge should be put either on the Estimates or on the Consolidated Fund.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: My hon. friend has put his finger upon the motive which induced the Commission to make that recommendation. The motive was not that Parliament should have additional opportunities of discussing Indian affairs, because if they had had that idea they would not have made the suggestion that the charge should be put on the Consolidated Fund. They recommended this grant because they thought that £50,000 should be given in connection with this object. We looked carefully into the matter, and came to the conclusion that there were other objects which should have prior consideration, and we struck out the £50,000 and put in £50,500, so that India benefits by that small amount. Let me just say that I personally have no objection whatever, so far as I am concerned, to a Vote appearing on the Estimates for the purposes of discussion; but the House should look at the matter from a House of Commons and Indian point of view. Every year there is a discussion in this House on the Indian Budget. The resolution which the Secretary of State proposes is simply a peg on which the House of Commons can hang speeches. It has no practical validity of any kind; it was purposely framed by Sir Charles Wood for that purpose. Therefore the House has every year on the Indian Budget the opportunity of raising any question of policy or any matters connected with Indian administration. It is not in the least necessary by law or otherwise for the Secretary of State to make his annual statement; he does it deliberately for the purpose of giving the House an opportunity for discussion. That seems to me to be the best method of bringing Indian affairs before the notice of the House. To put a token Vote on the Estimates for the purpose of provoking discussion would, I think, not be very beneficial to India. Going back to the days to which I was referring, when the Manchester school was predominant, the discussions on the Estimates always assumed an economical shape. The object was to reduce expenditure, and Ministers were called to task unless they could justify the expenditure which they proposed. But we have got rid altogether of that school. The object now is to increase expenditure. Every Minister who is in any way responsible for a Department behind which is a large *personnel* finds his time taken up in opposing demands for increased expenditure, and notwithstanding the power which the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer can exercise in this House, and the knowledge that increased expenditure here falls upon the English taxpayer, our expenditure—civil, military, and naval—is increasing at an appalling rate. In a few years Members of the House of Commons will find that this is one of the most serious matters they will have to deal with. If that is the case with regard to expenditure for which the House of Commons is responsible, what would be the position of the unhappy Indian Secretary of State, who has under him an enormous *personnel*, if a sum representing his salary was placed on the Estimates? He would have every conceivable motion made from different parts of the House to increase the salaries of the innumerable civil, military, and other servants under the Indian Government.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: That would be out of order.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: The hon. Gentleman says it would be out of order. But my hon. friend is one of the most adroit adepts when the Estimates come up in attacking Ministers not for what is in the Estimates, but for what is not in them. You can by a number of methods put such pressure on Ministers that it is very, very difficult for them not to have to consider between the period at which they are so attacked and the next year some proposals for increased expenditure. If this is the case when the interests of the taxpayer are apparent to every Member of the House, what would be the position of the Secretary of State for India when the increased expenditure would fall upon not the English, but the Indian taxpayer? I am sure, from an Indian point of view, as well as from a House of Commons point of view, that the present arrangement is a far more satisfactory one than to substitute for the discussion on the Indian Budget a debate which would take place on the Vote for the Secretary of State's salary.

MR. SCHWANN: Then there is the date at which the Budget comes in.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: That is another matter. I am not responsible for the disposition of the time of the House, and I should be glad if I could get the discussion on the Indian Budget at an earlier part of the session. I think I have shown that in acting as I have done I have secured rapid acquiescence in the Report of the Commission, I have got a large appropriation from the Imperial Exchequer for the benefit of Indian finance, and I think it is quite unreasonable, because I have been so successful, to expect me to go in for arrears. If arrears are asked for, may I ask from what source they are to come? I am in rather a proud position now with regard to Indian finance. It is true we have only just emerged from a most serious drought, and I am afraid there are prospects of drought for the next six months, and this affects our revenue and increases our expenditure, but I believe for the last financial year, the present, and the next, we shall have, notwithstanding all this expenditure, a surplus in each year. But we know that in this country there will be a big deficit. Where are the £5,000,000 which the hon. Member asks the Chancellor of the Exchequer to provide to come from?

MR. CAINE: A graduated income tax.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: I should suggest the tea duty. Anyhow, the hon. Member must recollect that his proposition means increased taxation in this country, as this money could be provided only by a loan, which would be a permanent burden on the revenues of this country, or by increased taxation. Under these circumstances it really seems impossible to expect that I should go to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and ask for this amount. The hon. Member for North Manchester went somewhat outside the Amendment, and alluded to the economical conditions of the people of India. I do not know whether I should be in order——

*MR. SPEAKER: I do not think the noble Lord would be in order in following that out.

*LORD G. HAMILTON: I was afraid I should be precluded. Perhaps I may be permitted to say that the hon. Gentleman took the view that the material economic condition of the population generally was deteriorating. I only venture respectfully to say that I have looked most carefully into the subject, and I accepted evidence from any quarter that could be given, but I have never yet been able to find one iota of fact to justify that view. I go so far as to say that if we as a nation and a Government cannot improve the material condition of India it destroys the very foundation of our right and our claim to govern that country. Although India has suffered terribly during the past few years from drought and pestilence, the sufferings she has had to meet have been due not to increased poverty, but to the dimensions and the intensity of the drought which has occurred. A Commission, as the hon. Member is aware, is inquiring into the results on the people of the drought, and if it can be brought to my notice or to the notice of the Viceroy that there is any evidence to show that in any particular district the land assessment is too high or that the condition of the people is deteriorating, I can assure the House that he or I will undertake the most thorough investigation.

There are other matters to come before the House, and I can only say that it is very unpleasant to have to oppose any motion which is apparently made in the interests of India. India has suffered terribly during the past two or three years, and the people of India have borne their sufferings and privations with a courage, resignation, and absence from crime which commands the highest admiration. They have shown, too, their loyalty and devotion in the most marked manner, and, if I may allude to the irreparable national calamity which has recently befallen us, I feel that there is no part of the Empire in which the death of Queen Victoria has come home so much to the masses. Therefore I am glad that at this, the beginning of a new Parliament, there should be such evident signs that there are many Members on both sides of the House who are anxious to take an interest in Indian affairs. If on this occasion I am unable to assent to the proposition which has been made, it is not because I do not sympathise with the motives of the hon. Gentlemen supporting it, but because I have obtained on certain considerations and certain arguments a great concession to India from the Imperial Exchequer, and it is quite impossible, after what has passed, for me to make the demand which the Amendment desires.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I am sorry this question has been raised in this form, because the debate necessarily must be narrowed down to the one question referred to in the Amendment, while the House no doubt would desire an opportunity of discussing a great many of the questions that are involved in the Report of the Royal Commission in addition to that of the arrears, as the hon. Member for Camborne calls them, and which he proposes should be paid by the British Exchequer to India in one lump sum.

I am in a very awkward position to-night. I was the parent and the author of this Commission. I gave the advice to Her Majesty to issue the Commission, not, as the hon. Member for North Manchester seems to think, as the result of a House of Commons debate, but because as Secretary of State for India I was satisfied that the financial relations which then existed between the Exchequer of this country and the Exchequer of India were not upon a satisfactory basis. That Commission sat for I forget how many years, and took a vast volume of evidence. Then it apparently collapsed, and it required all the force of questions and debate in this House—almost the threat of proceedings against the Commission for contempt of the Crown—before we could extract from them a Report. But the Report has come. There again I am in an awkward position with reference to dealing with it. That Report, so far as it is an exposition of the past financial history—and the past financial history means the whole system of Indian Government—is one of the most luminous, accurate, and best volumes ever issued in the shape of a Blue-book. If any Member of this House, desirous of taking an interest in Indian affairs, wishes to put his hand on an authoritative statement of what has been and what is the financial relationship between this country and India, he will find nothing better than what I may call the historical part of that Report. But when we come to the practical recommendations of the Commission it is a very different story. There are very few recommendations. I am bound to say, with every respect to my hon. friend opposite, the Member for Brixton, who was one of the members of the Commission, that they, I will not say shirked, but evaded almost every difficult question submitted to them.

MR. CAINE: Hear, hear!

SIR HENRY FOWLER: I am glad to be cheered in that statement by another member of the Commission. Looking at that Report I am at a loss to know what they do recommend and what they really did. We could not have had a more humorous illustration of this point than the remark of my hon. friend opposite just now. They apparently (I say apparently because I do not know what was passing in their minds) wished—I am quite sure the hon. Member for Camborne wished it—to put the Indian expenditure, so far as the Home Department was concerned, under the immediate control of the House of Commons, so that it could be discussed on the Estimates. But the Commission, whether they meant it or not, gave the alternative of putting it on the Consolidated Fund, which is the only possible mode in which the House of Commons control could be absolutely and for ever evaded.

SIR ROBERT MOWBRAY: I concurred in the recommendation on the ground that it should be put on the Consolidated Fund only.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: And it will be found that other members of the Commission meant something else. This is not the time, but on a suitable occasion I should like to call attention to the facts which this Commission ascertained, and to show why—I say it with no small sense of responsibility and with considerable reluctance after the speech of the noble Lord—in the main I dissent from and should be very sorry to be bound by the conclusions of the Commission so far as the financial relationships between England and India are concerned. I think the findings of the Commission—I say it with diffidence, but it is my opinion, and I do not shrink from expressing it—are not just to India, and I do not consider the settlement proposed a satisfactory one. The noble Lord says he had a very pleasant interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not only generous but prompt. I am not surprised. I say nothing about the generosity, but I am quite sure he was wise to be prompt, for an uncommonly good bargain he made so far as the Treasury was concerned. At the proper time I will endeavour to call the attention of the House to some of the relationships between the two Exchequers which are not satisfactorily dealt with by the Report of the Commission.

Now, the noble Lord quoted, and justly so, the recommendations of the Committee of which he was a member twenty-six years ago. I subscribe to every word of the recommendations of that Committee. But the noble Lord, commencing that section of his speech and alluding to the many inquiries which had taken place on Indian finance, stopped at that Committee and did not bring his account down late enough. I am sure he must have forgotten for the moment what is called Lord Northbrook's Committee, which sat for a great number of years endeavouring to solve these questions, more especially in regard to Army costs. Lord Northbrook's Committee's Report I think carried out the principles of the noble Lord's Committee, but the details amounted to much larger sums as due to India than this Commission has reported.

With reference to the special question with which this Amendment deals—namely, what my hon. friend calls the arrears—the argument of the noble Lord is unanswerable. There are no arrears. You are making a settlement between two exchequers; it is a settlement which has been in dispute for a quarter of a century, and on which the most distinguished Viceroys have held opinions contrary to those held by the most distinguished Chancellors of the Exchequer; but the settlement when arrived at at the end of that period, whether it be right or wrong, cannot be spoken of as in the nature of a debt on which arrears can be computed and which we are called upon to pay. I have not concealed in this House my view that it would have been wise—not only generous, but wise—on principles of high policy if twelve months ago, when I think I first submitted the proposal, the House had made a generous advance to India with respect to the famine. Of course, a good deal has happened since then. I feel the force of the argument the noble Lord has put before us, especially accompanied, as it has been, by the statement that the finances of India are in a more flourishing condition now than then, and that there is every prospect, notwithstanding the famine which may be feared in certain districts, that the financial position for next year will be a satisfactory one. We know that the financial position of this country next year will not be a satisfactory one, and under these circumstances I appreciate the force of the objection which he now raises. I should certainly not press him in that respect, but I wish to reserve, as I have already stated, my own opinion, and to express it at the proper time, with reference to what I might call the temporary nature of this settlement between England and India. I am satisfied that a time will come when the House of Commons will consider this question in a much more liberal form than this Commission has done.

The only other point on which I wish to say a word is with reference to the recommendation which has already been mentioned—that of putting a sum of money upon the Estimates in order to bring Indian matters under the review of the House of Commons. I agree with what the noble Lord has said, and perhaps I should go even further. The Government of India is a very difficult and complex piece of administrative and legislative machinery. It was devised by great men fifty years ago. India has been well and wisely governed, as I venture to think, during the past half-century, and you cannot take a machine of that sort to pieces bit by bit. If the House is going to introduce new principles and new modes of government, to deal with Indian expenditure as it deals with English expenditure, the taxpayer in the one case being totally different from the taxpayer in the other, I think the House of Commons will impose upon itself a duty it will not be able to discharge. I think it will shift responsibility from the shoulders upon which responsibility ought to be placed, and where it is now felt, to shoulders which would not feel the responsibility; and, above all, it will have taken the first step towards making Indian questions of detail and of administration part of the party politics of the House. I think the House of Commons will pause a long while before it impairs the interests of India by taking such a step as that.

Having said that, I am free to say that I echo every word the noble Lord said with reference to the responsibility of the English Government and of this House for what I may call questions of Imperial and Indian policy. This House has never been without an opportunity under the present system of dealing with these questions, when they have arisen, far more effectively and far more conclusively than it would have been by a reduction of £10, £20, or £100 being moved on the Secretary of State's salary. There is not a single question of Indian policy raising matters of vital importance to the Government of India which this House has not had an opportunity, certainly during all the years I have been a Member of Parliament, of fully discussing and finally deciding.

["No."] Hon. Members say "No." Will they give me a case?

MR. CAINE: The sedition laws

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: The question of the Chitral Expedition was discussed, not in August, but within a fortnight of the House assembling. In the month of January or February there was a debate of three or four nights, in which a large number of Members took part, and after which the House came to a decision. Were the Cotton Duties decided in August? They were decided in March, as I well remember. The Opium Duty question has come up several times since I have been a Member of this House. With reference to the Indian Budget, I quite agree that it ought to be brought forward much earlier. It cannot be brought forward before May on account of the financial dates of Indian finance. But last year, if I remember rightly, it was brought forward in July—a fortnight or three weeks before the end of the session. I do not think that any motion which could be made to accelerate the bringing forward of the Indian Budget at a time which would give proper opportunity for discussing Indian affairs would meet with any opposition from either side of the House. But the mere fact that these questions are dealt with, not perhaps as fully as we should wish, on the Indian Budget at the end of the session must not be taken, either by the people of this country or by those of India, to mean that Indian affairs of magnitude are discussed only at that time, and that there are no opportunities given in all the forms with which this House is familiar for discussing questions of Indian policy.

I very much regret that we have not had an opportunity of fully discussing this Report, but I venture very respectfully to submit to the noble Lord that this is not a settlement which can be finally accepted as disposing of questions, some of which have been raised by the mover of the Amendment, and some of which have not been touched upon at all to-night, which affect the finance of India as well as the finance of England, and I hope that on some future occasion England, and India also, will be in a position to approach this matter again, perhaps with better light than this Commission has had, and that, while availing ourselves of the vast volume of very valuable evidence which they have collected, and of the very admirable exposition they have given of the Indian position, nevertheless we shall approach it with fresh light, and I think in the long run both this country and the House of Commons will arrive at a different conclusion than that at which the Royal Commission has arrived.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 112 ; Noes, 204. (Division List No. 9).

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Chas. P. (Glouc., Stroud
Ambrose, Robert
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Channing, Francis Allston
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas J.
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Evans, Samuel T.
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. H. Seale-
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Holland, William Henry
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Leamy, Edmund
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Cann, James
M'Crae, George
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
Minch, Matthew
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Reddy, M.
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tully, Jasper
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Caine and Mr. Schwann.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Baily, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch'ch
Banbury, Fredrick George
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bell, Richard
Bignold, A.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Col. Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Bull, William James
Bullard, Sir Harry
Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshre
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colomb, Sir John C. Ready
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dickson, Charles Scott

Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,SirRobertPenrose-
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Foster,SirMichael(Lond.Univ
Garfit, William
Gibbs,Hn.A.G.H.(Cy.of Lond.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fred.
Gordon,Hn.J.E(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,MajEvans (T'rHmlets
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst,Rt.Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen,Hon.George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirEW(B'rySEdm'nds
Groves, James Gimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Hamilton,Rt.Hn.LdG.Midd'x
Hamilton,Marq.of (L'ndond'y
Hanbury, Rt. Hn. Robert W.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F.Leverton (Tynemo'h
Heath,ArthurHoward(Hanl'y
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hoare,Edw.Brodie(Hampst'd)
Hogg, Linday
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield,Brightsi'e
Hoult, Joseph
Hozier, Hon. James Henry C.
Johnstone, William (Belfast)
Kenyon,Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney,Col.W.(Salop
Keswick, William
Knowles, Lees
Lambton,Hon.FrederickWm.
Lawrence, William F.
Lecky,Rt.Hon.Wm. Edw. H.
Lee,CaptAH.(Hants,Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.Charles W(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas,ReginaldJ(Portsmouth
Macdona, John Cumming
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, W.J.H.(Dumfriessh
Melville,Beresford Valentine
Milner,Rt.Hon. Sir Fredk. G.
Milton, Viscount
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More,Robt.Jasper(Shropshire)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,RtHnAGraham (Bute
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt-Col Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rasch, Major F. Carne
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Rentoul, James Alexander
Ridley,Hn.M.W. (Stalybridge
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T.
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild,Hon.LionelWalter
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. T. Myles
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart,M.H.(Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H.C(Nrthmb.Tyneside
Smith,James Parker(Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stock, James Henry
Stroyan, John
Sturt, Hon Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemarche, Henry James
Tomlinson, William Edw. M.
Tufnell, Col Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,ColSirC.E.H(Sheffild
Walker, Col. William Hall
Warner,ThomasCourtenay T.
Wason,JohnCathcart(Orkney
Webb, Col. William George
Whiteley,H.(Ashton-under-L.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wills, Sir Fredrick
Wilson, A. S. (York, E. R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B.Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young,Commander (Berks,E.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed.

CONDUCT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

*MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the speech which he delivered on Monday night, which was characterised by an almost ferocious bitterness, hurled across the floor of this House the epithet "Pro-Boer" as a term of reproach to hon. Members sitting on this side of the House. So far as I am concerned, and the other Members who sit on these benches, the Secretary for the Colonies is welcome to call us pro-Boers. [Ministerial cries of "So you are."] I am a pro-Boer, because during the last two years I have made a careful study of the history of these people. [Ministerial laughter.] I do not suppose that hon. Members opposite who laugh have taken the slightest interest in that history, and yet it is one of the most interesting that they could find. I am convinced from the study that they have been deeply wronged for many generations by the Government of England, that they are now fighting for freedom against enormous odds, and that they are two small States fighting for their national existence against the cruel and unprovoked aggression of an Empire which is too large already to be wholesome. We Irish Members, and the Irish people for whom we speak, deeply sympathise with these two small States, who are fighting the most glorious and gallant fight which modern history has any record of, and we think it is a magnificent thing in these modern days that there exist men who are willing to risk everything and lose all for an ideal, and for liberty. For these reasons we are not ashamed to be called pro-Boers.

The other night the Secretary of State for the Colonies threw a challenge across the floor of this House, and I am glad that, speaking for the Irish party on this occasion, I am able to say that there is a party in this House who are not afraid to bring this matter to an issue. The Amendment which I propose to submit to the judgment of this House affirms two propositions: (1) That the breaches of the usages of war by the British, which have been going on for many months in South Africa, should be immediately put a stop to; and (2) that steps should be taken immediately to put an end to this miserable and scandalous war. I will take up first of all the question of breach of the usages of war. Hon. Members of this House listened the other night to one of the most powerful indictments I ever heard made in this House from the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs. In the course of his speech he brought forward abundant evidence of farm burning in South Africa, which showed distinctly two things, that the farms were burnt in many instances without justification—if the excuse which had been alleged could be called justification—and that this abominable practice had been carried out in the teeth of modern usages of war upon a large and widespread scale. I listened with interest to the reply which was made to that indictment by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. What was the course adopted by the Colonial Secretary? Why he gave the go-by absolutely to this indictment, and he said that this question of the breach of the usages of war and the burning of farms in South Africa was a matter for the War Office, and was not in his Department. But that was not the course adopted by the right hon. Gentleman on the 7th of December last, when he went into the matter fully, and made certain statements in reference to the burning of farms. Then he stated that he had telegraphed to Lord Kitchener for full details, and he promised us that he would soon be able to lay the full details before the House. I want to know why, on the present occasion, the Secretary for the Colonies has not one word to say in answer to that indictment, and why he now finds that it is a matter for the War Office when in December last he dealt fully with the case himself?

Before I pass from that particular point I wish to draw the attention of the House to the fact that when we come to the speech of the Secretary of State for War, he had practically nothing to say about the burning of farms, and those terrible facts which were announced to the House in the speech of the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs remain to this hour unanswered. I am glad that an opportunity has now been afforded me of reinforcing what has been said by the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs, and I ask the Government for an answer to that indictment, which I think we are absolutely entitled to demand. What was the position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies in December last? He justified the policy of the burning of farms on the ground that the war had entered upon a guerilla stage, and inasmuch as this atrocious policy of devastating the country and burning the farms of non-combatants has been justified from the beginning upon this one plea and this one plea alone—namely, that the war had passed into a guerilla stage—I feel bound to examine that point for a few moments. For my own part, even if it was true that the war had passed into the guerilla stage, I would not admit that that was any justification for the burning of farms and the turning out of women and children homeless upon the veldt without shelter. But is there any truth in this allegation? I deny it. And I say that when it was first alleged by Lord Roberts in the month of December last it was a grotesque and absurd misrepresentation. I will quote to the House a few of the statements upon which this popular impression of the war being a guerilla warfare was based. I will quote first of all an extract from a speech made by General Sir Redvers Buller on his return to England in the month of October last. He said—

> "Nearly the whole of the people we know as Boers have either surrendered or are pri-

soners, or are doing their best to surrender. The people left in the field are either mercenaries or bandits. Those men remaining in arms are endeavouring to gain profit by remaining in arms, and are not in any sense fighting for their country."

If that statement were true, what has been the justification of the burning of Boer farms from that day to this? According to Sir Redvers Buller, nearly the whole Boer army were in English prisons or doing their best to surrender, and in order to punish these few banditti and mercenaries you have been devastating the country and burning the farms of the Boers. One of the earliest statements which was made in regard to this change which was supposed to have come over the character of the war was made by Lord Roberts himself, and I will ask once more: why was the correspondence between Lord Roberts and General Botha—which took place in the month of September last and which forms one of the most important documents in connection with this war—suppressed and withheld from the country, so that, but for the enterprise of the *Manchester Guardian*, we should never have seen at all? And yet this despatch was one of the most important that was issued by Lord Roberts. Writing on the 2nd September, 1900, to General Botha, Lord Roberts makes use of the following words—

> "I feel that when the war has once entered on the stage of guerilla or irregular fighting I shall be neglecting my duty, besides the national interests, if I continue to allow the families of those who fought and are still fighting against us to live in the towns which are guarded by our forces. This is no longer a question of commissariat, but rather a matter of policy in order to guard ourselves against the conveying of military information to our enemies."

That is about the first we heard of the war having entered upon a guerilla stage. In that letter to General Botha Lord Roberts said that he could not allow the women and children to live in the British camps, and now the women have been seized upon and dragged into British camps. Here is the answer of General Botha, and all the information that has reached us since the writing of that letter through English sources proves that in this dispute General Botha told the truth and that Lord Roberts's statement was utterly inaccurate. He says—

> "As regards your contention that, with the exception of the burgher forces under my command, no other Boer forces should be in existence, I most strongly deny this, since our armed forces are still disposed and directed in the same manner as in the beginning of the war, and in accordance with the country's laws. . . . . Commandos should be in the field everywhere, and it naturally follows that now, as during the war, what is incumbent upon us must be done by small forces. Moreover, we have been compelled to still further scatter our commandos in order to be able to check the looting patrols under your Excellency's chief command, who scour the country to carry off cattle and provisions from the different farms."

As Botha said, he was compelled to scatter still further his commandos in order, if possible, that it should be used to capture these bands, which it did on many occasions. Let me reinforce my view of the case, and the view put forward by the generalissimo of the Boer forces, from a very important British source. We were given to suppose at a very early stage of these debates that Reuter's messages, censored though they were, were not to be quoted as an authority. We had, however, a high example to the contrary given by the Secretary of State for War, who, the other night, quoted without stating its source a very defamatory statement in this House on the authority of Reuter. I have here a very important Reuter message censored by the military censor, and sent three months after Lord Roberts's statement. It appeared in *The Times* on 24th December, and says—

> "It appears to be a prevalent idea that the Boer forces in the Orange River Colony now fighting against us are a number of marauding bands wandering about without aim or object except that of doing as much harm as possible with the smallest possible risk to themselves. Nothing could be more wide of the mark. De Wet has every single commando under his supervision. All his patrols and columns march and counter-march at his order. The forces under his command have been reduced by his strength of will to a properly organised army moving at his word."

That is the opinion of an English correspondent given three months after Lord Roberts's statement. Let me direct attention to a still more important piece of evidence. There appeared in *The Times* on the 15th January a letter from Bloemfontein, signed "A Camp Follower." It was printed in large type, and everyone who knows the methods of *The Times* knows that that is the way in which it conveys that its correspondent is a man of weight and high standing. He asks what has been the cause of the misfortunes.

> "Nothing else [he replies], in my humble opinion, than the consequences of the absurd description which has now been applied to the war as guerilla warfare. I have been in the field taking part in the recent operations, but for the life of me I cannot see in what respects the Boers could be described as carrying on a guerilla warfare. De Wet has been marching up and down the country with a strong force of between 2,500 and 3,000 men. Three other forces commanded by Haasbrock, Hertzog, and Prinsloo were under his command and made demonstrations or actual attacks whenever De Wet deemed it necessary for the safety of his own force."

That is the opinion of a man whom *The Times* considers to be a man of weight and authority. Now I come to Lord Kitchener's own opinion, which is the most important piece of evidence submitted to the House as to the consequences of this attempt to mislead public opinion by describing the present and late phases of the war as guerilla warfare. A document was published in *The Times* on the 20th February, which I deliberately assert from internal evidence was inspired by Lord Kitchener himself. It is stated to be from the correspondent of *The Times* at Pretoria, and is dated 21st January. I will leave it to hon. Gentlemen to say whether it does not contain plain proof of having been inspired by Lord Kitchener. Here is the description Lord Kitchener gives of his army as left to him by Lord Roberts—

> "When Lord Kitchener took over the command, he and those generals who were associated with him had to face a condition of affairs closely resembling that which met Lord Roberts on his arrival in South Africa twelve months ago. In the natural course of events a certain amount of disorganisation had set in. Troops had become loosely distributed all over the two colonies. Brigades which should have been able to operate in conjunction had lost touch with each other. On our lines of communication there were points where bunches of horse, foot, and artillery had been collected, while other and equally-important points were inadequately guarded and open to sudden attack at any moment. Positions which might prove of considerable strategic value were totally unoccupied, and entire battalions had become isolated in other positions in such a manner as to be rendered practically useless."

I say that that was Lord Kitchener's revenge for Paardeberg, and if this description is true then Lord Roberts, instead of being Commander-in-Chief, ought to be degraded.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: May I ask if the hon. Member will state to the House if he knows of his own knowledge that that letter was inspired by Lord Kitchener?

*MR. DILLON: The letter was published as from *The Times* correspondent in Pretoria, and every hon. Member knows that no such account could leave Pretoria without Lord Kitchener's consent.

MR. PYM (Bedford): May I ask the hon. Member if there is not an addendum to that account, which states that the condition of our troops in South Africa was the natural result of previous operations?

*MR. DILLON: That is perfectly true, and that only makes it more plain to me that the censor had his eye over it. The letter winds up by saying that nobody imagines that it was the fault of Lord Roberts; but will any military man get up in this House and say where British troops are exposed in positions helpless and isolated and perfectly open to attack, and where bunches of artillery and cavalry are collected in places where they are not required, that it is any justification to state that it was not the fault of the Commander-in-Chief? What is the Commander-in-Chief for? The whole purpose of this article is to explain the ground on which Lord Kitchener had to take three months to remove the consequences of Lord Roberts's disorganisation before he could take the field. I do not wish to dwell longer on this point, but I think I have made out my case, and that is that the allegation of guerilla warfare which was put forward as a justification for the crimes and outrages against the usages of war, which have been perpetrated in the Transvaal, was a fictitious and absurd justification. There has been no guerilla warfare. There has been legitimate warfare, and the only element of guerilla warfare is that you are ten to one, and, being ashamed of not being able to conquer the Boers before now, you have invented the term in order to justify your extraordinary position.

Now let me come to the burning of farms. As I have already pointed out, the Secretary of State for the Colonies avoided the subject. We have not the statistics which were promised, and we have no particulars. In December last, however, the Secretary of State for the

Colonies made two important statements. In the first place he stated that the burning of the Boer farms did not matter because they were like labourers' cottages in this country. I have been myself in a small house built by a farmer in Western America for two or three years. It did not cost as much to build as the house in which the right hon. Gentleman lives at Highbury. I think it cost only about £200, but so far as sentiment and the feeling of the inhabitants of that house were concerned, it would create a more bitter feeling if it were burned down than if the house of the right hon. Gentleman or the houses of hon. Gentlemen opposite were burned. But is there any truth in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman? Only the other day the junior Member for Oldham described the Boers as half squire and half farmer. That is true. They are landowners, and are not like labourers in this country, and I think it is a brutal and unfortunate remark to talk about the comparative cheapness of labourers' cottages. All the evidence before us goes to show that the houses of the Boers, particularly in the Free States, were especially fine and well furnished. Did we not read in the descriptions, so harrowing to the feelings of many hon. Members, of pianos and pictures and comfortable furniture being burned? [A laugh.] An hon. Member opposite laughs, but it is true, and I do not think the subject one suitable for laughter. I do not think I ever read anything more painful—and I would like to believe it was also painful to many hon. Members opposite—than the detailed descriptions which filled the columns of the newspapers of furniture being dragged out of houses and burned before the eyes of unfortunate women and children. I have already quoted the testimony of the junior Member for Oldham. Here is a quotation from the Cape correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian.* [Several HON. MEMBERS laughed.] I have yet to learn that the *Manchester Guardian* is such a very contemptible newspaper. It is as respectable a newspaper as any in England. The Cape Town correspondent says—

> "I can say from my own knowledge, as one brought up in a farming district in England, that the Boer farms are larger and better furnished than the average farmhouse in England. I have in my mind a place in the Rouxville district where, during the 1880 war, the Dutch settlers continued to the British settlers the free loan of the only church in the district—the Dutch church—a farmhouse with ten rooms, tennis court, terraced garden, orchard, imported pheasants, 500 head of horned cattle, and so forth. The farmer is of German descent. He and his children speak—or spoke—English at least as much as Dutch. To-day the place is a waste. A message was received from the farmer the other day—he is with De Wet: 'They will not take me alive. I hope to God that not even my bones will rest under the Union Jack.'"

I belong to a race which suffered somewhat similar treatment a hundred years ago, and I can assure you you are very much mistaken if you imagine that the memory of these things will die out. They will not die out, for the children of the Dutch and their children's children will remember them. The Secretary of State for the Colonies made another very remarkable statement, which I feel bound to examine somewhat critically. On the 7th December, when pressed upon this question of farm-burning, he said—

> "We understood this proclamation [alluding to Lord Roberts's proclamation about farm burning] to mean that he would require evidence of some complicity on the part of the persons whose farm houses were destroyed. I am not saying that the words were exactly to that effect. I am saying that we understood, and we enquired the other day when the matter assumed greater importance, and we have a reply from Lord Kitchener, who has now taken the place of Lord Roberts, that we are perfectly right in the assumption."

I venture to submit that that is an absolutely incorrect statement, and it is very important that we should be clear upon this matter. I am not going to charge any Member of this House with making a statement which he does not believe to be true. But what I say is that the right hon. Gentleman has been furnished with incorrect information on this matter. Now let me show how the House has been misled on this particular point. Let me draw attention to the language used by the Financial Secretary to the War Office, who, when pressed the other night, said—

> "Hon. Members had rather taken it that those farm-burnings were done without authority by irresponsible persons. [Cries of "No, no" and "Proclamation" from the Opposition.] If he remembered right, Lord Roberts, in his proclamation, did not say that when the railway was broken farms within ten miles should be burned, but that they should be liable to be burned. [Laughter from Opposition benches.] For some time afterwards no farm was burned. After that farms were, by Lord Roberts's special orders, under certain conditions, burned."

Now let us read Lord Roberts's proclamation. First the Secretary of State for the Colonies states that farm-burning was conditional on complicity being shown, whereas the Financial Secretary to the War Office declares that Lord Roberts did not use words to the effect that farms should be burnt. Proclamation No. 5 says—

> "Whereas small bodies of raiders have recently been doing wanton damage in the Orange River Colony——"

[AN HON. MEMBER: Wanton damage.] Perfectly proper acts of war. Will any hon. Member to-night deny that? Wanton damage means damage without an object, but the Boers were destroying the railway for the purpose of interfering with Lord Roberts's communications. But that is not the point I wish to call attention to. Listen to these words, as showing that the proclamation could not be misunderstood—

> "and whereas such damage cannot be done without the knowledge and connivance of the neighbouring inhabitants, I hereby warn said inhabitants, and also civil residents, that whenever public property is destroyed or injured in the manner specified above, they will be held responsible, the houses in the vicinity of the place where the damage is done will be burned, and the civil residents will be made prisoners of war."

Now I should like to know what the noble Lord has got to say to that. It is only two nights since he denied Lord Roberts used these words, and he based on that denial a defence of the policy of the Government, and the inference that the burning of farms was necessary.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): As my noble friend is not here, may I state that what he said was that complicity had been proved by the nearness of the farms to the scene of the damage.

*MR. DILLON: I am glad to have that defence of the Government. In the first place, the noble Lord did not say that. What he said was, according to the official Report—

> "If I remember right, Lord Roberts in his proclamation did not say that where the railway was broken farms within ten miles should be burned, but that they would be liable to be burned."

I have proved that Lord Roberts said nothing of the kind, but that the farms "will be" burned, just as we stated in course of debate in this House. The Lord Advocate now says that complicity must be proved. Nothing of the kind. The absolute proof of the falsity of that statement is shown by the words in the proclamation—

> "And whereas such damage cannot be done without the knowledge and connivance of the neighbouring inhabitants."

Where is the proof of connivance? I put it to the House of Commons, is that fair play? You first of all lay down in a proclamation that wherever damage is done, all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood must be held responsible; and then you come forward in the House of Commons and say, "No, we did not burn the farms unless the inhabitants were proved to be responsible." That is deceiving the House of Commons, and I am content to leave the matter there. I now come to the next proclamation, No. 6, dated 16th June, 1900, and it sets forth what has been stated in previous proclamations even more categorically—

> "No. 1.—The principal residents of the towns and districts will be held responsible jointly and severally for the amount of damage done in their district, and all receipts for goods requisitioned on behalf of the military authorities will be cancelled, and no payment will be made in respect thereof."

I say that is robbery, and a breach of the good faith of this country. There is no qualification in that proclamation. The man whose goods and chattels may have been requisitioned may have been a prisoner of war, and may have been deported, and yet because the railway was broken in the neighbourhood of his farm all receipts for goods taken perhaps months before are to be cancelled—

> "The houses and farms [continues the proclamation] in the vicinity of the place where the damage is done will be destroyed and the residents of the district dealt with under martial law."

[AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] Some hon. Members cheer that, but my point is that that is not what the Secretary of State for the Colonies stated to the House of Commons, and not what the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the War Office stated either. So much for these excuses and justifications put forward for the burning of farms. This is really a very serious matter. The burning of farms has been carried out on an enormous scale, and no attempt has been made by any speaker on behalf of the Government to justify it, nor have any details been given as to this policy.

Although the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs submitted to the House a very horrible series of cases in connection with the burning of farms, and although the matter has been treated with contempt, yet I feel bound to bring forward further evidence to show two things—firstly, the wide extent of this devastation, and, secondly, the fact, which I maintain to be incontrovertible, that these farms were burned not because of any active treachery or hostility from the houses or their inhabitants, but for the purpose of devastating the country and making it uninhabitable. Some hon. Members opposite appear to admit that policy, but I appeal with confidence even to the public opinion of this country, but with more confidence to the public opinion of America and Europe, on the subject. Is that policy one on which the Government of this country is prepared to stand. Why, that was the policy which was pursued by Louis XIV. in the Palatinate, which has been execrated by mankind for two centuries. It was justified by the French generals of that day on the ground that it was necessary, in order to bring the war to a termination, to make the country uninhabitable to the enemy. I must give a few cases. The first witness I will call is the special correspondent of the *Globe* newspaper, not a very pro-Boer organ, certainly. Earl de la Warr, writing to the *Globe* newspaper from the Modder River, says—

> "It is certainly worthy of remark that the Boers, who are not supposed to have any discipline at all, have in this part of the country (Cape Colony and Free State) apparently behaved with exemplary consideration for the rights of private property. It is not too much to say that there was more indiscriminate looting done after the Modder River fight in a few days by the British than was done by the Boers in the whole six weeks before the fight."

Now I will take the evidence of a Melbourne newspaper. We are accustomed now to swallow everything that comes from the colonies—everything is gospel and ought to be believed. This is an interview which a correspondent had with Australian troopes who had returned home. He writes—

> "The men all speak in the utmost disgust of the heartrending work of burning farmhouses and turning women and children out to sleep on the open veldt. They say, however, that the British troops throughout treated the enemy with humanity and consideration——"

Mr. Dillon.

[HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!] Yes, but you must accept the whole of the statement—

> "though, of course, there were some individual instances of horrible savagery and brutality. On the other hand they found the Boers very courageous and manly. Of all the men fighting on the side of the British the Australians give the palm to Strathcona's Horse, the Canadian regiment, for all-round 'toughness' and pitilessness. During the fighting Strathcona's Horse, they allege, never gave quarter unless the presence of an officer compelled them to."

Now I take the evidence of an Irish priest from Australia, who was attached to the New South Wales Company of Bushmen. His letter, which was signed with his name, was published in a Sydney paper. He writes—

> "Then began the most diabolical work I have yet witnessed. Every home in the valley, probably twenty in all, was burned to the ground. Women and children stood in groups, the children rending the air with their cries. They were allowed to move their furniture before the match was put to the building. The women were admirable. Not a tear bedimmed their eyes. They stood there defiant, neatly dressed in black with snow white aprons and bonnets. It was only when I said a few sympathetic words to one woman that she melted into tears. 'You,' she said, 'do not approve of this?' 'I loathe it,' was my reply. 'I am,' she said, 'a British subject from the Protectorate. We rented this farm from an Englishman to whom it belongs. We have nothing in the world but these crops which your horses have destroyed and — God help us. Will you,' she said, 'try to save my house from the fire.' 'I shall do so at once,' I answered, and I kept my promise, but my pleading was of no avail. I told the heroic woman that I had tried to save the house. 'Will you shake hands with me?' was her reply. I did so right heartily, and she called me aside to show me the relics of a new white apron. 'It was from this,' she said, 'I tore the bandages for one of your wounded men (Beaumont). I carried him in my arms from the field and bandaged his arm. He lay on my bed until the blankets were sodden in blood. And this,' she said, 'is my reward.'"

Sergeant W. Payne, writing home to Trowbridge, says—

> "We are purely ignorant in South Africa except what we do ourselves, and that is we are burning all the farms down within a radius of eight miles."

Now I will take the evidence of two Irish soldiers to which I attach special importance, because the men give their names, are well known in their own neighbourhoods, and the letters were written to their relatives, and were obviously not intended for publication. The first is from the son of the Rev. W. Cripps Ledger, who was a corporal in the Irish Yeomanry. He says—

> "We found most of the houses deserted by the men and only the women and children

> could be seen. On inquiry of those as to the whereabouts of the men, we are nearly always told that they have been killed in action or taken prisoners. This is in some cases true, but in most instances the men are out in the hills with their mausers watching us. Most of the houses were burned to the ground by us and the women and children taken along with the column. At other places only saddles, carts, wagons, etc., were destroyed, as was all forage and grain which we could not take or use. Sheep, cattle, and horses were all taken along too."

I attach great importance to this letter, because it proves that these houses were burned down not because of acts of war committed from them, but as a part of a deliberate wholesale policy of devastating the country. Here is the other case. James Cook, who is now in the Constabulary in South Africa, writes home to his father, the clerk of the petty sessions at Newtown Butler—[HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!],—who is known to some of my hon. friends. He says—

> "Most of my time was employed in burning Boer farmhouses and forage and commandeering cattle, sheep, etc., around Potchefstroom and Frederickstad. We live chiefly on mutton and poultry, and whatever we need in the way of vegetables, brown bread, etc., we got from the Boer women in exchange for meat. So you see I have been having a rare time of it. The most disagreeable part of our work was the turning of Boer families out of their homes. Policemen are well paid, and it is a fine chance for anyone to see a bit of South African life. When I consider the pay and the grub, I got to pity poor Tommy, who generally has the hard work to do for 1s. 3d. a day and bully beef and hard biscuits."

I am rather inclined to pity poor Tommy, too, who only gets 1s. 3d. per day instead of 5s. I do not see how the Government are going to get over this evidence. I could go on for hours. This is a case to be made out by evidence, and if I did not give evidence it would be said that I was simply making wild statements. What I want to prove is, that the statements in connection with farm burning, given by the Government as a defence of what has been done, are not true statements and entirely misrepresent the facts. If I wanted final proof that, up to a very recent period at all events, farms were burned as part of a policy of wholesale devastation I need only turn to *The Times* of the 4th January, which contains a telegram from Pretoria giving an account of a meeting of burghers addressed by Lord Kitchener, when he made his proposals for peace, and at the end of that telegram it is stated—

> "Orders have been issued forbidding the burning of farms unless to punish the wrongful acts of the actual inhabitants."

If that had been the policy all along, what need was there to issue these orders? Out of their own mouths they stand condemned. I have got details of other cases which I do not now propose to go into, but if this matter is debated again I shall be prepared to go through the whole of them. I will mention only one other case as an instance of the atrocities which have been perpetrated. A member of the Royal Scotch Fusiliers, describing the actions of General Barton, writes—

> "We took over £6,000 worth of stuff from Botha's farm—cattle, grain, forage, wagons, etc."

That is a sample of the way you treat a gallant enemy. A correspondent of the *St. James's Gazette*—and certainly no one will accuse the *St. James's Gazette* of being a pro-Boer organ—writes, under date 14th September, 1900—

> "The general told me that he had received orders to 'sweep' the country and a view of his following soon made it obvious that he had not failed to carry out his orders. All farms on the line of march were cleared of horses, cattle, sheep, wagons, carts, etc., the forage being burnt and the owners bidden to join the ranks of the prisoners, of whom there were already a goodly number. In several cases I ventured humbly to point out that many of these men, in fact most of them, had been paroled and allowed to return to their farms and had received a protection certificate from the District Court. Some of them were Britishers who rather than take up arms against their country had sacrificed all and had taken refuge in Basutoland. My pleas were of no avail. All who had once been on commando, and in spite of having been paroled, were retaken prisoners. Britishers were allowed to go at liberty, but their livestock were taken and their stacks burnt."

That appears to me to be an overwhelming case as showing that this policy of farm burning in the Transvaal was a policy, as indeed was admitted in some of the proclamations of the generals, of devastating the country in order to make it uninhabitable for the enemy. [AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear.] If that is admitted, then my whole case is admitted, but it is flying in the face of the usages of civilised warfare. You have no right to devastate a country and burn the roof trees over the heads of non-combatants in order to make the country uninhabitable. What would Europe have said if the German troops, when they advanced and took possession of Orleans, burned it down and laid the country waste between Orleans and Paris? All Europe would have cried shame on them. But because these countries are distant and you have your hand on the telegraph wires you dare to do in South Africa what you would not dare to do nearer home. What I am claiming here, and what those of us who are denounced as pro-Boers are claiming, is, that so far as the usages of war are concerned, these people, who after all are a Christian nation and a white race, shall have the same rights which the civilised nations of Europe have been accustomed to accord one another in their wars. I think I have converted even hon. Gentlemen opposite to my view as to the character of these operations, because when I pointed out that it was a policy of devastation in order to make the country uninhabitable several hon. Members cheered. Certainly it was the policy which was approved of by your generals. We have heard a great deal in these debates about the humanity of Lord Roberts. Lord Roberts is a countryman of mine, and a great many countrymen of mine have taken a prominent part in this war. I confess that when Lord Roberts went out to the Transvaal I said to several friends, "Now, at all events, we shall have this war decently conducted." I have been deeply disappointed, and I now perceive that in the judgment of Lord Roberts's character, which has been painfully forced upon me—because I had different ideas of Lord Roberts before the commencement of the war—I am in sympathy with the right hon. Gentleman for West Birmingham, who twenty years ago, in conjunction with several bishops and other dignitaries, denounced Lord Roberts for his atrocities in Afghanistan, and appealed to the Government to put a stop to the burnings and executions which were carried out in that campaign. That is a fact we cannot get over. Lord Roberts is still the same man, and, although I knew that the Colonial Secretary had changed his politics, I was not aware he had changed his ideas as to humanity and the usages of war; and when hon. Gentlemen get up and think they can stop this debate by appealing to the humanity of Lord Roberts they ought to remember that he was impeached by the Secretary of State for the Colonies himself. Memories are very short in this House. When the hon. Member for Westminster, who is a bitter political opponent of ours, stood up in this House to make a remarkably able appeal for the sick and wounded soldiers in the Transvaal, which I venture to say has made his name dear to the British soldier, how was he received? He was received with sneers and insults from the Treasury Bench, and he was told that the well-known humanity of Lord Roberts ought to be a sufficient answer to his charges, and that everyone knew that Lord Roberts would never tolerate any ill-treatment of his sick soldiers. The hon. Member for Westminster was not discouraged: he persisted in his charges, and his charges have laid the basis of a great reform. The hon. Member appealed on behalf of sick and wounded soldiers, and now when we, who are less popular, make an appeal that your enemy the Boers should be treated at least as human beings, we are met with exactly the same sneers, and the same statement that the humanity of Lord Roberts is so great that it is an insult, and outrageous, and absurd to challenge it in this House. When the other night attention was directed in this House by the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs to the infamous and outrageous proclamation of General Bruce Hamilton, the very same answer was returned. It was said that General Bruce Hamilton was one of the most humane officers in the British Army, and was incapable of committing an act of inhumanity. What had the right hon. Gentleman to admit to-night. He admitted that that proclamation was ignominiously withdrawn, that they drew the line at General Bruce Hamilton, and refused to allow his proclamation to be enforced. I mention these facts to show that it is no answer to us to talk about the humanity of officers. We bring forward facts supported by evidence, and we challenge the Government on them. We challenge the Government to say—and they will have to say before the matter is ended, because it will be brought up again and again—

whether this country, in the face of Europe, is prepared to accept this policy of devastation without any act of treachery as regards individual houses, for the purpose of making the country uninhabitable, and whether the Government are prepared to defend that policy.

I now pass to the second point of my Amendment, and it is a point to which I attach even greater importance, because in the first place, it is a most unparalleled and unheard-of breach of the usages of war. I think it is most disgraceful and most cowardly, and it has not been dealt with in this House before. I refer to the seizing of women and children as prisoners and their forcible deportation into prison camps. What was my astonishment to hear the Secretary of State for War declare that in these prison camps, or, as he described them, refuge camps, at present existing in the Transvaal, Cape Colony, and Natal, the women and children are perfectly free, and could come and go of their own free will. I say that is a statement in the teeth of all the evidence that has come under my notice. All the information I have been able to collect leads me to the conviction that, as regards a great number of these women and children, they have been forcibly seized, and have been carried away, and are now prisoners of war. I wish to know what custom of any civilised country in modern times, or even in ancient times for that matter, are the Government going to appeal to to justify their treatment of women and children as prisoners of war? The right hon. Gentleman stated that they were perfectly free. Is he prepared to substantiate that statement? Is it true or not true that, in a camp at Port Elizabeth, women, who have been brought by force as prisoners of war, are surrounded by sentries, and that when they desire permission to see their friends——

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Gentleman rather misunderstood what I stated this afternoon. I was asked about women and children living in laager in the conquered colonies, but I know that a certain number of women have been deported from the colonies for particular reasons.

*MR. DILLON: Is not that my case? What civilised Government ever deported women and children? Has it come to this, that the British Empire is afraid of women and children?

MR. BRODRICK: The women who were deported are those who were found, or suspected of, giving information to the enemy.

*MR. DILLON: I ask again the name of the civilised nation that has ever deported women because they were suspected of giving information? Who were the enemy? Why, their own people. The Germans when they conquered France did not deport the women. A pretty pass you have brought the British Empire to. Now listen to this, Gentlemen of the British House of Commons. I ask the Secretary of State for War, Is it true that this oath or declaration has been tended to the women now huddled together in tents surrounded by mounted sentries in Port Elizabeth—"I do hereby solemnly declare on oath that I will not take up arms against the Government of Great Britain"? I never thought to see the day when England would have sunk so low. I put it to hon. Members opposite, are they not ashamed? When this declaration is signed, the women are allowed to see their relatives. Was that the impression left on the House at question time? Did not hon. Members listening to the right hon. Gentleman imagine that these women and children were all free, and had come into the refuge camp for the purpose of protection? I have no objection to refuge camps when the women can come and go when they please, but what I denounce is taking away women and children from their homes, treating them as prisoners, surrounding them with guards, and not allowing them to leave the camp. Is that for the purpose of preventing them from starving? Is it to prevent them from starving that you tender them the oath?

MR. CLAUDE LOWTHER (Cumberland, Eskdale): Devastation is a usage of civilised warfare. Wellington devastated the country around Torres Vedras.

*MR. DILLON: I think that is an unfortunate interruption. In the first place, Torres Vedras was in the early part of the last century, and the usages of warfare have changed since then. Secondly, when Wellington devastated the country before Torres Vedras he devastated it with the consent of the inhabitants he was defending. Will the hon. Member undertake to say if the sack of Badajoz, or of other towns in the Peninsula, were to be repeated to-day that every civilised country in Europe and America would not cry shame on such deeds? But I have yet to learn that Wellington took women prisoners of war, or that he got the women to take an oath not to take up arms against him. But in order to show that this is not an old case, let me read what took place at Standerton only the other day. This is a telegram describing the operations of General French—

> "The effects of General French's eastward movement are seen along the line of communication. The scene at Standerton is almost unique.
>
> "Three convoys arrived the other day almost at the same time, and as far as the eye could reach was seen a never-ending line of ox wagons, while a hospital train with a red-crossed carriage steamed slowly away, bearing its human freight south.
>
> "The longest convoy comprised women and children, who are arriving in hundreds, and whose immediate resting-place is on the high ground above the Vaal towards the south-east.
>
> "Opposite them, at a distance, is a laager containing earlier arrivals, and further off a large number of neatly-arranged tents containing the first arrivals, with horses, cows, sheep, goats, and pigs innumerable, the stock of these unwilling emigrants from homes which unhappily have been harbours of refuge to those Boers who, unmindful of the clemency offered by Lord Kitchener, elect to fight a losing, not to say a suicidal, game of war to the bitter end."

That telegram, which is in the *Daily Mail* of the 21st February, shows beyond all question that at this moment General French is pursuing the same policy of devastation, and is carrying away women and children against their will. I shall await with curiosity to see what attempt the Secretary of State for War will make in defence of this extraordinary policy. I assert without fear of contradiction that this policy of shutting up women and children in prison camps is entirely without precedent in modern times, and that therefore the Government which indulges in it is disgracing and dragging in the mire the good name of this country. Now let me go a step further. Not only have women and children been shut up in these camps and treated as prisoners of war, but when the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs made a charge the other day—which I am constrained to believe—that in this camp a notice was posted stating that those families whose husbands and brothers were still on commando would be put on half rations, and would only be restored to full rations when their relatives surrendered, I expected a most indignant denial from the right hon. Gentleman, but all he said was that the hon. Member was making this charge without an atom of evidence. The hon. Member had exactly the same evidence, namely, Reuter's telegram, which the right hon. Gentleman had himself the other day when he made charges in connection with the Esau case.

MR. BRODRICK: I told the hon. Gentleman that I had other corroboration that the report was absolutely true.

*MR. DILLON: But the charges were made on the faith of a Reuter message.

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS (KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS).

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to control the arrangements for the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms in the Department of the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House.

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of,—Mr. James Bailey, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Richard Cavendish, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Dalziel, Sir Horatio Davies, Mr. Firbank, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Leigh Bennett, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Macdona, Dr. Macdonnell, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. P. J. Power, and Mr. William Redmond.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

Adjourned at five minutes after
Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 26th February, 1901.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

MANCHESTER (MARKET STREET AREA) IMPROVEMENTS BILL [H.L.].

PORTMADOC, BEDDGELERT, AND SOUTH SNOWDON RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

TYNESIDE TRAMWAYS AND TRAMROADS BILL [H.L.].

Presented, and read 1^a.

CORK, BLACKROCK, AND PASSAGE RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

EASTON AND CHURCH HOPE RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

HARPENDEN DISTRICT GAS BILL [H.L.].

MILFORD DOCKS BILL [H.L.].

Presented; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills introduced in pursuance of the provisions of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, have been complied with :—

Caledonian Electric Power Company.
Caledonian Railway.
Clyde Valley Electrical Power.
Glasgow and South Western Railway.
Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Transfer.
Paisley Police and Public Health.
North British Railway.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 2558. United States (New Orleans). Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, for advances to Government, authorised by Parliament from 5th January, 1900, to 5th January, 1901.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Ninth Annual Report of proceedings of the Inspection Committee, for the year ended 20th November, 1900; with appendices.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACT, 1869, AND AMENDING ACTS.

Scheme for the management of the charity of William Price, in the parish of Fareham, in the county of Southampton, founded by will dated 24th August, 1721. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 14.)

EARLY CLOSING OF SHOPS.

*LORD AVEBURY: My Lords, when last year I had the honour of bringing an Early Closing Bill before the attention of the House the noble Marquess at the head of the Government intimated that, in his opinion, the subject had not yet been thoroughly considered, at any rate, by your Lordships. But in reply to a subsequent question the noble Marquess was good enough to say that the subject was one which it would be well to inquire into, but suggested that, owing to the lateness of the session, the inquiry should be deferred. I have every reason to believe that there will be no opposition to the motion standing in my name, and it will therefore be unnecessary for me to trouble your Lordships by going into the whole question, but I will only observe that the House of Commons have passed a unanimous resolution that the hours of labour in shops are excessive, and that legislation is necessary.

The Committee which sat in 1886 reported unanimously that in many places the hours of labour range as high as eighty-four per week, or thirty hours more than are allowed under the Factory Acts. I have satisfied myself that, though they are shorter now in some places, in others they are even longer. It is quite unnecessary, I am convinced, to point out to your Lordships how very injurious these long hours must be, especially in the case of women. Your Lordships will remember the strong testimony last year on the point given by Lord Lister, who speaks, of course, with much greater weight than it is possible for me to do. The Committee suggested a Bill drawn on the lines of that which we suggest, and which has been examined and approved by two subsequent House of Commons Committees. I am glad to say that in this case there is no conflict between capital and labour, between employers and employed. The shopkeepers of the country—and I say it to their honour—are most anxious to see the hours of labour shortened. We shall be able to satisfy the Committee that most of the Tradesmen's Associations through the country are in favour of the legislation which we suggest; and of the few which hold back some do so because they wish for a more drastic measure. The noble Marquess stated, very naturally, that the interests and convenience of consumers ought to be considered. No doubt the Committee will carefully consider them.

In the Early Closing Bill, which has several times passed its second reading in the House of Commons, the consent of the local authority is required before anything can be done. We thought that was a sufficient safeguard, though personally I feel sure that if the hour of closing is left, as three House of Commons Committees have agreed, to the shopkeepers themselves, there is no fear that they will select an hour which would inconvenience their customers. In this respect the opinion of the Trades Councils is most important, and they are strongly in favour of legislation. The long hours of labour in shops debar the small shopkeepers and their assistants from the opportunities of fresh air, exercise, amusement, self-improvement, and family intercourse which are open to other classes, and I believe no reform is more urgently needed or will do more to promote the health and happiness of the inhabitants of our great cities.

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the length of the hours of labour in shops; and whether any and, if so, what steps should be taken to diminish them."—(*Lord Avebury.*)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, there has been considerable discussion on this matter, mainly at the instance of the noble Lord, for nearly twenty years past, and I think, perhaps, the time has come when it would be desirable to obtain some fuller information on the subject as to the wishes of the classes concerned than we have to-day. This is one of the cases, like those concerned with temperance, in which the two Houses of Parliament occupy a somewhat difficult position. They are asked to legislate as to matters affecting the personal happiness and well-being or, at least, the comfort of a very large number of persons, of very large classes, to which with scarcely an exception members of the two Houses do not themselves belong. It is, therefore, very difficult for them without careful examination, and without obtaining evidence from the persons who are immediately concerned, to know how such a measure would interfere with the comfort of the classes who are affected by it.

But what is quite clear is that the measure of the noble Lord is an absolutely new one. The Factory Acts have nothing to do with it. In the Factory Acts Parliament has provided certain hours beyond which persons concerned shall not work, and, consequently, sufficient attention has been given to the matter to ensure, to a certain extent, that no injustice is done to either side by the limitation of the natural liberties of the working man; but that is not the case with the class of matters which the noble Lord has taken in hand. He does not propose any fixed rule whatever. He could not do so; but what he proposes is that the local authorities, which differ very much in different places, should have the power of determining whether or not men might work during the latter part of the day, and, what is more important, whether the consumers of the necessaries of life should be allowed to buy them late in the day or not. It is a very striking interference with the liberty both of the consumer and of the shopkeeper. Whether it is wise or not is precisely the matter which this Committee for which the noble Lord has moved should inquire into. I thought from the few words he has dropped that the noble Lord's mind was considering more what employers and philanthropists thought than what was thought by the consumers, whose whole day is occupied by their avocations, and to whom, therefore, it is a matter of extreme importance that there should be no hindrance to their making the necessary provision for themselves during the later hours of the day.

I am inclined to agree with the noble Lord that we had better obtain from those concerned all the information we can. I would only note the point that on such a matter it is very easy to get the evidence of philanthropic persons who are urged to it by very strong motives, but it is very difficult to get the evidence of the ordinary consumer, to whom the danger which may seem to lurk in the proposal may be distant and unreal enough. I trust the noble Lord will do his utmost to let us have evidence of all kinds, that he will not bring forward merely philanthropic persons with extremely amiable sentiments; but that he will try to find out what the ordinary working men, who exist in millions, think of the limitation of their power of providing the necessaries of life for themselves and their families, what they think of the proposal, and whether they are of opinion that the relief given to the shopmen is adequate to the inconvenience and trouble that they would sustain. I hope the Committee may really do good and enable us to ascertain fully the feelings of the working classes on this point. It is entirely a matter of their feelings, but we must not be led into assuming that they have feelings which are merely lent them by persons who affect to speak in their name.

There has been a tendency in this House rather to claim that, when a Commission has been appointed and has agreed with more or less unanimity to a certain Report, there is an obligation incumbent on the Government to adopt the policy and wishes of the Commission. That is, of course, an entirely new contention, which until these later years no one has heard of; but I only wish to say that in assenting to this Committee I absolutely repudiate the idea that this or any Government will be bound by the decision to which the Committee comes. The evidence which the Committee collects will be part of the material on which the decision of the Government will be based, but it will involve no obligation whatever on them. I have no objection to the Committee.

*LORD AVEBURY: May I just explain that I do not propose that the local authority alone should fix the hours, but they should be empowered to act on the representation of the shopkeepers. I entirely concur with the noble Marquess that what we wish to have is not the opinion of philanthropic persons, but the opinion of those who are practically interested in the matter. There are a number of associations which I am sure the noble Marquess will admit are entitled to speak in the name of the shopkeepers, and which I shall be able to show are almost unanimous in supporting legislation; while, as to working-class opinion, there are the trades councils and trade unions, which are the official representatives and may be fairly taken to know the views of the working classes. I see that my noble friend shakes his head. If there are other means of finding out the feelings of the working classes, and the noble Marquess will suggest them, it would be very desirable that they should be employed. Speaking as a man of business, I am sure that shopkeepers would never wish to shut up their shops at a time when they were doing any substantial business. But these are, of course, matters for the Committee.

On Question, motion agreed to. Committee ordered accordingly.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Committee have nominated the following Lords to serve on the Standing Committee:—

L. Archbp. of Canterbury.
E. Halsbury. (*L. Chancellor.*)
L. Archbp. of York.
D. Devonshire. (*L. President.*)
M. Salisbury. (*L. Privy Seal.*)
D. Bedford.
D. Marlborough.
D. Northumberland.
M. Lansdowne.
M. Bath.
M. Ripon.
M. Breadalbane.
E. Pembroke and Montgomery. (*L. Stewart.*)
E. Clarendon. (*L. Chamberlain.*)
E. Denbigh.
E. Stamford.
E. Chesterfield.
E. Shaftesbury.
E. Jersey.
E. Lauderdale.
E. Carnwath.

E. Stanhope.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Portsmouth.
E. Hardwicke.
E. Spencer.
E. Mansfield.
E. Onslow.
E. Grey.
E. Morley.
E. Vane. (*M. Londonderry.*)
E. Cawdor.
E. Camperdown.
E. Dudley.
E. Kimberley.
E. Selborne.
E. Ancaster.
E. Crewe.
V. Falkland.
V. Sidmouth.
V. Gordon. (*E. Aberdeen.*)
V. Cross.
V. Peel.
V. Knutsford.
V. Llandaff.
V. Goschen.
V. Ridley.
L. Bp. Winchester.
L. Zouche of Haryngworth.
L. Windsor.
L. Saltoun.
L. Balfour.
L. Boyle. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Churchill.
L. Harris.
L. Colchester.
L. Plunket.
L. Rosebery. (*E. Rosebery.*)
L. Poltimore.
L. Kintore. (*E. Kintore.*)
L. Leigh.
L. Elgin. (*E. Elgin and Kincardine.*)
L. Belper.
L. Kinnaird.
L. Lawrence.
L. Aberdare.
L. Coleridge.
L. Fermanagh. (*E. Eren.*)
L. Norton.
L. Rowton.
L. Reay.
L. Tweedmouth.
L. Monk Bretton.
L. Northbourne.
L. Sudley. (*E. Arran.*)
L. Monkswell.
L. Lingen.
L. Ashbourne.
L. Thring.
L. Macnaghten.
L. Cheylesmore.
L. Morris.
L. Iveagh.
L. Kelvin.
L. Ashcombe.
L. Newton.
L. Hawkesbury.
L. Stanmore.
L. Welby.
L. Davey.
L. Wandsworth.
L. Burghclere.
L. James.
L. Pirbright.
L. Glenesk.
L. Heneage.
L. Glanusk.
L. Brampton.
L. Cranworth.
L. Avebury.
L. Alverstone.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 26th February, 1901.

Several others Members took and subscribed the Oath.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

LONDON, TILBURY, AND SOUTHEND RAILWAY BILL.

Petition for additional provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PETITIONS.

BEER BILL.

Two Petitions from Andover, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (HIGHER GRADE AND EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS).

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Manchester; Pudsey; Soothill; Sowerby Bridge; Rochdale; and Birkenhead; to lie upon the Table.

MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

Petition of the Mining Association of Great Britain, against; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1896.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Whitby and Monkseaton; Ealing; Woolwich; and Abram; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Paper [presented 22nd February] to be printed. [No. 45.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1901-2.

Copy presented, of the Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March, 1902, together with a copy of the Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury relating thereto [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 46.]

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Copy presented, of Ninth Annual Report of the proceedings of the Inspection Committee for the year ended 20th November, 1900, with Appendices [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 47.]

BARRACKS ACT, 1890.

Account presented, showing the money raised and issued under the provisions of the Act, the securities created in respect thereof, and the amount expended for the purposes of the Act to the 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 48.]

PUBLIC OFFICES (ACQUISITION OF SITE) ACT, 1895, SESSION 2; PUBLIC OFFICES (WESTMINSTER) SITE ACT, 1896; PUBLIC OFFICES (WHITEHALL) SITE ACT, 1897; AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS EXPENSES ACT, 1898.

Account presented, showing the moneys issued out of the Consolidated Fund, the moneys borrowed and the securities created in respect thereof, the disposal of moneys issued to the National Debt Commissioners for temporary investment under the provisions of the Acts, and the expenditure to the 31st March, 1900; together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 49.]

ARMY (YEOMANRY) (REPORT OF COMMITTEE).

Copy presented, of Report of Committee on the organisation, arms, and equipment of the Yeomanry Force [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1900–1901).

Copy presented, of Supplementary Estimate of the further amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1901, to meet additional expenditure occasioned by the War in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 50.]

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1901-2.

Estimates presented, for the year 1901-2, with Explanation of Differences [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 51.]

NAVY STATEMENT (EXPLANATORY OF ESTIMATES).

Copy presented, of Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates, 1901-2 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE).

Copy presented, of Supplementary Estimate of His Majesty's Navy for the year 1900-1901 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 52.]

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Bank of England.—Copy of all applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for advances to the Government authorised by Parliament, from 5th January, 1900, to 5th January, 1901 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 53.]

2. Private Bills.—Copy of Rules for the Practice and Procedure of the Referees on Private Bills (in pursuance of Standing Order 88); to be printed. [No. 54.]

3. Church Temporalities (Ireland).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission in respect of Church Temporalities in Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 55.]

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND, 1899-1900.

Copy ordered, "of Accounts of the Civil Contingencies Fund, 1899-1900, showing (1) the Receipts and Payments in connection with the Fund in the year ended the 31st day of March, 1900; (2) the distribution of the Capital of the Fund at the commencement and close of the year; together with Copy of the Correspondence with the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

NATIONAL GALLERY REPORT.

Copy ordered, "of the Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the year 1900, with Appendices."—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

LEAD POISONING.

Address for "Return giving (a) the number of cases of lead poisoning reported under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1895, in the manufacture of earthenware and china during the period from the 1st day of January, 1899, to the 31st day of December, 1900, distinguishing between cases in the decorative processes and cases in the process of dipping, ware cleaning, etc.; (b) the number of persons suspended from working in dangerous processes by the certifying surgeons for the Hanley, Burslem, Tunstall, and Stoke districts in the same manufacture during the same period, in pursuance of the special rules (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 235, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

TRAWL VESSELS (PROSECUTIONS).

Return ordered, "for the years 1892 to 1900, inclusive, ending the 31st day of December, of prosecutions undertaken in the Sheriff Courts of Scotland, under the Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Acts, of the Masters of Beam or Otter Trawl vessels for alleged infringement of the bye-laws of the Fishery Board, or the provisions of the Acts prohibiting Beam or Otter Trawling within certain waters round the coasts of Scotland, in the following form, with Summary:—

Date of alleged offence.	Name, etc., of person charged.	Name, Letters, and Number of Beam of Otter Trawl Vessel.	Where alleged offence committed.	Statute or bye-law contravened.	Place and date of trial.	Result of trial.	By whom detected.

Summary.

Names, etc., of persons charged more than once during foregoing period of eight years.	Number of times such persons were charged.	Total amount of fines.	Total length of imprisonment undergone.

—(*Mr Cathcart Wason.*)

TENANTS' IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Order for Second Reading upon Wednesday, 19th June, read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

Leave given to present another Bill instead thereof.—(*Major Jameson.*)

TENANTS' IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND) (No. 2) BILL.

"For improving the condition of Tenants in cities, towns, and villages in Ireland," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 19th June, and to be printed. [Bill 67.]

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—INQUIRY INTO MANAGEMENT.

MR. SOAMES (Norfolk, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can state when the inquiry into the management of the war will be begun.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am afraid it is impossible for me at the present time to say anything more definite than I have already stated.

THE JAMESON RAID INDEMNITY.

*MR. ALFRED DAVIES (Carmarthen Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will lay before the House all communications that have passed since the annexation of the Transvaal Republic between himself and Mr. Rhodes or other persons with respect to the claim of the late Transvaal Government with reference to the Jameson Raid. and also the ground of any set-off which can prevent the British Government enforcing this claim.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): No communication has passed on the subject since the annexation of the Transvaal.

*MR. ALFRED DAVIES: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the latter part of the question?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: It seems a strange thing to ask me, assuming there is a good case against the company, to find a ground of set-off for the company.

*MR. ALFRED DAVIES: May I refer the right hon. Gentleman to the speech of——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

PATENT RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether British patent rights now extend to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No alteration has at present been made in the Patent Laws of the late Republics.

NEWSPAPER PROSECUTIONS—CASE OF MR. ALBERT CARTWRIGHT.

MR. HUMPHREYS-OWEN (Montgomeryshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether proceedings have been taken against Mr. Albert Cartwright, editor of the *South African News*, on the ground that he had reprinted in his paper a letter alleging that on a particular occasion Lord Kitchener had given instructions that General De Wet's force, when surrounded, should not be allowed to surrender, but be shot down; whether he is aware that the letter making these charges had already appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of 15th January, and the parts of it conveying this charge in the London *Times* of 16th January; and whether it is intended to take any steps against the editors of these papers.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have no official information on the subject of the proceedings against Mr. Cartwright which were presumably taken by the Cape Government.

TREATMENT OF BOER WOMEN AND CHILDREN—RATIONS.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the women and children confined in camps are placed on full rations if they voluntarily surrender, but on reduced rations if the husbands and fathers do not surrender.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I am in communication with Lord Kitchener on this subject. The difficulty of feeding the very large number of persons who are now coming into these camps is very great, and I understand that a distinction has been drawn between those who have surrendered with their husbands and fathers and those who come in to be fed while their relations are still in the field. The information at my disposal is not sufficient to enable me to give an exact answer at this moment.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): Does the distinction apply to women whose husbands are prisoners or whose relatives may happen to have been shot during the war?

*MR. BRODRICK: I know no more than I have given to the House.

PAARDEBURG OPERATIONS—GENERAL COLVILE.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Midlothian): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state why no report on the battle of Paardeberg has been received from General Sir Henry Colvile.

*Mr. BRODRICK: Major-General Sir Henry Colvile held a subordinate position at the battle of Paardeberg, and was therefore not required to make any report.

IRISH PRISONERS AT ST. HELENA.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, amongst the Boer prisoners held in St. Helena, there are a number of Irishmen who had taken the oath of allegiance to the South African Republic; and whether these men are to be tried for their participation in the war, or to be allowed to return to their native home; and, if so, when.

*The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): There are some Irish prisoners at St. Helena; they will be treated in the same way as their Boer comrades—as ordinary prisoners of war. No release of prisoners can take place before the termination of the war.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Can the noble Lord give us any idea when that will be?

[No answer was given.]

SOUTH AFRICA CONCILIATION COMMITTEE—LIEUTENANT MORRISON'S LETTER.

*Sir E. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General whether His Majesty's Government propose to prosecute an association called the Conciliation Committee, which has publicly circulated charges against British officers and soldiers based on statements alleged to have been made by Lieutenant Morrison, but the accuracy of which that officer has denied.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs): I have no material no which it would be proper for me to express an opinion on this question even if it were desirable that I should do so.

PAY OF BRITISH SOLDIERS DURING CAPTIVITY.

Mr. SOAMES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the pay of British officers and men is stopped when they are prisoners of war; and, if so, whether any allowance is made to their wives and families.

*Lord STANLEY: The pay of prisoners of war is not now stopped unless their surrender is proved to have been the result of their own neglect or misconduct. At no period of the war did the issue of separation allowance to their families cease.

THE CASE OF ESAU.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War why he has not laid on the Table the telegram from Sir Alfred Milner with reference to the case of Esau as promised.

*Mr. BRODRICK: I have laid it on the Table. As I gave its terms *viva voce* I do not think the hon. Member can be inconvenienced.

TRANSPORT—DEMURRAGE AT SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS.

Mr. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can inform the House of the total demurrage paid to vessels during 1900 at the ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban respectively; and if he would grant a Return specifying the names of the vessels, the cargo carried, the port of demurrage, the time of detention, and the money paid as demurrage in each case.

*Lord STANLEY: The operations at the Cape have required a large number of vessels to be retained at the various ports to meet the constantly arising demands for transport. I am not in a position at the present moment to state what has been the exact expenditure upon any particular war service, but it wil appear in the accounts rendered to Parliament or can appear in a Return.

ENTERIC AND DYSENTERY STATISTICS.

Mr. COCHRANE (Ayrshire, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can furnish any Return to show, from the experience gained in South Africa, the comparative liability to suffer from enteric and from dysentery of men at different ages.

*Lord STANLEY: The comparative liability of soldiers to suffer from enteric fever at different ages is already well established and will be found in the Annual Reports of the Army Medical Department. In the Report for 1898 at pages 500 and 501 the South African experience is given for the years 1891 to 1898. There are no special Returns available in connection with the campaign. As regards dysentery there are no similar Returns available.

INOCULATION FOR ENTERIC FEVER.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that Professor Wright, of Netley, has stated, as the results of inoculation for enteric fever in one regiment, that the incidence in the inoculated was 0·55 and the death rate 0·27 per cent., while in the uninoculated it was 6·14 and 3·35 per cent. respectively; and whether he can inform the House of the results of inoculation for typhoid or enteric fever among the forces serving in South Africa.

LORD STANLEY: The statement of Professor Wright referred to the official statistics from India for the 15th Hussars. There are no statistics available for the forces in South Africa. It will not, I fear, be possible to go into them properly until the war is over. The pressure on our medical officers for returns of various descriptions is a heavy addition to their pressing duties.

THE STORMBERG CASUALTIES.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War will he explain how it happened that two privates of the Royal Irish Regiment, who were reported by the War Office as killed at Stormberg on 10th December, 1899, were on 1st February, 1901, fourteen months after, reported by the War Office as alive and serving with their regiment; and what steps do the War Office propose to take in the future to prevent such reports being made and not corrected.

LORD STANLEY: The information to which the hon. and gallant Member alludes was furnished by the officer commanding on the 31st January, 1901, and was to the effect that three privates of the Royal Irish Rifles who had been reported as killed at Stormberg were still alive. It is inevitable that such mistakes should occur in a campaign, especially in the case of a reverse. Every effort has been made by the casualty department at Cape Town to clear up such matters, but owing to the constant movements of the various regiments and the distances and difficulty of communication, it has been found very difficult to secure greater accuracy and earlier correction of mistakes.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS (MILITARY NOTES).

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say why the Paper entitled South African Republics (Military Notes), which was presented by Command, and laid upon the Table on 12th December, 1900, has not been issued to Members; and when it will be issued.

MR. BRODRICK: It was considered that the wants of Members would be sufficiently met by supplying copies to the library. There are not enough of the stock remaining in England to give a full supply to the House, and it was thought to be a waste of money to reprint the work.

MR. CHANNING: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there is a considerable demand for this Paper?

MR. BRODRICK: There are several copies in the library.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there are twenty copies for 670 Members?

MR. BRODRICK: All the 670 are not interested in the matter.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): Seeing that intimation was given that the copies might be taken away, is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there are only one or two left?

MR. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I have one on my library table at the present moment.

MOUNTAIN BATTERIES.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state what is the present armament of the mountain batteries of the Army; whether the guns are still muzzle-loaders, firing black powder ammunition; whether one of the two mountain batteries in South Africa has been re-armed with naval guns; and what has become of the other.

MR. BRODRICK: It is the case that the guns of the Indian mountain batteries are of an old pattern, that they are muzzle-loaders, and fire black powder. Of the two batteries in South Africa one has been re-armed with heavy guns; the other, which has retained its guns, is in Natal. A new design of mountain gun has been approved, and manufacture is about to begin.

ARMY RESERVE—SECTION D.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that a large number of men in Section D of the Army Reserve, who, on the completion of their first period of service, were re-engaged for four years only, their attestation paper stating that the service was to be for Home defence, having been sent out to South Africa, are now detained beyond the period for which they were engaged; whether there is anything in the attestation paper on this subject; whether there is any intention of giving compensation to the men of Section D so detained, who consider they have been unfairly treated; and whether, on completing their seventeenth year of service, they will have some additional allowance in the way of pension or otherwise.

LORD STANLEY: I am not aware that there are any men of Section D of the Army Reserve serving in South Africa or detained with the Colours contrary to the terms of their engagement. Men of this section are liable, as shown by their attestation paper, to serve in the United Kingdom or elsewhere, and to be retained for an extra year if a state of war exists when their four years engagement expires. It is not proposed to compensate them in respect of this extra year's service, seeing that they accepted the liability for it and received a retaining fee.

CAVALRY ESTABLISHMENTS.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the 4th squadrons added in 1900 are permanent additions to the establishment; and, if so, why, in the case of the King's Dragoon Guards and the 3rd Dragoon Guards, the 4th squadron was broken up on their departure for the front; and whether it is intended to reduce them to three service squadrons and one reserve.

MR. BRODRICK: The 4th squadrons were added to the King's Dragoon Guards and 3rd Dragoon Guards for home defence purposes. They were added in 1900, and, as an increase of this nature is at first in recruits and not in trained soldiers, the regiments on their departure for South Africa only made up three squadrons each—which is the war establishment of all the cavalry regiments in South Africa. The question of whether the permanent organisation of cavalry at home shall be three or four squadrons is under consideration.

PURCHASES OF ARMY HORSES IN IRELAND.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state the total cost of the department for purchasing horses in Ireland; also if, in view of the statement of the Financial Secretary that under 300 Irish horses were purchased from non-dealers in Ireland, he would either abolish altogether the establishment for the purchase of horses in Ireland or insist on the remount officers exhibiting by direct purchase a little more reliance on their own judgment of horseflesh; and whether the Irish farmer loses about £12 per horse by the present system of purchasing almost exclusively from dealers.

LORD STANLEY: There is no intention of abolishing the establishment for purchasing horses in Ireland. As I informed the House, efforts will be made to purchase from private individuals as well as dealers. I cannot give any information as to prices, but I will ascertain the cost of the department.

COLONEL NOLAN: If the noble Lord will look up the records he will find that exactly the same answer was given eight or nine years ago.

MAJOR RASCH: But was not the establishment started in order to get rid of the dealers?

LORD STANLEY: We wish to give equal facilities as far as possible to private individuals.

COLONEL NOLAN: Will you see that they get as good a price?

LORD STANLEY: I hope every horse is bought at its proper value.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Do the representatives of the War Office in Ireland find any reluctance on the part of the Irish to sell horses to be used in the prosecution of a war to which they have a serious objection?

[No answer was given.]

IRISH MANUFACTURES AND GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether the Government will establish a receiving depôt in Dublin for samples of tenders from Irish manufacturers and contractors who are desirous to compete for contracts for supplies and fittings for the troops and horses stationed in Ireland.

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir. I have nothing to add to the reply given to a similar question put by the hon. Member in July last.*

CRIMEAN SOLDIERS' WIDOWS AND THE PATRIOTIC FUND.

SIR JOHN LENG: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is within his knowledge that several hundreds of widows of Crimean soldiers, some of them eighty years of age and upwards, have not yet received any benefit from the Patriotic Fund, which was subscribed forty-six years ago in anticipation that such widows would be promptly benefited; and whether, in view of the arrangements now being made by the Government for the relief of the widows and orphans of the soldiers who have fallen in the present war, anything can be done for the unrelieved widows whose husbands served in the Crimean campaign.

LORD STANLEY: The Patriotic Fund was raised to assist the widows and children of those killed in action or dying on active service during the Crimean War. All widows coming within these conditions and now surviving are, so far as is known to the Commissioners, in receipt of permanent allowances. Under the extended powers given to them in 1897 the Commissioners have applied the surplus of the Fund to the relief of 936 widows of soldiers and sailors having Crimean war service who were not eligible for relief under the Commission's earlier powers. The Commissioners are, I understand, obtaining an actuarial valuation of their funds, with a view to considering the possibility of increasing this number. They believe, however, that the number of widows of Crimean soldiers surviving far exceeds that which they can hope to assist.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Are not the Crimean veterans in Irish workhouses entitled to money out of this fund?

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir.

MR. FLAVIN: Oh, of course the workhouse is good enough for them!

VOLUNTEER AMMUNITION IN ABERDEEN.

MR. MACONOCHIE (Aberdeenshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if arrangements can be made to hold a stock of ammunition for volunteers in the county of Aberdeen.

LORD STANLEY: Every volunteer unit holds at its own headquarters a stock of ammunition proportionate to its strength.

VISIT OF IMPERIAL TROOPS TO AUSTRALIA.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how much has been paid to the Colonial Governments in reference to the visit of Imperial troops to Australia; and whether any, and, if so, what portion of the expense of the visit has been paid by the Colonial Governments.

*LORD STANLEY: No payment has been made to the Colonial Governments in this connection, as the Imperial troops are to be the guests of the Colonies during their visit.

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND RETURN.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War when the Return, Royal Patriotic Fund, voted 14th December last, will be presented to the House and circulated to Members.

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* See *The Parliamentary Debates* [Fourth Series], Vol. lxxxvi., page 1508.

*LORD STANLEY: The Return will be ready very shortly.

ARMY CONTRACTS—TEMPORARY SECRECY AS TO PRICES.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to the fact that the records of the War Office and of the Committees of this House show that in past wars secret contracts have opened the door to corruption and to excessive profits for middlemen, the statement of the Financial Secretary that the price of horses purchased in Ireland during the past year is to remain a State secret forms a portion of the policy of secrecy in all contracts, or does this secrecy extend only to the price of horses or the price of Irish horses.

*LORD STANLEY: The purchase of horses is not made by contract, and it is not considered to the public interest to publish the prices while the present purchases continue.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS FOR THE NAVY.

MR. M'FADDEN (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been called to the Pastoral Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, assembled in National Synod at Maynooth last year, in which they complained that though Roman Catholic sailors were required to go to every quarter of the globe and to be ready at all times to fight, no Roman Catholic priest is allowed to accompany them, and no proper provision is made for the practise of their religion; and whether the Government will take immediate steps to remedy this state of things by appointing Roman Catholic chaplains sufficient for the spiritual requirements of the Roman Catholics at present serving in His Majesty's Navy.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): My attention has not been drawn to the letter referred to by the hon. Member, but the statement that no proper provision is made for the practise of their religion by Roman Catholic seamen in the Royal Navy is incorrect. Every possible facility, consistent with the exigencies of the Service, is accorded, and while it is impossible to place a Roman Catholic priest on board His Majesty's ships, provision is made at all ports where Roman Catholic missions exist to afford spiritual ministrations to the men. As stated in my reply to the hon. Member for Clare on Friday last, a Roman Catholic chaplain has been sent to China, whose services are in addition to those provided locally. The Admiralty is always ready to consider, and, if possible, to give effect to any reasonable proposals which may be made with the object of providing for the spiritual welfare of men of all creeds serving in the fleet.

COLONEL NOLAN: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that an impression prevails in some quarters that a ship would sink if there were a Catholic priest on board?

A NATIONALIST MEMBER: What greater difficulty is there in sending a Roman Catholic priest on board a man-of-war than there is in the case of a Protestant?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The difficulty is to find accommodation for more chaplains than we already have. The Admiralty, too, are advised that more chaplains are not necessary.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Will the hon. Gentleman put himself in communication with Cardinal Logue?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I cannot give any promise to communicate with any particular bishop or archbishop. Cardinal Vaughan has been in consultation with the Admiralty, and I understand that he represents the Roman Catholic view.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: But is it not the fact that most of the Catholic sailors in the Navy are Irishmen, and in view of that will the hon. Member communicate with Cardinal Logue?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No, Sir. I cannot give any such undertaking,

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Then I give notice I will raise this question on the Navy Estimates.

COOPER'S HILL COLLEGE.

MR. O'MARA (Kilkenny, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state the names of the Board of Visitors of Cooper's Hill College who recommended the dismissal of the seven professors of physics and engineering, also of those who refused to make such a recommendation; what amount over and above the maintenance of the college has been received in students' fees for the last five years; what urgent reasons exist calling for these dismissals in the midst of the year's course; can he say how will such a proceeding increase the efficiency of the college; and will he grant the inquiry asked for.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing): The names of the members of the Board of Visitors of Cooper's Hill College who recommended the changes which have been decided upon, involving the retirement of certain of the present teaching staff, are as follows:—Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Sir William Preece, Sir Alexander Rendel, Mr. Hugh Leonard, Colonel Pearson, Sir William Bisset, Sir Courtney Ilbert, and Sir John Wolfe Barry. One member of the Board, Sir Douglas Fox, was absent on the Continent, and gave no opinion; otherwise the Board was unanimous. During the last five years the cost of maintaining the college exceeded the amount received as students' fees to the extent of £7,719. I cannot within the limits of an answer to a question give the reasons for the decision which has been arrived at, but they may be found in the Papers, which ought before now to have been in the hands of Members. As the matter has been very fully considered by the highest competent authorities I do not propose to hold any further inquiry.

Mr. O'MARA: Is it a fact that one member at least of the Board of Visitors who was stated to have recommended the dismissal of the professors has petitioned to have the inquiry granted?

Lord G. HAMILTON: No, Sir.

Mr. CHANNING: Will the noble Lord see that the Papers are distributed?

Lord G. HAMILTON: I have no control over the printing, but I had hoped that several days ago the Papers would be printed by now and distributed.

Mr. O'MARA: Did not Sir Douglas Fox ask to have the inquiry granted?

Lord G. HAMILTON: Sir Douglas Fox was absent.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Will the Members be given the opportunity of discussing this question?

Lord G. HAMILTON: I cannot answer the question.

BURMA JUDICIAL SERVICE.

Mr. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if his attention has been called to the speech of the Lieutenant Governor of Burma, at a recent Durbar, in which he said the time appears to have come for the establishment of a separate judicial service composed of judges both appellate and subordinate whose whole time would be devoted exclusively to judicial work; whether this statement was made on the initiative and approval of the Government of India; and if it is in contemplation to introduce this reform in other parts of India.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I have no information as to any proposals which may be under consideration for the establishment of a separate judicial service for Burma. Such a proposal, however, if it were made and approved, would not introduce any new principle, but would merely have the effect of assimilating the practice in Burma to that which has been already adopted elsewhere. There are very few, if any parts of India where civil litigation is not dealt with by a separate agency from the executive and magisterial work.

CHINA—THE LOOTING AT PEKING.

Mr. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the articles seized by the British troops in Peking, with a view to restitution after peace is declared, have been removed from the places or palaces where they were seized; and, if so, whether these articles were left untouched by the Russian troops during their prior occupation of the same places or palaces; and, if so, on what grounds the British troops acted differently from the Russian troops.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The articles in question have not been seized, as the question implies, but put into safe custody by General Gaselee with a view to restitution to their owners when the war is over. I have no information as to what has happened to all the other articles which were in the palace when it was first occupied by the Russian troops.

BRITISH TRADE STATISTICS—EXPORTS.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state the total value in 1900 of the purchases by the mother country of goods produced within the British Empire, and of the value of the goods made in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland bought by the Empire, and of the value of the goods bought of and sold to foreign countries.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The declared value of the imports of merchandise (that is, not including bullion and specie) from British possessions in 1900 was £110,099,117, and from foreign countries £413,436,422. The declared value of the exports of British and Irish produce from the United Kingdom to British possessions in the same year was £94,322,232, and to foreign countries £197,129,074. The figures are subject to revision on final examination of the accounts.

IMPORTS OF FOREIGN MANUFACTURES.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can inform the House what the total value of the import of goods manufactured by foreign labour was in 1900, and how much revenue to the public a tax of ten per cent. thereon would produce.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: It is not possible to state the value of the import of goods manufactured by foreign labour, the statistics compiled by the Customs only showing the countries from which the goods were shipped, and not the nationality of the labour employed in their manufacture, which would be quite impossible to arrive at in the case of goods made abroad from materials imported from this country in a half manufactured condition.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: But did not the imports of foreign manufactured goods last year exceed a hundred millions sterling?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I think the total was eighty-six millions odd.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): Does that include part-manufactured goods?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR was understood to reply in the negative.

TIN PLATE INDUSTRY—AMERICAN DUTIES.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware of the competition of the tin plate works in the United States of America, supported by their tariff, with the tin plate works in South Wales, and of the danger of this industry being lost to the people of the Principality; and whether he can make representation to the Government of the United States of America with a view to induce them to reduce their duty on tin plates entering their country.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir, I am aware of the competition between the tin plate works in the United States and the tin plate works in South Wales. It is satisfactory, however, that while the exports of tin plate to America have declined, those to other countries have increased in recent years. Discretion as regards the suggestion in the last paragraph rests with the Foreign Office, but I have no reason to suppose that any representations from this country to the United States Government with a view to a reduction of the duty on tin plate would be likely to have any result.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Will the right hon. Gentleman urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take fiscal measures to protect this industry?

[No answer was returned.]

DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can state the proportion of public revenue raised by direct taxation and the proportion raised by indirect taxation in the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and Germany.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): For the year 1899-1900 direct taxation contributed 48·4 per cent. of the total tax revenue of the United Kingdom, as compared with 51·6 per cent. from indirect taxation. I am afraid I cannot give the figures for foreign countries. I may, however, point out that, in the case of Federal Governments, such as the United States or Germany, any comparison, unless very carefully made, would be apt to be misleading.

TAPERING PIT PROPS AND BARS.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a meeting of the North Staffordshire Institute of Mining Engineers, held at Hanley, on 14th January, when Mr. W. N. Atkinson, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, presided, and a discussion concerning a patent for tapering pit props and bars, taken out by Mr. H. Hepplewhite, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, took place, when Mr. Atkinson spoke in favour of the patent and stated that the question of tapering props was one of economy and not one of safety, and that Mr. W. Statham stated tapering would be unsafe in some mines; whether he has any information to show that some colliery companies have declined to recognise the validity of such Inspector's patent, and refuse to pay the royalties; and whether, seeing that some colliery companies are paying the Inspector for such patent right, he will see that none of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines devote their attention to matters other than those of the safety of the men, and take measures to prevent any of them receiving money from colliery companies.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): Nothing had been heard of this matter in the Home Office until the hon. Member's question appeared on the Paper. I have now made inquiries, and find that it is the case that Mr. Hepplewhite, an Assistant Inspector of Mines, has taken out a patent for tapered props and has formed a company to run it, also that the validity of the patent is disputed. Without going so far as to say that no inspector may ever be interested in an invention, I think Mr. Hepplewhite's interest in this patent is incompatible with his position as Inspector of Mines, and I have decided that he must abandon either the one or the other. I have, however, no reason to think that he has ever acted as inspector otherwise than properly and impartially. Mr. Atkinson, who has no interest in the matter, informs me that he did not speak in favour of the patent at the Institute of Mining Engineers. In my opinion he was perfectly justified in joining in the discussion on the subject of tapered props.

GUN LICENCES.

MR. JOHN GORDON (Londonderry, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, with the view of preventing accidents and increasing the revenue, the Government will introduce legislation to compel the purchasers of pistols and revolvers to exhibit their gun licences before buying firearms from dealers.

*MR. RITCHIE: I cannot make any promise as to legislation on this subject.

THE JURY SYSTEM.

MR. JOHN GORDON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the dissatisfaction among jurors, the Home Office will consider the advisability of introducing at an early date adequate reform of the present system.

*MR. RITCHIE: I cannot give any promise as to the introduction of legislation on this subject.

METROPOLITAN POLICE PAY.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will reconsider the question of increased pay for the metropolitan police constables so far as to make the entire increase granted pensionable, instead of granting one-half in the shape of a lodging allowance, especially as the allocation of one-half the increase in the latter form has caused dissatisfaction among those who do not participate owing to their being lodged in the police station houses.

*MR. RITCHIE: Beyond pointing out that the statement that half the increased pay for the Metropolitan Police Force has been given in the shape of a lodging allowance does not accurately represent the facts, I can only say that I am not prepared to reconsider the decision to which I came after going into the question very fully and carefully in all its bearings, and which I hold to meet fully the circumstances of the case.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): Is it not the fact that the increase given to the City Police is wholly pensionable? Why should not the Metropolitan Police be treated in the same way?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

VACCINATION—THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.

*SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in view of the fact that by the working of the conscientious objector's clause in The Vaccination Act, 1898, loss of time and money are inflicted upon poor people objecting to vaccination by having to attend a police court and pay fees for a certificate, and in view of the fact that numbers of working people still neither have their children vaccinated nor obtain certificates, and of the increase in the number of vaccinations claimed as the result of that Act, he will, during the present session, introduce a Bill to completely eliminate the principle of compulsion from the Vaccination Acts.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The reply to the question of my hon. friend can only be in the negative.

VACCINATION RETURNS.

MR. THOMAS BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will grant the Return respecting Vaccination which stands on to-day's Paper.

MR. WALTER LONG: Some of the information desired could not be given at the present time. Particulars as to the expenditure out of the rates in respect of vaccination in each financial year are given in the Local Taxation Returns relating to that year; and it does not seem necessary that a special Return should be granted.

OVERCROWDING IN EAST LONDON.

MR. THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he is aware of the difficulty of proving cases of overcrowding in houses occupied by aliens in East London; and whether he will consider the desirability of amending the Public Health Act, 1891 (London), in such a manner as to allow sanitary authorities to enter houses at any hour without applying for a magistrate's warrant.

MR. WALTER LONG: I am not sure what is the precise nature of the difficulty to which my hon. friend refers; but if he will bring under my notice any particular instances in which that difficulty has been experienced, I shall be happy to consider what alteration, if any, in the law may be desirable.

RATES ON AGRICULTURAL LAND.

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in granting the Return as to Rates on Agricultural Land which stands on the Paper for to-day, he will include in the Return a statement showing the sum paid to each union in lieu of one-half of the rates on agricultural land in each union.

MR. WALTER LONG: For reasons similar to those which I gave yesterday in reply to a question by my hon. friend, the Member for East Somerset, I regret that I am unable to grant the Return now asked for.

ABERDEEN POST OFFICE BUILDINGS.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether the revised plans for the erection of a new post office in Aberdeen have now been finally settled; when it is intended to begin work on the erection of this new post office; and, what sum it is intended to allot to this work in the Estimates for the coming financial year.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): Revised sketch plans were sent by me to the Postmaster General on the 17th December last for his observations. I have stated that I cannot undertake that the work can be commenced before the middle of this year, and I am afraid it is not in my power, at present, to give the right hon. Gentleman any more definite information on that point. The sum of £4,000 is taken in the Estimates of the coming financial year for proceeding with the work. This was as much as I thought I was likely to be able to spend.

TRUST FRAUDS.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General if he can state how many cases of a breach of trust, to the prejudice of the widow and the orphan or other beneficiary, engaged in 1900 the attention of the High Court of Justice; and what steps he proposes to take against this class of fraud, and to bring to the notice of the public about to settle moneys or create trust deeds that the Judicial Trustees Act, 1896, enables them to appoint a judicial trustee under the supervision of the Court.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: A great many cases of breach of trust of the nature referred to in the question have engaged the attention of the Courts in the year 1900. Their number could be ascertained, if at all, only by a long and troublesome inquiry. The Government have under consideration a measure for amending the Larceny Act with regard to frauds by agents. The fact that the Judicial Trustee Act, 1896, stands on the Statute-book is, of course, well known. The attention of the public can be further called to it only through the usual channels of information or by means of such questions as that put by my hon. and gallant friend.

ENGLISH JURY PANELS.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General if he can state the number of cases in which jurors have, during the last fifty years, been ordered by the Crown to stand by without cause shown in England.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: I find on inquiry that it is impossible to give the particulars asked for, as no record has been kept of the cases.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I inquire if it is possible that a single case cannot be given?

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: Undoubtedly there have been cases. There is not the slightest question as to the existence of the power, which was settled so long ago as 1807 in a case to which both Lord Campbell and Lord Chief Justice Cockburn were parties. It is exercised and will be exercised whenever it is required in the interests of justice.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Will the hon. and learned Gentleman give us the benefit of his own experience? Can he tell the House, from his own experience, how often he has seen this practice exercised in the English Courts?

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: My practice in the Criminal Courts has been so limited that I am afraid my experience would be of very little value.

MAIDSTONE ELECTION.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General if he is considering the cases of bribery scheduled in the Judges' Report to the House on the Maidstone Election with a view to the prosecution of the offenders.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: Yes, Sir.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General if the persons who are electors and who were scheduled by the Judges in their Report to the House on the Maidstone Election Petition for giving and receiving bribes will be eligible to vote in the election now in progress.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY: No, Sir.

TELEGRAPH FORMS.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PRYCE-JONES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he will state when the contract for the supply of the paper used for telegrams is terminable; and whether, on the termination of the present contract, the Postmaster General will arrange for the supply of paper of a more durable and substantial character.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The contract for the supply of the delivered telegram forms is for one year from the 1st ultimo, and continues until determined by six months notice. The Postmaster General has not received any complaints of the quality of the paper used for the forms issued to provincial offices. It seems on the whole to be fairly suitable for the purpose, and in view of the large number (upwards of 75,000,000) used, the cost of effecting any material improvement would be considerable; but he will give further consideration to the question before another contract is entered into.

WELSH-SPEAKING POSTMASTERS.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that inconvenience is frequently caused in Wales by the appointment of postmasters, not able to speak Welsh, in districts where a large proportion of the inhabitants transact their business in Welsh; and whether he will state whether it is the practice of the Department, when making such appointments, to issue the advertisement in such a form as to ascertain the qualifications of the candidates upon this point.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: It is the practice of the Department when making appointments to postmasterships at places where a knowledge of Welsh is necessary to ascertain that the candidate whom it is proposed to appoint possesses such knowledge.

DUBLIN AND BELFAST MAIL TRAINS.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that on the Great Northern Railway, Ireland, third class passenger carriages are not attached to the limited mail trains between Dublin and Belfast; whether he can state what is the reason of this exemption on the Great Northern Railway, who have a monopoly of the train service of the north-east portion of Ireland; and whether he will take steps to have third class passenger carriages attached to the limited mail trains on the Great Northern Railway, as is the case on the other lines of railways in Ireland.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The question as to what passenger carriages should be attached to the trains referred to is not one for the Postmaster General to consider. He has no right to interfere with the discretion of the company in this matter.

MR. DALY: But when the Government arrange their mail contracts do they not make special stipulations with regard to the trains?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I am not aware of it.

MR. JERMYN'S CASTLECOVE ESTATE.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that seven tenants on the estate of Mr. E. L. Jermyn, in the electoral division of Castlecove, county Kerry, served originating notices, with the consent of the landlord and agent, to have judicial rents fixed by court valuers for 25th March, 1899, and that these cases have not yet been dealt with; and whether he will take steps to have valuers sent to value the land.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): I am informed that in six out of the seven cases referred to a revision of the tenement valuation became necessary under the provisions of the Local Government Act before judicial rents could be fixed, and that until this revision, which was only recently completed, was performed, the Land Commissioners were not in a position to refer the consents to the valuers. All the cases will now be dealt with, with the least possible delay.

ARMAGH AND KINGSCOURT RAILWAY SCHEME.

MR. DALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a Bill was passed through Parliament last year empowering the making of a line of railway between Armagh and Kingscourt in Ireland, and making a competing route with the Great Northern Railway between Armagh and Dublin; and that the promoters of the line of railway between Armagh and Kingscourt have sold their rights to make the line of railway between Kingscourt and Armagh, which, if carried out, would give a monopoly to the Great Northern Railway Company, which all the public bodies along the entire route protest against; and whether, under Clause 17 of the Agricultural and

Technical Act, he will take any steps to prevent an arrangement between the promoters of the Kingscourt and Armagh Railway and the Great Northern Railway, which, if carried out, would injure an important manufacturing and agricultural district between Armagh and Kingscourt.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): At the request of my right hon. friend I will reply to this question. The matter to which the question relates is not one in which the Department of Agriculture have power to intervene under Section 17 of the Act of 1899.

HORSE BREEDING IN IRELAND.

MR. DALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state how it is that the Royal Dublin Society, in offering twenty-five premiums of £100 each for stallions eligible for inclusion in the register of the Department of the Board of Agriculture in Ireland, have allotted only four premiums to Ulster, six to Connaught, eight to Munster, and seven to Leinster; and whether he will direct that a re-arrangement of the premiums be considered with a view of giving Ulster a larger number, to which she seems entitled.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed by the Royal Dublin Society that the number of premiums for thoroughbred sires allotted to each province is based upon the extent to which breeding from thoroughbreds is carried on in each province. This knowledge the Society has obtained through the agency of their local committees, which for several years past have administered horse breeding grants in each county. The Society's list of registered thoroughbred stallions in Ireland for the year 1900 shows that there were 93 in Leinster, 63 in Munster, 32 in Connaught, and 13 in Ulster. The arrangements are revised annually, and altered as the experience of the previous year may suggest.

FAIR RENTS IN COUNTY LONGFORD.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state when the next Sub-Commissions for fixing fair rents will be held in Longford, and when the decisions in first and second statutory terms of cases heard in Longford recently will be given.

MR. WYNDHAM: The hearing of a list containing cases from the Unions of Granard, Longford, and Ballymahon will be commenced at Granard on the 12th instant. Judgment will probably be delivered in the cases heard at the last Longford sittings in the course of a couple of weeks.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: When will the next sittings be held in Longford?

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot answer that without notice.

SLIGO COUNTY COUNCIL—THE COURT HOUSE FLAG.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a body of police entered the courthouse of Sligo, in July, 1899, and took by force therefrom a green flag, the property of the Sligo County Council; that some of the councillors assembling for the transaction of the business of the county were assaulted on the occasion; that the flag still remains in the possession of the police; and whether, in view of the fact that green flags were universally displayed in London on last St. Patrick's Day, he will order the restoration of the flag in question to its rightful owners, and allow it to be displayed during the sittings of the council.

MR. ATKINSON: Perhaps I may be allowed to answer this question. I have not as yet received any report in reference to it, but my recollection is that the matter referred to was fully discussed in the House in the session before last, when it appeared that the county council acted illegally and improperly, that ten police seized and removed the flag by order of the High Sheriff, the legal custodian of the courthouse, that no unnecessary force was used by the police, and no assault committed by them, save what were unavoidable in the discharge of this duty. The flag still remains in the possession of the police. The answer to the last two questions is in the negative.

MR. O'DOWD: Is it not the fact that that flag was not raised at all?

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) RETURN.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will grant the Return, under the heading Local Government (Ireland), standing on to-day's Paper.

MR. WYNDHAM: A Return was laid on the Table in the session of 1898 (No. 237 of that year) which contains all the information required in the first part of the hon. Member's proposed Return. The information desired in the second and fourth paragraphs of the Notice can be given. I am in correspondence with the Local Government Board on the advisability of granting a comprehensive Return of the salaries of officials before and after the passing of the Act of 1898, and I will advise the hon. Member when I am in possession of the facts. Perhaps the hon. Member for East Donegal will take these observations as applying equally to the Return on the same subject which stands in his name.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION RETURN.

MR. O'DOHERTY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will grant the Return of the Irish Land Commission standing on the Paper of to-day.

MR. WYNDHAM: The date February, 1900, under the first heading of the Notice is clearly a mistake for February, 1901. A Return was published in July last. Since then I am informed that but one lay assistant commissioner has been appointed, to whom a further Report in continuation of that granted last session would now apply. Under the circumstances it is hardly desirable to issue a further printed Return at present. I have, however, forwarded to the hon. Member particulars regarding this one gentleman in the form indicated.

THE RECENT "DAY OF GENERAL MOURNING"—POLICE AND WICKLOW SHOPKEEPERS.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the police ordered the publicans of Roundwood and Lara, county Wicklow, to keep their shops closed on Saturday, 2nd February, and whether they acted on their own initiative, or upon instructions received from a superior officer, and under what statute are the Irish Constabulary entitled to order the closing of public-houses on an ordinary weekday.

MR. WYNDHAM: This question only appeared on the Paper this morning for the first time, and as local inquiry is necessary I must ask the hon. Member to repeat it on Thursday next.

LIMERICK CLERK OF THE PEACE

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland will he explain why, on the appointment of the present Clerk of the Crown and Peace for the county and city of Limerick, his salary was fixed at the same amount as his predecessor, while those of the officials in the office were reduced.

MR. WYNDHAM: The salary of the present Clerk of the Crown and Peace for the county and city of Limerick has not been fixed at the same amount paid to his predecessor. The salary of the present holder of the office is £900 a year, that of the late officer was £950 a year. The Government have no concern with the appointment of officials subordinate to the Clerk of the Crown and Peace and have no voice in the salaries paid to them.

COMMISSION OF THE PEACE FOR SOUTH ARMAGH.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will grant the Return respecting the Commission of the Peace in South Armagh, which stands on Monday's Paper.

MR. WYNDHAM: I shall be happy to supply the hon. Member with all available information on the subject in answer to a question, if he will place one on the Paper for next Monday. It is unnecessary to incur the expense of embodying the information in a formal Parliamentary Paper.

CHAIRMAN OF THE IRISH BOARD OF WORKS.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Chairman of the Board of Works (Ireland) has resigned his position; and can he say if Mr. Robertson resigned on the termination of his engagement or on what other grounds, and whether his resignation has been accepted.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mr. Robertson has not resigned. The period of his appointment will expire on the 31st of March next.

SALARIES OF COUNTY OFFICIALS IN WEXFORD.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the result of the appeals of the county Wexford County Council against the orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland increasing the salaries of certain county officials in county Wexford.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed that the Court of Appeal has reversed the decision of the Court of King's Bench, and quashed the Orders made by the Local Government Board.

MR. FLAVIN: What effect will the judgment have on other counties in Ireland?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the question.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the decision of the Irish Court of Appeal, delivered on the 25th instant in the case of the Wexford County Council against the Local Government Board (Ireland), will apply to all cases in which the wishes and decisions of other county councils in Ireland were similarly overborne by the Local Government Board.

MR. WYNDHAM: The judgment of the Court of Appeal only decides the four cases from county Wexford. If there are other cases in which county councils are dissatisfied with the awards of the Local Government Board the councils will, no doubt, act on legal advice as to their position under all circumstances.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman not accept the decision, and thus refrain from putting the county councils to the expense of appeals?

MR. WYNDHAM: The decision is a very important one, and the Local Government Board would do well to take a few days to consider it.

SPENCER DOCK, DUBLIN.

MR. KENNEDY (Westmeath, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the lock gates at Spencer Dock, Dublin, connecting the Royal Canal with the Liffey, have fallen down owing to their rotten condition, and thereby emptied the docks, causing traffic on the Royal Canal to be suspended, to the loss and inconvenience of the boatowners and traders who use the canal, although the renewal of these gates and new stone sills was ordered by General Hutchinson, K.C.B., who inspected this canal, and again by Sir Francis Marindin, C.B., who inspected the canal; and if the Board of Works will again instruct one of their inspectors to examine the canal, with a view of compelling the Midland Great Western Railway Company to carry out the works ordered by the Board of Trade, so that the traffic may be resumed on the canal.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The lock gates have not fallen down nor have the docks been emptied. In the afternoon of the 15th inst. a piece of iron accidentally got into a position which obstructed the proper closing of the lock gates. This caused a lowering of water in the dock and a temporary interference with traffic. The matter was put right by the morning of the 16th inst., and traffic was then resumed. The renewal of those gates and sills was not ordered by General Hutchinson or Sir Francis Marindin.

STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): On behalf of the hon. Member for Durham, Chester-le-Street, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the terms of reference to the proposed Joint Committee to inquire into the arrangements made at the opening of Parliament will be so framed as to make it possible for the Committee to take into consideration the accommodation for the Press.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think there can be no doubt that the terms of reference to the Committee would allow them, indeed almost oblige them, to consider the matter referred to in the question.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (GOVERNMENT BUSINESS).

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I rise to make the motion, "That Government business have precedence this day and to-morrow of all other business." Perhaps it would be well to remind the House that, though the resolution is very accurately stated from a technical point of view, it really is, in substance, rather a misleading resolution. The resolution is not to facilitate Government business in the ordinary sense of the word. It really is to facilitate the task of the critics of the Government and give those critics wider opportunities for exercising their rights. We ask no privileges or advantages for Government legislation. The motion is simply aimed at enabling us to get through absolutely necessary Supply before March 31st.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I rise to a point of order. Several hon. Members are afraid that if this motion is carried it will deprive them of their opportunity to-morrow.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is not a point of order.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member had better wait and hear what I have to say. I am making the motion in this unusual form because I am getting somewhat alarmed as to the amount of time which will be available for dealing with Supply before that date. This year March 31st falls on a Sunday, so that that day and March 30th are not available for dealing with Supply before the end of the financial year. It will therefore be necessary to introduce the Appropriation Bill upon Monday, March 25th. If that were done, the Second Reading would be taken on Tuesday, March 26th, the Committee stage, on which no discussion can take place, on Wednesday, March 27th, and the Third Reading on March 28th. It would, I believe, be possible to defer the First Reading to Tuesday, March 26th, but if that were done, private Members would be deprived of Wednesday for the discussion of private Members' Bills, because the Second Reading would fall on that day. I therefore take Monday, March 25th. Before and including March 25th, we shall have fifteen days only for the discussion, in the first place, of the Civil Service, the Navy, and the Army Supplementary Estimates, and, in the second place, for getting the Speaker out of the chair and obtaining Vote A and Vote 1 of the two spending Departments and a Vote on Account. All these financial operations must be got through before the Appropriation Bill is introduced; and in addition to that we have, out of the fifteen days, to find one—which will, I think be an early one—on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer will make his statement on the subject of the Civil List in connection with the appointment of the Committee by which that Civil List is to considered and discussed in the first instance. That practically reduces us to fourteen days for the discussion of all that financial business. I wish I could think fourteen days was an excessive calculation; but I find that last year we took sixteen nights to get through the corresponding business of last year, and there were not last year, as unfortunately there are this year, large Navy Supplementary Votes to consider in addition to Civil Service and Army Supplementary Votes. I am sorry to say that the Supplementary Votes this year are rather formidable in their amount. There are, I believe, over £1,000,000 Civil Service Supplementary Estimates, over £1,000,000 Navy Supplementary Estimates, and over £3,000,000 Army Supplementary Estimates. The mere magnitude of a Vote is, I know, no certain index of the amount of discussion it will legitimately provoke; but when I look at the figures I feel it is not improbable that the House will wish to devote quite as much, if not more, time this year to the discussion of the Supplementary Estimates as it did last year and on some preceding occasions. That is not all. The operation of getting the Speaker out of the chair for Naval and Military Supply is the proper and the best occasion on which to discuss those large questions of policy raised by the statements of the Ministers responsible for these two great Departments; and, as we have made no secret that we have proposals to make with regard to the Army, I cannot doubt that the House will desire very full opportunity for considering and discussing the statement of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War. And, as there is a large increase on the Naval Estimates of the preceding year, I doubt not that on the Naval Vote also discussion will be asked for, and no doubt will be required. In these circumstances, I think the House, not at all in the interests of the Government, but in the interests of its own rights of criticising the Government, should do all it can, as I am sure it will, to help us to find time for dealing within the legal limits with this large mass of financial business. But I do not see how that important end can be attained unless the House will allow us to start upon this work on Thursday next with, as it were, a clear run before us. It is for this reason that I have asked the House to allow us at the conclusion of the debate on the Address immediately to set to work upon those preparatory resolutions without which we cannot deal with this mass of financial business. I need hardly say that I am very anxious not to interfere with the discussion of the private Bill which stands first to-morrow, and I see no reason any such interference should take place. I am very anxious not to interfere with the discussion of private Members' Bills. If I have convinced the House that we come forward and ask for no privileges to advance our own particular business, if we make no request to monopolise the time of the House beyond keeping up with our own particular business—if the House is satisfied, as I hope it is, that I am asking nothing beyond the time necessary to carry our financial proposals —then I think we ought to be able to do all the business on the Paper in the course of this evening, leaving to-morrow quite clear for the purpose desired by the hon. Member in charge of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Government business have precedence this day and to-morrow of all other business."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The formidable and, I would say, beyond all doubt the unprecedented inroad which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to make upon the opportunities for free and full discussion in this House—that inroad the right hon. Gentleman bases on what he calls the exigencies of the situation. But this inroad is made necessary not by the exigencies of the situation, but because the Government have failed to appreciate and provide for those exigencies. There is not a circumstance that the right hon. Gentleman has referred to that was not in the knowledge of every Member of this House weeks and weeks ago. To begin with, he knew, and we knew, that there was to be and that there must be a very full opportunity for debate under the present circumstances on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. That was the distinct and clear understanding on all hands. The right hon. Gentleman knew the day of the week on which the 1st of April falls; even that the Government might have known after careful inquiry. The financial position in which they must find themselves was well known. It was well known to all of us that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have a heavy task to undertake to meet and set in order the financial requirements of this year and next year. The only element of novelty in the whole range of circumstances to which I refer is the question of the settlement of the Civil List; and surely the appointment of a Committee for that purpose need not occupy any long space of time. So that the question which every Member is entitled to ask is—"Why did you not foresee this position? Why did you not call Parliament together earlier?" It was even contemplated, I understand, to call Parliament together later still, but that project was fortunately abandoned; and now we are in that position in which many of us foresaw that the proceedings of the Government would land us. We are to discuss all these important questions —these Supplementary Estimates, so large and important, the Civil Service Estimates, the Estimates for the Naval and Military services, the general scheme of Army reform, which the Government is to put forward, the Estimates for next year—we are to discuss these and many other things in a helter-skelter fashion, and we know we shall be told that if we do not cut the debate short no time will be left for the completion of the necessary business. In the difficulty in which we are landed it is not easy to see how something of this kind is to be avoided, and I agree with the right hon. Gentleman; but my argument is that it is his fault that we are in this position. Even the Secretary of State for the Colonies must see this when he thinks it over more carefully. If the step I suggested, of calling Parliament together earlier, had been adopted, it would have, if not completely obliterated the difficulty, greatly modified the pressure on hon. Members. As things are, what can we do? We have the proposal of the Government, which in itself does not seem to be a strange one under the circumstances; but there is one fact which arouses astonishment—the interference with Wednesdays. There was a complete understanding that no Wednesday was to be interfered with up to Easter. Members came to me on all sides who were desirous of introducing Bills and asked me if Wednesdays were likely to be available, and I said, I was given to understand that no Wednesday would be taken before Easter. Now the first Wednesday is to be taken or may be taken. I do not think that is in accordance with the arrangement which was made. I do not know how the matter stands with regard to to-morrow, because the right hon. Gentleman says he may not require to take to-morrow. If to-morrow is taken it will be contrary to the promise made.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I never made such a promise.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Oh, yes.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Just read the promise I made.

Sir. H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It was an understanding that no Wednesday was to be taken up to Easter.

*Mr. JAMES LOWTHER said he had had on many occasions to protest against arrangements such as this, and, therefore, on this occasion he wished to say why, in his opinion, the right hon. Gentleman was justified in taking the action he now proposed. In past years Governments were constantly getting into a fix with regard to the financial business of the House by devoting their time to the furthering of political measures; they then came down and laid claim to the time of private Members for the purpose of disposing of the financial business. In this case, as he understood, the Government proposed to devote the whole of their own time as well as any additional time which the House might assign to them wholly to financial business, and to such an arrangement he had no objection to offer, as it avoided the misappropriation of the time to be taken from private members. Something had been said with regard to not taking Wednesdays, but he had always contended that if a demand was to be made on the time of private Members that demand ought to be a consistent one, and ought to affect the time of private Members fairly and squarely all round. He therefore strongly urged the right hon. Gentleman not to be persuaded into giving up Wednesdays, on the public ground, and the public ground only, that the demand he had made was owing to the exigencies of the position in which the Government found themselves with regard to the essential financial business of the House.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): I do not know whether I correctly gathered what the right hon. Gentleman meant to convey, but I certainly understood the right hon. Gentleman to give a definite promise that to-morrow should be devoted to the Bill down as the first order of the day.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: That is my hope and expectation.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not know in what sense that is meant. It rests with the Government, and I hope I may take it that it is quite certain and clear that the Bill will be taken to-morrow.

*Mr. YOXALL (Nottinghamshire, W.), in moving the amendment that the words "and to-morrow" should be omitted from the motion, said that this was the first Wednesday available before Easter, there were only five Wednesdays in all before Easter, and after Easter all Wednesdays became very precarious so far as private Members were concerned. If the motion was passed almost every shred of private Members' time would be taken away in order to assist the Government. He had not long been a Member of the House, but he had sat long enough to see many of the rights—he would not say privileges—of the private Members taken away. He would not have grumbled so much had there been, in his opinion, much necessity on the part of the Government to make this encroachment on private Members' time, but the exigencies of the position must have been known both inside and outside the House for a considerable time. By the proposal to take every Tuesday before Easter balloting for Tuesdays for private Members' resolutions became an elaborate and solemn farce, yet it was religiously gone through once a week, and the Speaker was compelled by the rules of the House to take part in it, which was, to say the least, undignified. The right hon. Gentleman, in order to take away every Tuesday, suggested that he might also take the first Wednesday when, instead of a private Bill of great importance that was to be brought forward being discussed, the House would have to discuss financial business and Supplementary Estimates, which might very well have been discussed before the General Election.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. friend may take it that I do not press for to-morrow.

*MR. YOXALL said the House was now asked to debate financial matters which they were aware might have been discussed during the brief session before Christmas, and in support of that abuse the right of private Members to bring forward private Bills, which very frequently resulted in most important legislation, was to be taken away. He protested against it, and he asked the House to support him in his protest. It was not a question of party, it was a question of the right of 600 Members out of 670. The ballot had given him the opportunity to bring forward a Bill on Wednesday, and therefore he had been compelled to move the Amendment. On the following day a proposal was to come before the House of the greatest importance to half a million working men, who, with their wives and families, represented 2,500,000 of the subjects of the King. Fate and the fortune of the ballot had given that one opportunity for bringing in this measure, and all the arrangements which had been made to test the question in the House were to be upset by the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. He appealed to private Members on the Government side of the House to support him in his Amendment. It would not mean the resignation of the Government nor another General Election. Hon. Members could in this case vote according to their own consciences without turning out the Government or losing their seats. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed the hope that it might not be necessary to take Wednesday. He was perfectly convinced that it would be taken from private Members. If the right hon. Gentleman was in earnest in his desire not to take Wednesday, which was set down for the discussion of the Eight Hours Bill, would he at a reasonable hour that night ask the House to closure the debate on the Address, and then take the debate on the resolutions to which he had referred?

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): I second the Amendment of my hon. friend with great pleasure. I join in the appeal to the Leader of the House that he should not disappoint the great national feeling with which the people have been looking forward to the debate on the Eight Hours Bill to-morrow. It is probably one of the most important labour questions that will come before the House during the present session. It has the first place for to-morrow, and I cannot imagine anything more mean for the Government to do, with several months before them for the transaction of business, than to commence this system of robbery so early in their Parliamentary career, and especially when that robbery takes effect in the way this motion would do. We have heard that something like half a million workers are concerned in this great movement. These men are engaged at the imminent risk of their lives every day. They are engaged in the production of the first necessity for British commerce, and without it commerce would come to a stand.

*MR. SPEAKER asked the hon. Member to confine his remarks to the question before the House.

MR. BROADHURST: Perhaps I did wander from the point, but my desire was to emphasise the importance of having a discussion on this to-morrow. I hope the Leader of the House will alter his mind in this particular case, and accept the Amendment made by my hon. friend the Member for West Nottingham. If the Government are pressed hard for time for their financial business it is the fault of the Government themselves. They and they alone are to blame. I quite understand that this motion of the Leader of the House meets the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Isle of Thanet, because he is generally against legislation except upon one or two particular subjects. If the Government would bring in a Bill which he approves of, no doubt he would support it. I sincerely trust that the Leader of the House, with his usual good nature, and I might say good sense, will accept this Amendment without a division. There is no other Member of this House who would have dared to make this motion except the Leader of the House. His manner is so seductive that really the same appeal from the mouth of any other Member of the Government would have led to universal screams of execration from this side of the House. We are always prevented when the right hon. Gentleman makes an appeal from giving vent in the volume we would otherwise do to our indignation. I strongly support the Amendment of my hon. friend.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the words 'and To-morrow.'"—(*Mr. Yoxall.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and To-morrow' stand part of the Question."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot help feeling that some Members of the House do not fully comprehend the purpose of my motion. Perhaps it is my own fault. There is no suggestion that to-morrow should be taken for Supply. We do not mean to take any business to-morrow except what remains over of the three first resolutions that stand on the Paper to-night. I do not see any reason whatever why the debate on the Miners Eight Hours Bill should be materially curtailed by the resolution I have brought before the House. I trust that the debate on the Address will be through very shortly. The first resolution deals with a universal desire on the part of Members of the House, the second deals with a rule which has been, year after year, approved by the House, and the only change I have introduced is one which is in favour of the critics of the Government.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: The right hon. Gentleman need have no fear at all about the House not having understood him on the previous occasion. I think so far as hon. Members on this side of the House are concerned that they perfectly understood what he was proposing and that he was making an exceedingly adroit move. Nobody here desires to prevent the discussion of this important Bill which concerns so many of the labouring classes of the country. We should be all exceedingly sorry to take any action which would prevent the discussion of the Bill. He has tried to use that knowledge as a screw upon us to prevent us from insisting upon the proper discussion of the remaining Amendments to the Address and the proper discussion of his new resolutions. The way the matter stands is this—the right hon. Gentleman says to us, by putting Wednesday into this resolution, "If you don't conclude the debate on the Address to-night, and, in addition, if you do not to-night dispose of these three new resolutions, then I will take to-morrow away from the discussion of this important matter." He is therefore making an adroit move to force us into the position either of scamping the proper discussion of the grave questions involved in these three resolutions, or of having the appearance of interfering with the discussion to-morrow of this important Bill. The debate on the Amendment to the Address which has been moved, or is to be moved, by the hon. Member for East Mayo, raises an aspect of affairs in South Africa which has not been adequately discussed since the House met, and only this morning matters have transpired in the Papers laid on the Table, such as the correspondence between Lord Roberts and Louis Botha, which are of the utmost importance, and which have not been discussed at all. I think it would be a monstrous thing indirectly to put the screw upon us, so to speak, to prevent us having an adequate discussion of the Amendment of my hon. friend. I was astonished to hear the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment suggest that the debate on the Address should be closured at a convenient hour this evening, and that at ten or eleven o'clock to-night we could enter upon the task of discussing these three new resolutions with any hope of their being disposed of before the end of the sitting. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House knows perfectly well that that kind of talk will not deceive anybody. The first resolution, which he speaks of making a small Amendment on the Standing Orders, is in itself a most novel, and I would say revolutionary, proposal which sweeps away at one stroke one of the only remaining privileges of private Members to raise discussion on Mr. Speaker leaving the chair when the House goes into Committee of Ways and Means. I respectfully say that the first resolution ought, if properly discussed, to occupy an entire sitting of the House. Then the second resolution is one dealing with the arrangements about Supply, which, though it has been passed by the House since 1896, has never been acquiesced in, certainly, by Members sitting in this quarter of the House, and so far as it rests with us never will be passed by the House without considerable discussion and vehement opposition. The third resolution is one taking away from private Members all the Tuesdays up to Easter. It is ridiculous to think that these three resolutions can be disposed of in a portion of a sitting, as was suggested by the mover of the Amendment. If the Government are in a difficulty, as the Leader of the Opposition pointed out, then the responsibility and blame rests upon themselves. We in this quarter of the House are not interested in assisting the Government to get out of this difficulty. What I think would be the proper course to adopt would be for the Amendment of my hon. friend for East Mayo with reference to affairs in South Africa to be discussed fully at this sitting of the House, that to-morrow should be reserved, in accordance with what I certainly thought was a clear promise and understanding of the Government, for the discussion of this important English private Bill, and that the whole of the sitting on Thursday should be devoted to the consideration of these three very grave and serious resolutions which interfere with the few remaining rights of private Members. That would be the proper course. If the right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that the Address had been sufficiently debated it was his duty to have moved the closure yesterday or the day before. If he is not of opinion that the debate on the Address has been sufficiently prolonged, then the course I now suggest is the only one that will enable him to meet the difficulty in which he stands. By taking that course he will no doubt have to devote the sitting on Thursday to the discussion of the three resolutions instead of taking the Supplementary Estimates. He will lose a day by it, but that fault lies entirely with himself. Certainly on behalf of the Irish Members who come here to assert the liberty of speech which is very largely denied to them in Ireland, who come here not to assist the Government to do their business and to get them out of their difficulties, but to express their opinions on all matters of duty appointed to them, I protest against this proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. Notwithstanding the manner in which this Amendment was moved, I will vote for it, and I will vote in favour of any motion intended to thwart the intentions of the Government in depriving independent Members and private Members from the exercise of the few remaining privileges which they have of discussing matters of importance.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I rise to join in the appeal to the Leader of the House in regard to this motion. There is one aspect of the question to which I would respectfully call his attention. It is now quite evident from what has been said by the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down that the chances of the Eight Hours Bill coming on to-morrow, if this motion be agreed to, are exceedingly remote. I would remind the House, and the Leader of the House in particular, that this Bill is not one which can be treated as a little matter of no importance. It passed the second reading in this House some years ago, and was only defeated in Committee on one of its clauses through a misunderstanding. The Government, I submit, is pledged in regard to this matter. Some years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, in a speech in the county of Durham, distinctly enunciated an Eight Hours Bill for miners as part of the programme upon which the Unionist party was then appealing to the country. The Miners Eight Hours Bill has obtained a particularly favoured position for this session. It is an old friend of the House of Commons, but the feeling of the present House has not yet been tested in regard to the measure. The point to which I specially desire to direct the attention of the Leader of the House is that within the precincts of the House of Commons at this moment there are scores of men from the mining districts of England, Scotland, and Wales who have come here at considerable expense in the expectation that that Bill would be taken to-morrow. If the motion of the right hon. Gentleman as it stands is agreed to the Bill will not be taken to-morrow, and all the expense which has been incurred by the working colliers in sending delegates will be wasted. That is an aspect of the matter which should not be overlooked. There is no question concerning which greater unanimity of opinion exists than the one down for discussion to-morrow. Even as a matter of good tactics the Government would be well advised in agreeing at least to the spirit of the Amendment and giving us an undertaking that this Bill will be discussed to-morrow as one affecting the well-being of nearly three-quarters of a million of the most deserving members of the working classes of the country. For these reasons I add my appeal to those already made, in the expectation that the Government will agree to the proposal now before the House and give us an opportunity of ascertaining the real feeling of this Parliament in regard to a measure of so much importance.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This is a much more serious question than I think the right hon. Gentleman has yet realised. What does he think will be the opinion of the miners all over the country if they are told that the question in which they take so natural and deep an interest is to be sacrificed simply because there are enormous Supplementary Estimates and an unusual and unprecedented financial condition? I do not think that that will recommend the Supplementary Estimates or their objects to that class of the community. The hon. Member for Waterford has I think suggested a very practical and wise solution of the difficulty. I do not see what right or necessity the Government have for interposing as between to-day and to-morrow these three resolutions. They are absolutely unnecessary. The Government have what I call cornered the House, and they must take the consequences. What is the penalty they will suffer? They will possibly lose a day, more probably half a day, of Supply on Thursday. If the right hon. Gentleman will take these three resolutions not to-night or to-morrow, but upon Thursday, there will be a security that the Eight Hours Miners Bill, which I venture to say is one of the most supreme consequence in the opinion of one of the largest communities of labour in this country, will come on on Wednesday, and then there will be very much less feeling than I think would arise if the Eight Hours Bill was disposed of in the way now contemplated. If this is not done, I venture to say that the persons interested in that Bill, when they perceive that subordinate resolutions have blocked the discussion of a matter of such vital importance to them, will consider that they have not been fairly treated. Therefore I hope the Government will adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member for Waterford and take those resolutions on Thursday.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Glamorganshire, Rhondda): I wish to add my humble appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury. My appeal must be based on the importance of the question that we have at heart. It is perfectly clear that the question left for decision before it is possible to discuss the Bill we want considered is so important that there will be no chance whatever of discussing the Miners Eight Hours Bill. On behalf of that large body of men, as one of them, as one who has known what it is to earn his bread hewing coal, and to work long hours, I must say that it is our opinion, honestly, that if we get that Bill passed it will tend to decrease the number of lives that are lost. I know some question that statement, but that is our simple and honest opinion. Therefore, on behalf of a number of widows and orphans we once more ask the right hon. Gentleman to allow us to have the discussion. I do not know how it is, but there is a feeling among the miners of the country now that the question is ripe, and we have, therefore, been expecting a favourable result from the proceedings of to-morrow. I am not at all wishful to put anything in the way of the work the Government have to do, but, considering the fifteen days that we have in which to provide money for the killing of men or for armaments for that purpose, is it possible to believe that in the House of Commons of this great country we cannot have one day in which to discuss a matter whereby we may save a number of lives? I cannot believe it, and I appeal with all the earnestness of my heart that the right hon. Gentleman will allow us to have this debate to-morrow.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): There is an air about the right hon. Gentleman when he proposes resolutions of this sort that leads the House sometimes not to perceive their party astuteness. What are we discussing this evening? We are discussing the Address to the King. To that Address there are a number of Amendments, and one very important one has been moved by the hon. Member behind me. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that unless that discussion is brought to an end to-night, and unless we refrain from speaking upon that or any other matter with regard to the Address, and also from discussing fully the resolutions of the right hon. Gentleman, this Eight Hours Bill will not be allowed to be brought on to-morrow—by his direction. What is the aim of the right hon. Gentleman? It is to throw upon us the responsibility of his own acts. I rise simply to say that if the Miners Bill does not come on to-morrow we do not accept the responsibility. That must rest with the right hon. Gentleman. It is all the more hard, and I might almost say unfair, that the right hon. Gentleman should take away this day, because it is done not directly, but indirectly, insidiously, and contrary to a pledge, as I understand, given to the Leader of the Opposition.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

MR. LABOUCHERE: The Leader of the Opposition certainly understood, as I gather, that the five Wednesdays before Easter were not to be taken. My right hon. friend, who is a practical business man, understood it in that sense, because, as he told us, when Members who had obtained a good place in the ballot went to him and asked what day they should take, he told them to take one of those Wednesdays. Even if you gave another day for the Miners Bill it would not occupy the position that it would by coming on the first Wednesday. We know that only three or four Bills at most taken after Whitsuntide can pass into law. Under these circumstances, as I do not believe the right hon. Gentleman is inclined to yield at all, I will only say that the First Lord and his followers must accept before the country the responsibility of what they are doing.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, Shipley): So many appeals have been made to the right hon. Gentleman from the other side that I feel a certain measure of misunderstanding might easily arise if no appeal was made from this side. We have no desire to burke discussion on the Eight Hours Bill, but that is what will be said in the country by those who do not understand the forms of the House. It is easy enough to say that if hon. Members from Ireland were to curtail their discussions and if the House as a whole were to accept the resolutions as to Supply, this Bill would be reached absolutely without interference. But in practice we know that hon. Gentlemen opposite will not curtail their discussion even for the purpose of allowing to be debated a Bill which may be the means of saving lives of men. Also in practice there will be many Members who will have much to say upon the resolution with regard to Supply. It seems to me that a fair compromise lies in the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire. Let hon. Gentlemen opposite have the rest of to-day to discuss their Amendment to the Address, and let these Supply resolutions be dealt with on Thursday. If this is done I venture to prophesy, although my right hon. friend may not agree with me, that, having regard to this discussion and the concession the First Lord might make if he would, it will lead to such a curtailment of the discussion on Thursday as would satisfy the right hon. Gentleman and give him the larger part of that day for the discussion of the important questions of finance which the Government, the House, and the country are so anxious to see dealt with.

MR. COCHRANE (Ayrshire, N.): May I add one word in support of my hon. friend? If the right hon. Gentleman cannot see his way to grant this compromise he may be able to give a day for the discussion of this very important question. Not only in my own constituency, but throughout the country great interest is taken in this matter. I have always supported the Second Reading of the Eight Hours Bill. At the last election, however, no pledge was exacted from me in that respect, and I feel, therefore, the more honourably bound to endeavour to secure from the right hon. Gentleman a promise that if not at the present time, at the first convenient opportunity, this measure, in which so much interest is taken, should be adequately considered.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): I think the main feature of this discussion is that no single speaker has a word to say in defence of the action of the Government. The further the debate proceeds the more apparent it is that had the right hon. Gentleman not placed these resolutions on the Paper at all and suspended the Twelve o'clock Rule in the ordinary course, the probabilities are that he would have got the Address through to-night, we would have had the discussion on the Eight Hours Bill to-morrow, and he would have got his resolutions on Thursday. I am quite sure that would have been the result to-day. This seems to have been a case of bad generalship on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, and there does not appear to have been enough scouting on this question, as was the case in South Africa. It seems to me that it is unjust on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to refer to Members on this side of the House in the way which he did in his speech. No Member has a right to say that we shall not discuss vital and important resolutions, some of them being absolutely without precedent. I do not remember a single case in the middle of a debate on the Address when a motion of this kind has been brought forward before. ["Oh, oh!"] My impression is that it is absolutely without precedent. Then another precedent is being set up with regard to Ways and Means. I totally disagree with the right hon. Gentleman when he says that it is a proposal which will not require much discussion. Why, this is one of the last opportunities which private Members can rely upon for the discussion of the most important questions upon going into Supply. It seems to me that the right hon. Gentleman has very much underestimated the importance of that particular resolution. It comes to this—that the very first opportunity we have for the discussion of this most important question the Government are going to take the Miners Bill away from us. After calculating all the chances as to a particular day, I think I am correct in saying that that day was selected with the approval of very high authorities in this House. It seems to me that this division, if we go to it—and I do hope the right hon. Gentleman will make it unnecessary—will be a division on the Miners Eight Hours Bill plus the taking away of most important privileges from private Members. I do appeal to hon. Members opposite who are in the House for the first time to say a few words for the miners who supported them at the last election. I venture to say that there are not many Members representing miners who did not pledge themselves at the last election to support this Bill. At the General Election they promised to support this Bill, and they sit opposite because of their pledge to support this Bill, and they are now called upon practically to vote for or against the miners. It will not do to say it is a mere question of confidence in the Government. It will not do to say it is a square vote, and I hope hon. Members on the opposite side of the House will support us in the Division Lobby. I make this suggestion before I sit down, that the right hon. Gentleman should withdraw for the moment the resolution before the House and defer until Thursday the other resolutions, and appeal to the sense and fairness of the House to allow him to get this Address through on the present occasion. If he would do that—and we ought not to have been occupied with this discussion at all at this moment—it seems to me that all parties would be satisfied in that way. As the representative of a great many miners, I ask the right hon. Gentleman to let us have this discussion to-morrow. This is the first time that this Parliament has had an opportunity of discussing this question, and the first day which private Members have an opportunity of bringing in a Bill, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will grant this appeal in some form or another.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I have always been a great advocate of the rights of private Members, but circumstances vary. ["Oh, oh!"] Nobody can say, at any rate, that I do not always say what I think. Now what is the issue to-morrow? Hon. Members opposite talk about this as being a measure which the miners are all craving for. I have been a Member of this House for fifteen or sixteen years, and it has been brought forward for a good many years, and I have always found that there are two sets of miners—one fighting the other on this question. It is a matter in which the miners themselves are not nearly agreed, and in which the miners of the north are strongly opposed to the views of miners elsewhere. The Government are asking us to get to work on the great question of Army and Navy reform, and I urge the Government to use their full power to put this great subject before us and not waste any more time.

MR. SETON-KARR (St. Helens): I only wish to appeal to the Leader of the House to afford us an opportunity of discussing this Eight Hours Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no objection to this Eight Hours Bill being discussed, but we must have the time for Supply.

MR. SETON-KARR: I do not wish to suggest that the right hon. Gentleman had any intention of burking this discussion, but that is a construction that may be possibly put upon the action of the Government. If we are going to have a guarantee that this Bill is going to be discussed to-morrow, then it is not necessary to make any further appeal. I also wish to make an appeal to this side of the House, because I do not think that the Government attach much importance to appeals which come from the opposite side of the House. There is this to be said, that as far as Members opposite who have been moving Amendments to the Address are concerned, they do not deserve much consideration. [AN HON. MEMBER: What do we come here for?] It is entirely the fault of hon. Members opposite that so much time has been wasted. I think the best and strongest appeal on this question was made by the hon. Member for the Rhondda Valley. Like him I represent a constituency in which this question is one of the deepest interest, and the hon. Member himself was good enough to come down to my constituency during the last election to try and persuade the miners who sent me here to send somebody else, but he did not succeed. However, upon this question I am with him, and I shall vote for the Bill again, as I have done before. I wish to support the appeal which has been made in order that we may have a discussion on this Bill. I think that the right hon. Gentleman—who, I am sure, will not pay much attention to hon. Members on the opposite side of the House—may possibly pay some attention to hon. Members on this side.

*SIR F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I represent a constituency interested in the coal industry, and I hope, therefore, that the House will allow me to say one word upon this question. My intention is to associate myself with those who are appealing to my right hon. friend to afford them an opportunity for the discussion of this important subject. There may be some difficulty about taking the discussion to-morrow, but I do hope that before this debate ends we shall have some assurance from my right hon. friend that facilities for the discussion of this subject will be given upon a subsequent occasion. Unlike my hon. friend who sits next to me, I do not favour this Bill, but, on the contrary, I am opposed to it; and it is because I am opposed to it that I do not want to appear to stand as a private Member before my constituents charged with having attempted to defeat this Bill by a side wind. That is a position which an hon. Member ought not to occupy, and I do sincerely hope that my right hon. friend will give us an assurance that we shall have an opportunity for a full discussion on this subject. It is a question which most vitally affects the interests of the miners, whatever their opinions may be upon it—and they are greatly divided—and for weal or woe it is one of the largest questions which can occupy the attention of the House of Commons.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): As the representative of a great number of miners, I must raise my voice in support of the appeal which has been made. It is no use delaying this question, because already, in consequence of the action of the party opposite, there is a suspicion amongst the miners in this country that this Bill is always crowded out whenever it can be, and I know that feeling is very widely spreading. I appeal to hon. Members on the opposite side to give their support to this appeal. Even if they are opposed to this Bill, let them at least show the miners that they are not afraid of it coming before the House to be divided upon. Do not let us have it brought against us that this Bill has been prevented from going forward, as it undoubtedly will be if the course suggested by the Government is adopted.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 269; Noes, 182. (Division List No. 10.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood,Capt.SirAlex.F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot,Capt. JoscelineFitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird,John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hn.A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour,RtHnGeraldW(Leeds
Balfour,MajKR(Christchurch
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry,SirFrancis T.(Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach,Rt.Hn.SirM.H.(Bristol
Beach,Rt.Hon.W.W.B(Hants
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles,Capt.H.F.(Middlesex)
Bowles,T.Gibson(King'sLynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alex. H. (Shropshire)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbys.
Cecil,Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain,JAusten(Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane,Hn.Thomas H.A.E.
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb,SirJohnCharlesReady
Colston, C. E. H. Athole
Cook, Fred. Lucas
Corbett, A.Cameron(Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin E. Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar,T.R(T'rH'mlets,SGeo.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby,John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale,SirJoseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford,SirWilliam Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt.HonSirWilliamHart
Elliot,Hon.A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson,RtHnSirJ.(Manc'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald,SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. E. Algernon
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Garfit, William
Gibbs,Hn.A.G.H.(CityofLond
Godson, Sir Augustus Fred
Gordon,Hon.JE(Elgin&Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. SirJohnEldon
Goschen, Hon. G. Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene,SirEW(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene,HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Greenfell, William Henry
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton,Rt.HnLordG(Mid'x
Hamilton,Marq.of(L'nd'ndrry
Hanbury, Rt.Hon. Robert W.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F.Leverton(Tynem'th)
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T.
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Edward B.(Hampstead
Hobhouse,Henry(Somerset,E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield,Brightsde
Houldsworth, Sir Wm.Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt. J. (Faversham)
Howard, J.(Midd.,Tottenham
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Captain H. Merton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway,Rt.Hn.SirJohn H.
Kenyon,Hn.Geo.T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs.,Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney,Col.W (Salop)
Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Lees
Lambton,Hon.Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hon. Wm. E. H.
Lee,Capt.AH,(Hants.Fareh'm
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.CharlesW (Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther,Rt.Hon.James(Kent
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas,Col.Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Macartney,RtHnW.G.Ellison
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont,Col.J.(Antrim,E.)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(Edin'b'gh,W
M'Killop,James(Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell,W.J.H(Dumfriessh.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Milner,Rt.Hn.SirFrederickG.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More,Robt.Jasper(Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Philip A.
Murray,RtHnAGraham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian

O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T.
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W.
Round, James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H C (North'mb. Tynesi'e
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hon. A. (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Lord (Lan'cs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir. E H (Sheffield)
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col A C E (Taunton)
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
Whiteley, H (Ashton und-Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W (Worcestersh. N.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork N. E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda
Allen, Charles P (Glouc., Stroud
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Austin, Sir John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, G. M. (Edinburgh)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir Wiliam
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T.
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir William
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Holland, William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Crae, George
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mather, William
Mellor, Rt. Hon. J. William
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow W.)
O'Doherty, William

O'Donnell, John (Mayo S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.
O'Kelly,James(RoscommonN.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, JohnE.(Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts,John H. (Denbighsh.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Samuel, S. M.(Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Charles P. (Leigh)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R.(Northnts
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas,Abel(Carmarthen,E.)
Thomas,DavidAlfred (Merth'r
Thomas,F.Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas, J. A. (Glam., Gower)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, ThomasCourtenay T.
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (Yorks, E.R.)
White, Patrick(Meath, North
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond(Merioneth
Wilson,Fred. W.(Norfolk,Mid
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wodehouse, Hon. A. (Essex)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. M'Arthur.

Main Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 275: Noes, 184. (Division List No. 11.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood,Capt.SirAlex.F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. J. FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.(Man.)
BalfourRtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour,MajK.R.(Christch'ch)
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir F. T. (Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach,Rt.Hn.SirM.H. (Bristol
Beach,Rt.Hn.W.W.B.(Hants.
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles,Capt.H.F.(Middlesex)
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alex. H. (Shropshire)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hon.J.(Birm
Chamberlain,JAusten(Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John C. Ready
Colston, Chas. E. H. Athole
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edw. Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar,T.R.(T'rH'ml'ts,S.Geo.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Sir J. Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford,SirWilliam Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
Elliot, Hon. A. R. Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edwd.
Fergusson,RtHnSirJ.(Manch.
Fielden,Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose-
Fitzroy,Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Garfit, William
Gibbs,Hn.A.G.H(CityofLond.
Godson,SirAugustusFrederick
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,MajEvans-(Tr.H'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hn. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Green,WalfordD.(Wednesb'y.
Green, SirE.W.(B.St.Edm'ds.
Greene,HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton,Rt.Hn.Ld.G.(Midx
HamiltonMarq.of(L'nd'nderry
Hanbury,Rt.Hon.RobertWm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F.Leverton(Tynem'th.
Heath,ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, R. Trotter
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead)
Hobhouse,Henry (Somerset,E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, JF(Sheffield,Brightside
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard,CaptJ(Kent,Faversh.
Howard, J.(Midd.,Tottenham
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton

Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hn. William Edw. H
Lee, Capt A H (Hants, Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lowther, Rt. Hn. James (Kent)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsm'th
Macartney, Rt Hn W. G. Ellison
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinb., W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
Malcolm, Ian
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, W J H. (Dumfriessh.)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Fredk. G.
Milton, Viscount
Milward, Colonel Victor
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Rt. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, David J. (Walthamst.
Morgan, Hn Fred. (Monm'thsh.

Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlingtn
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalevbrdg.
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt Hn Chas. Thomson
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E. J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.

Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.)
Smith, H. C. (Northum. Tynesd.
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromw'ch
Stanley, Hon Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Webb, Col. William George
Welby, Lt-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Welby, Sir C. G. E. (Notts.)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Austin, Sir John
Bain, Col. James Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Boyle, James
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, G. M. (Edinburgh)
Burk, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles

Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick G. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cogan, Denis J.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William

Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T.
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher

Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone,Rt.HnHerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon,SirWilliam Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt.Hon. SirWilliam
Hardie, J.Kier(MerthyrTydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne,Rt-Hon. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt.Hon.Charles H.
Henderson, Alexander
Holland, William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hozier,Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Leamy, Edmund
Leese,SirJosephF.(Accrington
Leng, Sir John
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A,
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall
M'Crae, George
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mather, William
Mellor, Rt.Hon. JohnWilliam
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col.JohnP.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, Jas. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas.Prestwich (Leigh)
Seton Karr, Henry
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,RtHnC.R(Northants)
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen,E.
Thomas,DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thomas,F.Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas, J. A. (Glam., Gower
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thos. Courtenay T.
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, O. (Merioneth)
Wilson,Fred.W.(Norfolk,Mid)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wodehouse, Hn. A. (Essex)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Yoxall and Mr. Jacoby.

Ordered, That Government business have precedence this day and to-morrow of all other business.

NEW BILLS.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1894) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cathcart Wason, Sir William Arrol, Mr. Alexander Cross, Mr. Harmsworth, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Weir, and Mr. Leveson-Gower.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT (1894) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 8th May, and to be printed. [Bill 68.]

POOR LAW SUPERANNUATION (IRELAND).

Bill to provide for Superannuation Allowances to certain local officers and servants in Ireland, and for contributions towards such allowances by such officers and servants, and to make other relative provisions, ordered to be brought in by Mr. O'Malley, Sir James Haslett, Mr. Harrington. Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Clancy, Mr. James O'Connor, and Mr. Cogan.

POOR LAW SUPERANNUATION (IRELAND) BILL.

"To provide for Superannuation Allowances to certain local Officers and Servants in Ireland, and for contributions towards such Allowances by such Officers and Servants, and to make other relative provisions," presented, and read the First time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 69.]

LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) ACT (1854) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854, ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Crae, Mr. Bryce, Sir John Leng, Sir William Dunn, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Colville, Mr. Wason, and Mr. Robert Wallace.

LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) ACT (1854) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854," presented, and read the First time; to be read a Second time upon Wednesday, 25th April, and to be printed. [Bill 70.]

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[NINTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Forster.*)

Question again proposed.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

*MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Mr. Speaker, last night I was engaged in describing the scenes which are at the present moment being enacted at Standerton, in the Transvaal, in the rear of French's army, where, according to the telegrams, there are long convoys arriving of women and children prisoners of war; and we read this morning in the *Telegraph* that General French has failed to capture Botha and his army, notwithstanding the great flourish of trumpets as to what he was going to do. But we may, I suppose, take comfort from the fact that if he has not captured the Boer in the field, he has, at all events, taken wagon loads of women and children, and carried them off triumphantly as prisoners of war. It was the custom in the days of the Roman Empire to drag captive women and children at the heels of the conqueror, but since the fall of the Roman Empire I have never heard that any civilised nation has ever reverted to so barbarous a practice as capturing women and children by the thousand and detaining them as prisoners of war. But as there are some other matters which I must deal with in detail, I shall not consume the time of the House by giving now the heartbreaking details which I have in my possession of the condition of the women and children who are now shut up in the prison camps at Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, and other portions of the colony. We read in the accounts which reach us of eight and ten women being put into one tent; of children ill of measles (which is raging in the camp at Pietermaritzburg, according to the latest account) without accommodation for the treatment of these unfortunate children or proper attendance. We have read the tragic and horrible story of the death of young James Hertzog, a nephew or son of Judge Hertzog, who is at present in command of the western commando that has invaded Cape Colony. How his wife and children were torn from the blazing home, and when the local doctor told the British officers who were in charge that this poor boy, only eight years of age, was suffering from measles and quite unfit to travel, no quarter was offered, no delay was granted, and this boy and his wretched mother were placed on board a train for Port Elizabeth and sent a 600 miles journey, the immediate result of which was that no sooner did he reach the prison camp at Port Elizabeth than he was attacked with pneumonia and died in a few days. What do you think were the feelings of his kindred when they read the announcement of his death—"Died on a certain date, a prisoner of war at Port Elizabeth, Hertzog, aged eight years"? A pretty announcement to come as a result of the operations of your arms in South Africa!

But I pass over these details to the fact, which was only obtained by the process of squeezing Ministers, the shameful fact admitted by the Secretary of State for War to-day, that in the prison camps and so-called refugee camps of the Orange Free State the women and children of those who are out on commando, and who declined to surrender, are put on half rations and informed that they will be kept on that allowance until their husbands or brothers come in and surrender. Is there any parallel for the cruelty and meanness of that in the whole history of war? For my part I never read of any proceedings so mean and cruel and so cowardly—to endeavour to overcome these men—whom you cannot, although you are ten to one, beat in the field—to seek to force and intimidate them into surrender by starving their women and children. What did the right hon. Gentleman do the other day when this charge was made by the hon. Member for Carnarvon?—it is no wonder we have to continually press for information—he sprang to his feet quivering with excitement and indignation and said the hon. Gentleman was making a foul charge without any attempt at proof. Well, I waited for the speech of the Secretary of State for War, and I remarked the significant fact that he never alluded to this charge. I expected him to telegraph, and I was surprised that he did not. He was willing to telegraph about Esau's case, but he left the House of Commons under the impression that this was an unfounded and foul charge made by the Member for Carnarvon without a shred of evidence; and if it had not been for the question put to-day he would have allowed this debate to close leaving the House under the impression that there was no foundation for it. It is a foul charge, undoubtedly, but it is a true charge, and the right hon. Gentleman was obliged to get up at the Table and admit that it was true. This is the policy of Sicilian and Greek brigands. Brigands in Italy and Greece are in the habit of taking women and children prisoners, and then they threaten to cut off their ears and noses in their desire to have their relatives come forward to ransom them. Yes, I say that I see no difference except in degree between that policy and the policy carried out in this case. When hon. Members call into question the burning of farms, what is the reply? It is said that if it be good policy to end the war, then whatever tends to bring the war to a speedy conclusion is good policy. Would it be good to send news to the burghers that the noses and ears of their people would be cut off unless they come in and surrender? I say that I see no difference except in degree between doing that and letting them know that their wives and children would be half starved until they surrender, and yet a large body of the press of this country says that no act of cruelty would be wrong if it tended to put an end to the war. It is a most extraordinary state of things. It has been admitted by hon. Gentlemen opposite, in the course of what took place here last night, that a policy of devastation, of carrying fire and sword through these countries, was justifiable, not on the ground that you are dealing with treachery, but to make those countries uninhabitable to the enemy. I denounce that as an outrage on the usages of war as recognised to-day by every civilised country throughout the world. [Laughter.] Hon. Members opposite laugh, although we have the opinion of Europe and America upon our side, and it is admitted that this policy of starving women and children is adopted and, as I understand, approved by the Secretary of State for War, in the hope that it may tend to bring the war to a close. Let me describe this policy as regards women, and in the words of an English newspaper, which puts it more strongly than I can undertake to do myself. Now I am entitled to use these words, because they are the words of an organ which I regret to say is representative of a large mass of public opinion in this country. Writing in November last it says—

> "When commenting some little time ago on the turn of the war, we pointed out that it would be more business-like on our part to adopt the policy of General Weyler in Cuba. Lord Roberts has come round to our view."

That is exactly what I say Lord Roberts has done. He is following in the steps of General Weyler, and it is only two years ago that this House and the civilised world was ringing with denunciations of that general's cruelty in Cuba; and there is this difference, that he was dealing with a rebellion, and fighting against rebels who had kept up the rebellion for two years, and had for a long time outraged the usages of civilised war, whilst you are dealing with two independent States, who from the beginning and down to this hour have observed with scrupulous fidelity the usages of war. Yet you have followed in Weyler's footsteps, and, in fact, you have improved upon his example. Here is another passage which shows the object which the paper had in view—

"Besides [says the paper] the Boers in arms will naturally treat all those who are bound to aid us as traitors, and coercion will be set against coercion. In such cases the women and children are frequently employed to carry messages, and of course they must be included in the military measures and transported or despatched."

These are significant words, and I heard no voice of condemnation raised against them when they were used. They are found in the *St. James's Gazette*, which is accepted by many men as a reputable newspaper. That is the policy that has been advocated. It is a policy which the Government in this House were ashamed to admit. It is a policy with regard to which, in December last, the Secretary for the Colonies equivocated and left us under the impression that no such policy was in force, and which until yesterday, in fact until to-night, was denied. Yet it is a policy that many journalists in this country have advocated, and which has been practised in South Africa for nearly six months.

Up to this, Mr. Speaker, I have based my case upon the testimony of Englishmen and English newspapers; but I maintain that although you have control of the cable, and although you have the hand of your military censors upon every channel of communication from South Africa, that the men who are fighting you are honourable and civilised men, and that they too have a right to make their voices heard before civilised mankind. Now here is the last solemn statement made by De Wet and Steyn. I know hon. Members will laugh at their names; but I venture to say that their names and those of Delarey and Louis Botha will be honoured long after the names of your generals have disappeared in oblivion. What do they say in their proclamation? Here is their solemn protest against the way in which this war is being conducted—

"Our enemy [they say] has armed Kaffirs and natives, and made use of them against us in war. He has been continually busy capturing women and children, old and sickly men. Many women's deaths have been occasioned because the so-called Christian enemy had no consideration for women on a sick bed, or those whose state of health should have protected them against rough treatment."

It is a horrible fact, and one that cannot be denied, that on many occasions you have torn sick women from their beds—women in such a condition as to make a man's heart bleed if he had a heart in his breast—women who have given birth to children in the cattle trucks on which you were dragging them away.

"The property of prisoners and the killed burghers have not been respected by the enemy. In many instances the mother and the father are taken from the house, and the children are left to their fate. The world is told by the enemy that he was obliged to carry this out, because our burghers were interfering with the lines of communication. Nearly all the houses in the two Republics were subsequently destroyed, whether they were near the railway lines or not, while with regard to the misuse of the white flag, that is a contention put forward for the purpose of heaping upon us a calumny against which the Afrikander is striving since God first brought him into contact with the Englishman. Robbing his opponent of his goods and property is not sufficient for the enemy. He will not rest satisfied till he has robbed us of our good name also."

I believe those words are absolutely and substantially true and represent the truth of the policy you are carrying out in South Africa. I was reading the other day words which I must say made a deep impression upon me, written by a man who is, to my mind at all events, one of the greatest of living poets. Writing on these events he wrote—

"Blind from the first, blind to the end,
 Blind to all signs that ask men's gaze,
In vain by lips of foe or friend
 The world cries shame upon your ways.

"Fulfil your mission; spoil and burn;
 Fling forth the helpless—babes as well,
And let the children's children learn
 To hate you with the hate of hell.'

Those are not the words of an Irish Nationalist, but the words of the first living English poet of the day. [Cries of "Who, who?"] Who? why, William Watson. Have you never heard the name? [A VOICE from the Irish benches: Why, you do not even know your own great men!]

Well, Sir, I turn now from this subject—this painful and humiliating subject—to another aspect of the war, which is full of mystery and sinister significance, and that is the charge made against Lord Kitchener, for which, while I am prepared to admit there is not complete evidence, I say there is sufficient evidence to demand from you an immediate, serious and searching investigation. [" Hear, hear ! "] What is this charge ? It is that Lord Kitchener has recently in the Transvaal repeated what he is alleged to have done on the eve of Omdurman—namely, that he conveyed to his officers secret instructions to take no prisoners. I will state the case frankly, and I claim that the evidence in support of the charge is sufficient to require the closest investigation. First of all, let me say that this charge has been made, as I shall show, in an anonymous letter, but it is confirmed by the letters of two or three soldiers whose names I shall give, and who state in published letters that in accordance with the instructions they received they killed the wounded Boers and refused quarter. I wish to say, however, that this charge has been denied by Lord Kitchener himself, and also by the Secretary of State for War in this House; but the denial has been made by both in very extraordinary language. It was easy to them to treat these charges with contempt, and say they were unworthy to be taken notice of, but they did not adopt that course. They published a categorical denial of the charge, and it is remarkable that in the case both of Lord Kitchener and of the Secretary of State for War they do not deny the precise charges as made, but other charges that were never made. What was the denial, let me ask ? Here are Lord Kitchener's words, telegraphed by him to the Attorney General at Cape Town—

> " Instructions of the nature mentioned were never given or thought of. We treat the enemy surrendered with every consideration."

That is Lord Kitchener's denial. The Secretary of State for War most indignantly denied the charge, and said that Lord Kitchener had never given orders or ever intended to slaughter the prisoners in his possession. But that charge was never made. Before he could slaughter his prisoners he should capture them alive. The real charge made is that private instructions were issued to take no prisoners. That charge was first published in a letter in the *Freeman's Journal*, Dublin, and the second letter from the same officer was published by Mr. Stead. [" Oh ! " and " Hear, hear ! "] Hon. Gentlemen groan about that. Lord Roberts takes a totally different view of Mr. Stead, as you will see. Here is the extract from the officer's letter—

> " The orders in this district from Lord Kitchener are to burn and destroy all provisions, forage, etc., and seize cattle, horses, and stock of all sorts, wherever found, and to leave no food in the houses for the inhabitants. This applies to houses occupied by women and children only. And the word has been passed round privately that no prisoners are to be taken; that is, all the men found fighting are to be shot. This order was given to me personally by a general, one of the highest in rank in South Africa. So there is no mistake about it. The instructions given to the columns closing round De Wet north of the Orange River are that all men are to be shot, so that no tales may be told; also the troops are told to loot freely from every house, whether the men belonging to the house are fighting or not. You may imagine what this order will lead to in many instances, though, to do justice to the soldiers, I do not think they will in most cases go so far as some of their superiors would wish. I do not believe the soldiers or junior officers will carry out the intentions of their seniors, but in a great majority of cases outrages of all sorts will be committed under such a *régime*."

Mr. Stead sent that letter to Lord Roberts, asking him for a contradiction, or a statement with reference to it, and Lord Roberts wrote to Mr. Stead the following most remarkable reply—

> " I readily accept your statement that this officer is a man of good standing and undoubted repute "—

I must confess when I read that letter of Lord Roberts's it added enormous additional weight to the officer's letter—

> " and, accepting that statement, I am willing to notice what I should otherwise have ignored —an anonymous letter."

I contend that that adds great weight to the evidence, because hon. Members opposite, or a great many of them, have a very hearty dislike of Mr. Stead, but Lord Roberts, who has known Mr. Stead for a long time, takes his word that this is a genuine letter from an officer serving in the Army. It entitles me to say that that adds considerable weight to the matter. So much for that letter.

Now I come to the next piece of evidence, and you will take it for what it is worth. It is a letter signed by William Clyne, of the Liverpool Regiment, which was published in the *Liverpool Courier.* It contains this statement—

> "Lord Kitchener has issued orders that no man has to bring in any Boer prisoners; if he does he has to give him half his rations for the prisoner's keep. Lord Roberts was too lenient with the Boers. De Wet sent in to General Knox asking for an armistice. Lord Kitchener told General Knox to keep on shelling him while he brought up reinforcements. That was the armistice he got.

I turn to a letter from Private John Harris, of the Royal Welsh Regiment, published in the *Wolverhampton Express and Star*, which states—

> "We take no prisoners now. . . . There happened to be a few wounded Boers left. We put them through the mill. Every one was killed."

I give these letters for what they are worth. I wish to be perfectly frank in this matter, and not to put my evidence stronger than it is.

I come now to what I must confess influenced my mind more than anything else in this whole matter. When I first heard of it, I confess I did not believe that there was any foundation for this charge. What affected my mind more than anything else were the comments of the English press on the charge. [Interruption.] Hon. Members will perhaps be a little more patient with me for stating the evidence in a calm and frank manner to the House. They treat the subject as if I were making the most atrocious charges. [Interruption.] Yes, but wait one moment, and hear what your own newspapers said. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, alluding to that officer's letter in the *Freeman's Journal*, used this language—"We wish we could believe it." The *Birmingham Gazette*, writing a short time before, used this language—

> "The Boers cannot regain what they have lost, and as the most absolute assurances of fair treatment have been given to them we have a right to ask for their surrender, and failing that, to treat them as mere wanton marauders and murderers, who must be exterminated in order that the lives of our soldiers may be spared, and so that the people of the Transvaal, who are quite ready to accept British Rule, or who were driven out of their homes when Mr. Kruger declared war, may resume their ordinary avocations."

The *Daily Telegraph* of London is a great journal, and it used this language—

> "It will probably be found that these sullen malcontents will go on fighting so long as they have a bullet in their bandoliers, on the off-chance of slaying one of their conquerors, unless the British authorities make it clear that all caught with arms in their hands will be shot without mercy. The Germans had no compunction in so dealing with the Francs Tireurs, and their severity did much to shorten the war. We shall hope to see the same measures adopted in South Africa unless the various forces now patrolling the two conquered territories met with immediate success. A few such engagements as that which is reported near Vryheld, in which Bethune's Mounted Infantry are said to have killed sixty of the enemy, would speedily dishearten the marauders, and the proclamation of a specific date after which every armed burgher should be treated as a rebel and shot would be productive of nothing but good."

What is the use of hon. Members opposite denouncing me as a traducer and a coiner of outrageous charges in the face of these statements from leading newspapers of Great Britain? And here I come at last to the respectable *Standard.* I don't know how they turned this war into a rebellion, or at what stage. It stated—

> "In every rebellion a point is reached at which the services of the Provost Marshal become more effective than those of the strategist. The prompt and ruthless punishment of every insurgent burgher caught *in delicto* is required. We cannot keep a troop of horse outside each Boer farm, but we can show its occupant that he risks something more than his freedom, or even his property, when he takes up arms against the Crown."

I say therefore that each and all of these journals have advocated this policy. There are many other circumstances which are most mysterious and most sinister and disquieting about this whole business. Lord Kitchener, it will be remembered, assembled a meeting of burghers at Pretoria on 21st December, and I am surprised that the speech then made by Lord Kitchener has attracted so little attention in this country. No doubt we have not had a full report of that speech, but it was a very extraordinary speech, and it certainly has gone a long way towards making me feel exceedingly uneasy with reference to this policy of "no quarter." Lord Kitchener, addressing the burghers, said he was going to adopt for a short time a policy of conciliation. He referred to Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons. He mentioned that as the cause for adopting a policy of conciliation which was for the time being to suspend devastation. He stated that orders had been issued that for the time being farms should not continue to be burned. He concluded with these words—

> "He desired to give them every chance to surrender voluntarily and finish the war by the most humane means possible. If the conciliatory method he was now adopting failed, he had other means which he would be obliged to exercise. He would give the committee notice if the time had arrived to consider conciliation a failure."

Now what are the other means? I think we are entitled to demand and to insist upon the Government telling us what are these other means. They cannot have been the policy of devastating and burning, because that has been carried out to such an extent that the whole country was nearly turned into a desert. They cannot have been the policy of refuge in prison camps, because that was in full force. It was "other means," and I want to know what are the other means. I have failed to imagine any other means. But Lord Kitchener is a man who would not use such an expression unless he had some means present to his mind. When I read these words they had to me a most sinister meaning, and I read them in conjunction with that very extraordinary expression—an explanation of which ought to have been demanded in the debate in December last—used by the Colonial Secretary himself. The language which was used in what was called his conciliatory speech was—

> "Since the proclamation was ordered no doubt the situation has to a certain extent changed, because the position of the British forces is certainly much stronger than it was at that time, that is to say, although there is still all this skirmishing going on, regular warfare has practically ceased. Therefore it is open to the General now in command to reconsider his position and substitute other punishments if he thinks it right to do so."

Now that is most sinister. What right has any man to import the word "punishment" into this matter? This is a war, and not a rebellion. I say the use of that expression "substitute other punishments" against your enemy was a most sinister and dangerous expression to use. You have no right to punish these men. They have as much right to fight in the field as you have. I put it at the lowest, and I say the word "punishment" ought not to be uttered by the lips of any man in a general sense in connection with this war. No one can contend that the punishment in this case was narrowly applied to acts of treachery or breaches of the usages of war. No general expression from statesmen is needed to deal with such cases. Acts of treachery, whether on your side or on the side of the Boers, fall to be dealt with in the ordinary way by the laws of war, and no man of sense would complain or find fault with you on the one side or the Boers on the other for punishing such acts. No one would complain of the Boers shooting spies, even when they come in the form of peace envoys, or of your men doing the same if the Boers abuse the white flag. I say no man would complain of fair play in such matters. But this was an expression of general policy applying to the whole population in arms against you.

Here is another, and this is the last piece of evidence I will read to the House. ["Hear, hear."] I think this is a very important subject, and I do not see any reason why it should be curtailed. It comes from a gentleman whose communications I read with very great interest, because I believe they are written by a very clever man. I do not know his name. He is the Johannesburg correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and I have not the least doubt from reading the communications that he gives what is the predominating feeling of the Uitlanders still there. He says—

> "It seems an ungracious thing to say after his masterly conduct of the war up to the fall of Pretoria, but the truth cannot be hidden that Lord Roberts outstayed his welcome. There is a consensus of opinion, from the military officer to the man in the street, that unless stringent measures are taken peace will not reign in this country for twelve months to come, and the methods of Lord Roberts were not calculated to bring matters to a speedy issue. We have now reached a crisis when it becomes absolutely necessary to entrust the final touches of the campaign to a man whose personal feelings of pity and compassion are subsidiary to a stern determination to finish the war at all costs."

These words show the public opinion of the Uitlander population in Johannesburg. According to the opinion of that gentleman, and also of, I have no doubt, many military officers, they were tired of Lord Roberts and of his methods as too mild; they demanded more stringent methods; and I leave it to the imagination of hon. Members what these sterner methods are to be. I maintain that there is a case, and a strong case, for inquiry into this matter. I maintain that we are entitled to know whether there is any foundation for these sinister remarks, which have come from English channels, and not from Irish or foreign channels. I maintain that we are entitled to obtain from the Government an explanation of what was meant by the Colonial Secretary when he spoke of "other punishment," and what was in the mind of Lord Kitchener when he addressed the burghers in December last and said that if conciliation did not come very soon he would be obliged to use other methods he had at his disposal. Let me refer once more to Lord Roberts. This thing has been treated as if it were the wildest absurdity to make such charges against British generals, but it is not. I have proved them out of your own newspapers. I shall now prove them out of the mouth of Lord Roberts himself. In the month of June last Lord Roberts issued this Proclamation No. 15, dated Johannesburg, June 1st, 1900—

> "I do hereby warn all inhabitants of the Orange Free State, who after fourteen days from the day of this proclamation may be found in arms against Her Majesty, within the said Colony, that they will be liable to be dealt with as rebels and to suffer in person and property accordingly."

[Cheers.] And hon. Members opposite cheer that! Was there ever such inconsistency? Hon. Members opposite cheer that after they denounce me a few moments before for making baseless charges. What is the meaning of being treated as rebels and suffering in person and property? A rebel is liable to execution. [AN HON. MEMBER: Not all.] Not all. They are at the mercy of the General. Either Lord Roberts did not mean anything by that, or else he meant that he would treat these men—who have all the rights of belligerents, just as if you were fighting any great European Power—that he would treat them as rebels. What happened? I put a question here as soon as that was telegraphed, and I believe the Colonial Secretary telegraphed to the Orange Free State, and about two months afterwards that proclamation was withdrawn. Like Bruce Hamilton's, it was felt to be rather strong for the House of Commons stomach, but it remains on record as one of the most disgraceful proclamations that have ever been issued, showing the intention on the part of Lord Roberts to do an act which would have brought down upon his and your name the universal condemnation of all civilised mankind.

I pass over a number of charges made in the course of this debate against the Boers by hon. Members opposite. I shall take another opportunity of dealing with them later. I brand them now as absolutely untrue and calumnious. The statement that the Boers have systematically abused the white flag is, I say, a base and cowardly libel. One hon. Member opposite—the Member for the Tottenham Division of Middlesex—got up and said the Boers had got a different code of honour, and he was backed up by the Finanical Secretary to the War Office, whom I was astonished to hear making such a charge. He did not state of his own knowledge that he had experience of the abuse of the white flag by the Boers, but he indicted the whole race—in the words of Edmund Burke, he indicted the whole nation, with having a different code of honour from the people of this country. Sir, I think that is a monstrous charge, and one also absolutely without foundation. When we are dealing with this question of codes of honour let me draw attention to one case. There may be dishonour on more sides than one, and I am not here to say that none of the Boers ever did a dishonourable or treacherous act, but I am confident that if the question is examined on both sides the Boers will come as well out of it, at least, as your side. I direct your attention to the story of Surgeon-Captain Fiset, a French-Canadian officer, who was in the Transvaal. Here is his story as to his code of honour and the code of honour of that humane man, General Bruce Hamilton. He says—

> "I was left ill at Heilbron; two hours later the Boers came into the place. One of their patrols came into the hospital and, despite my protests that I was a medical officer, searched my clothes, removing my purse and private papers. . . . General Olivier came ater to the hospital and asked if I had any com-

plaints to make. I said, as a medical officer, he had no right to make me a prisoner. He replied he had a right to make prisoners, and had been informed an officer of the hospital had been given despatches. I said, if he thought I had despatches he could search me, but he could not be very shrewd if he thought General Hamilton would give despatches to a medical officer who had no right to take them. I was angry and spoke sharply. Fortunately he did not search me; had he done so he would have found the despatches he was looking for between my undershirt and my body."

[An HON. MEMBER: Good man.] An hon. Member says "Good man." Is that your code of honour?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must address himself to the Chair.

*MR. DILLON: Yes; I ask you, Mr. Speaker, respectfully, is that the hon. Member's code of honour? All I can say is, that if it is I congratulate the Boers upon having a very different code. This gentleman goes on—

"'They had been given to me by General Hamilton to take to Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, and I had been instructed to hand them over as soon as I reached the main column. Early next day my purse, horse, and saddle were returned to me with the General's compliments."

The only other case that I will allude to in relation to these charges against the Boers is the charge of the murder of Esau. I wish to call attention to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman based this charge on Reuter. When we base statements upon Reuter we are howled at, but when a Minister does it, and not merely does it, but does it without mentioning that he is doing it, the case is regarded as very different. He made a statement, and we were entitled to assume, unless he had mentioned the authority on which he relied, that he is basing his statement upon official information. The right hon. Gentleman gave the most horrible details of the murder of Esau. He read a telegram from Sir Alfred Milner, and I noticed that there was no reference to the details which had been previously given, but, assuming all that is said about the killing of Esau to be true, what about the murder of Dolly? What about your officer Cox who murdered Dolly in cold blood, and about whose case there is no controversy and no doubt, for he admitted all he did in a court of law? And your officers declined to prosecute. If ever there was a cold-blooded murder it was the murder of Dolly. There ought to be some measure or balance in these charges. It is impossible that a great war could be conducted for a year without some acts of cruelty on either side. The question is, can you adduce a single shred of evidence to show that your record in treachery, cruelty and ferocity is less than that of the Boers? For my part, I think the balance goes entirely the other way.

I now come to the second part of my Amendment, which asks the House to declare that it is the duty of the Government to take steps to bring this miserable war to an end by offering the Governments of the two Republics such terms of peace as brave and honourable men under all the circumstances might be expected to entertain. It may be asked what I mean by "such terms of peace." I have deliberately abstained from putting into the Amendment any details as to the exact terms which should be offered, because I hope there will go into the lobby, in favour of offering terms of peace, many Members who might differ as to the precise nature of those terms. But the essence of the Amendment is that definite terms of peace should, in the eyes of the civilised world, be offered to the responsible leaders and governors of the two States. That is a clear issue between my Amendment and the policy of the Government. Ever since May last, when Presidents Kruger and Steyn addressed themselves to Lord Salisbury, after the colonies had been cleared of the invaders, and asked for negotiations, the attitude of the Government has been one of refusal to consider any terms with the responsible leaders of the forces in the field. Can any Member quote a single precedent in the history of Europe during the past century for such action? Is there a single case in the comity of civilised nations, or where-ever white races are gathered together in organised States, in which war has been waged between two independent States, where the victor in the hour of his victory has declined to enter into any negotiations with the Government of the vanquished? No such thing has ever been done before. What would have been said of Germany if, after Sedan, when they had not only the army of their enemy in their possession, but the whole of the machinery of Government and the head of the State—which you have not got in regard to South Africa—they had declined to hold any communication with the new Government set up in France? All civilisation would have cried shame upon Germany. But Germany did not attempt anything of the kind. It is idle, in support of your position, to say there are no Governments. There is just as much a Government to-day in the Transvaal as there was in France after Sedan. I assert that you can never have peace in South Africa until you negotiate with the Government of these two States. You may, I dare say you will, I have no doubt you will, by calling out reinforcements and continuing the war at ruinous expense wear down the resistance of the Boers. You may break up their main bodies and disarm them; you may have a cessation of hostilities until another opportunity occurs, but until you come to some arrangement with the responsible and trusted leaders of the people you will never get a permanent peace.

What is the position taken up by the Government? When pressed on this question the other day they said, "True, we will not negotiate with the Governments; our terms with the Governments and the leaders are unconditional surrender, but Lord Roberts and General Buller have always been most anxious to meet the enemy in every way, to open the door for surrender and to make the way easy." I deny that. I go further. I say a most extraordinary and unhappy attempt has been made to keep the House of Commons in the dark on this subject. Wherever the responsibility lies it has been singularly unfortunate. What happened here the other night? The Financial Secretary to the War Office got up mainly for the purpose of elucidating this particular point, and of assuring the House that Lord Roberts had done everything in his power to promote a meeting with General Botha. I am the last man in the House to seek to make a charge against the Financial Secretary. I have always found him honourable and kindly to his opponents, but I do say that in this instance, I have no doubt through being misinformed, he grossly misled the House of Commons. This is what the Financial Secretary said—

> "On the 8th June a verbal message was brought from Louis Botha requesting an interview with Lord Roberts. Lord Roberts answered the letter in his own hand consenting to an interview between the outposts, but Botha's answer was not satisfactory in that he would not agree to the terms on which they were to meet. I myself have not seen the actual letter, but I believe Botha stated that he did not mean to consider any terms unless independence was assured."

I got up amid much interruption and asked whether he would lay Papers giving full details of what passed. He did lay Papers; and what is the result? There is not a single word of truth in that statement; on the contrary, it is in every detail absolutely the reverse of what occurred. Why was the House of Commons kept in the dark as to this correspondence? Papers have been laid again and again since this correspondence passed, but no Papers in connection with South Africa during the past two years have been laid which were of greater importance or interest to the country than this correspondence which was suppressed and intended to be withheld from the House of Commons, but for the fact that I interrupted the hon. Gentleman. What really happened? On the 12th June Lord Roberts wrote the following letter to General Botha—

> "Your Honour,—I address these few lines in the hope that they may have the effect of inducing your Honour, in the cause of humanity, to refrain from further resistance. The British force under my command so greatly exceeds the Boer army in number that, although the war may be prolonged for a few more weeks, there can be but one result. After the gallant struggle your Honour and the force under your command have made, there can be no question of loss of honour should you decide to accept the counsel I now venture to proffer."

First of all, there is not a suggestion in that letter of any verbal message coming to Lord Roberts. It is perfectly manifest on the face of the communication that that letter was sent on the initiative of Lord Roberts. In the second place, could anything more instructive, interesting, or wonderful be imagined than the commentary supplied by this letter on the condition of mind of Lord Roberts, for it is evident from this letter that he was under the impression that the war was sure to end in two or three weeks, even if the Boers did their best. It is no wonder that Lord Kitchener had to criticise the arrangements of the Army after Lord Roberts left. Here is General Botha's reply to that letter—

> "Your Excellency,—In answer to your letter of yesterday wherein your Excellency advises me, in the interests of humanity, not to continue this strife any longer to your Army as your force exceeds ours so greatly in numbers, I wish to give your Excellency the assurance that the subject is receiving my serious consideration. However, for the purpose of arriving at a decision, it is not only absolutely necessary for me to call a General Council of War of my officers and to consult them, but above all it is necessary for me to consider the subject with my Government. I trust that for the sake of humanity your Excellency will give me the opportunity for such consideration and consultation.
>
> "As some of my officers are near the Natal border, and I am also a long way separate from my Government, this will require some time. I ask your Excellency kindly, therefore, for an armistice for six days, beginning from to-morrow morning at sunrise, during which time no forward movement will be made on either side within the territory of the South African Republic.
>
> "I would very much like to receive from your Excellency to-day an answer to your request, and if possible by the agent who is taking this letter."

Lord Roberts replies refusing the armistice requested. ["Read, read!"] For the moment, all I have to say is that that is not the account given to the House of Commons; it is the very reverse. We were told by the Financial Secretary that the ground on which the meeting did not take place was that Louis Botha wrote to say that he would not consider any terms unless independence was assured. There is not a line of justification for that statement; there is not a word of truth in it. Lord Roberts offered a modified form of armistice, and Louis Botha then replies—

> "Your Excellency, — In answer to your letter, dated 14th June, just received by me, wherein your Excellency consents to an armistice for five days, but with the reservation of the right to your Excellency to move your army in all directions within the South African Republic, except east of Elands River station and north of the Volksrust-Johannnesburg Railway line, I must, to my great regret, inform your Excellency that this reservation makes it impossible for me to accept this armistice, which I have so much desired."

From beginning to end there is not one word about terms. Botha was willing to come to the meeting with no preliminary conditions, and to discuss the subject with an open mind. It is infamous that that fact should have been held back from the knowledge of the country, and the House of Commons and the public deliberately deceived in the interests of that section of Gentlemen opposite and of some of those who cheered when I said Lord Roberts refused the armistice, and in the interests of those for whom *The Times* speaks when before and ever since the war began it has raised a howl whenever there was a prospect of peace or negotiation. There is a faction in this country and in South Africa who have engineered and brought about this war for vile and selfish interests, and that faction have stood in the path of peace from the day the first shot was fired until this hour; they are the men who forged the Johannesburg letter; they are the men who thought it was no blot upon the personal honour of Mr. Rhodes to deceive his Government and to lie all round. As by forgery and lying they thought in 1896 to rob the people of the Transvaal of their liberty, and as by lying and forgery they embroiled in 1899 this country in the most disgraceful war that has ever blotted her annals, so down to this very hour they have continued this infamous work, and by lying, suppression, and forgery they have misrepresented the leaders of the Boers to this country, they have told the people of England what was false and what they knew to be false—that the Boer leaders refused to meet Lord Roberts unless independence was guaranteed——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now stating that the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the War Office said something in this House which he knew to be false.

*MR. DILLON: Indeed, I did not, Sir.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member said that—

*MR. DILLON: Indeed, I did not, Sir.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member said earlier in his speech that the information to which he has just referred was given to the House by the Financial

Secretary to the War Office. He has now proceeded to say, "They have told the country what they knew to be false." The hon. Member must withdraw that remark.

*MR. DILLON: I will be only too glad to apologise if I gave that impression, but I think you did not follow my speech very closely. I quite admit that I spoke in heat, and my words may not have reached you.

*MR. SPEAKER: I heard the hon. Member previously say that he did not cast any imputation on the noble Lord, as he stated he had not seen the actual letter, but in the latter part of his speech he certainly did cast such an imputation.

*MR. DILLON: I will put an end to the matter by most fully withdrawing if anybody dreamt that I was casting an imputation on the noble Lord. To make myself perfectly clear, I said that the noble Lord told me he had not seen the letters himself, and that he did not see them until he went to the War Office and got the papers. But I had passed away from Members of this House.

*MR. SPEAKER: I quite accept the hon. Member's statement. All I said was that in the heat of the moment he certainly used an expression which was capable of that interpretation. I quite accept his withdrawal.

*MR. DILLON: I am quite prepared to make any *amende* to the noble Lord. I was applying my language to the authors of the Jameson raid, who, in my opinion, created and worked for this war, and stopped at no means, however disgraceful and unscrupulous, to embroil this country and the South African Republics. Most completely have they succeeded in their nefarious design. I charge them now with pursuing that detestable policy to the utter destruction of these people, but, please God, they never will succeed in achieving that. They stand to-day, as they stood five years ago, in the path of peace, with their forgeries and lies, but now with the blood of 20,000 Englishmen who have perished in this conflict upon their heads, and the ruin of two nations. The vengeance of God, though it is slow, will yet, I trust, find them out, because in the pursuit of their vile and selfish ends they have given all South Africa to fire and sword, and they have embroiled England in the bloodiest and most disgraceful war she has ever known, and called down upon her the universal condemnation of the civilised world. I beg to move the Amendment standing in my name.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I rise to second this Amendment, which has been moved in a speech of passionate eloquence, elaborate and powerful reasoning and illustration, and, I venture to say, a spirit of wise and broad statesmanship. [Laughter.] Hon. Members opposite may think those words ill-chosen, but although some of them may dissent, as I do, from some of the words and contentions of my hon. friend, they will at least recognise the broad spirit in which he has entered upon this question and tried to raise the standard of action of this country in this great struggle.

This Amendment raises issues of the gravest importance upon which I, representing an English Liberal constituency, hold that the opinion of the House of Commons should be declared at this crisis in the nation's history. Many of us have been challenged during the recent election for voting in favour of my hon. friend's Amendment to the Address in the session of October, 1899. I feel the same satisfaction in seconding this motion as I felt in voting for that. The hon. Member for East Mayo was then supporting the application to this struggle of that principle of arbitration which we all pretend to want carried out, and what he has done now is to lay before the House the strongest case I have heard for years for an inquiry into the statements he has made—statements for every one of which he has given actual evidence of great force and weight. As I listened to his speech, I could not help thinking of the parallel between the debate of to-night and that of yesterday. Then we were asking for, and the Government granted, an inquiry into the cases of ghastly and sorrowful surrender. Now my hon. friend, as I understand him, is laying this tremendous series of charges before the House rather as a case which demands the impartial and loyal consideration of this great court of the Empire, in order that the highest and noblest standards of warfare, which it has been the pride of this country to uphold in the past, may be maintained. The policy of crushing resistance without parley, or negotiation, or consideration for the feelings of those with whom you are fighting, is as unwise as it is cruel. I believe the whole of this country and a great portion of the forces in South Africa—although they will fight to the last with all possible gallantry, doing their duty, however tired they may be of the ghastly series of affairs—are weary of the struggle. We are weary of the enormous and increasing burden which will paralyse social reform, which is starving many charities and philanthropic efforts all over the country, and which is putting a millstone around the neck of British trade at one of the most serious crises it has had to face; but the Government, when we are all so anxious to bring this war to the speediest possible conclusion, have adopted the very worst methods for securing that end. What are their methods? They are to add to the legitimate fighting strength—which, of course, it is the duty of the Government, though I do not support them in doing it, to exercise—two instruments which I think are the worst that can be imagined in such a case as this. First, they have refused to the enemy just the very thing that men of that type and character cling to with the most passionate devotion and loyalty—namely, their liberty; and, secondly, they are attempting to enforce their submission by this hideous terrorism of threats of suffering and torture of the weak and defenceless.

The First Lord of the Treasury said the other day that the prolongation of this war was due to the enemy, and not to ourselves. I venture to say that the prolongation of the war is, as a matter of demonstration, the result of the policy of His Majesty's Government. We have recently had the despatches and proclamations of Lord Roberts laid before Parliament. Those despatches may or may not—I express no view—raise the opinion of military experts with regard to the strategic capacity of Lord Roberts, but they certainly lower our view of his capacity as a statesman and politician, and as one who has to administer the delicate and difficult considerations that go to the root of the instincts and feelings of his fellow-men. In these proclamations we have had what I can call nothing but a litter of inconsistent and contradictory statements. It is absolutely impossible for any man reading those proclamations to find out what would be the result of his action or his abstention from action. What impression could they produce on the narrow and prejudiced but shrewd race opposed to us? The Boers must have thought alternately that they had to deal with the fatuous imbecility of Dogbery and Verges, and the scarcely disguised merciless policy of a Duke of Alva. You have had in Lord Roberts's campaign more than one opportunity of bringing this war to a close. Lord Roberts himself admits that the risk of his rapid rush on Bloemfontein and Pretoria was serious from a military point of view, and I say—and I challenge contradiction—the one real justification for the risk and suffering of those rapid operations would undoubtedly have been to use the moment of success in order to put before the more influential members of the Boer community just those considerations and offers of terms which might have served to bring about at least the beginning of negotiations which might have resulted in an agreement between the two sides. This has been laid before the country in the clearest possible way by one of the greatest of Conservative statesmen, Sir Edward Clarke. What is the professed aim of the Government policy? It is to have a contented and peaceful South Africa, equal rights for all men, and fair play for all parties; the open door for all industries, and free institutions, which the Secretary for the Colonies and many others have explained again and again would ultimately be granted in order to give the freedom and the free self-government now enjoyed by Canada and Australia to these South African communities. I venture to say that the policy you have adopted week by week has put the whole possibility of such a solution farther and farther away from you. You can read the signs of the times in South Africa. Thank Heaven, Cape Colony has not joined in this movement, and I hope that no consideration may induce the Dutch in Cape Colony to join in the struggle, which would thus enlarge the area of the war. I am one of those who look upon the military result of this war as a foregone conclusion. I have no doubt as to the ultimate result of these military operations, but I do think that to carry out this policy with exasperation is one of the most unwise and improper courses to take in so grave an emergency.

My hon. friend the Member for East Mayo has quoted many passages from the press to show the real temper which is present in the minds of some supporters of His Majesty's Government and the policy they are pressing for. Let us here in the House of Commons let South Africa know the terms which the Government are prepared to give to the Boers if they surrender. Let us know the immediate terms, and let them be frankly and fairly made known to the Boers forthwith throughout South Africa. I listened to the last speech of the Colonial Secretary, and remember the speech which he addressed to the House in December last, and they present a great contrast. There seems to be in the policy of the Government as explained across the floor of the House of Commons just the same vacillation as in the proclamations issued by Lord Roberts. Your policy must produce on the minds of your enemy the same uncertainty and hopelessness of making out what their fate would be, and there is the same distrust of your intentions. What I have to challenge His Majesty's Government upon is that if they continue the policy which they are now doing; if the Colonial Secretary continues to refuse to offer terms of settlement, and if he continues to be guided in his policy by Sir Alfred Milner and Lord Kitchener, and still declares that until they give him leave to offer terms of peace he will leave things in their hands, then I say the responsibility for the prolongation of this war rests clearly with His Majesty's Government, and they will have to face the responsibility before history as to whether they are not themselves in their own hearts aiming at a policy of extermination, of absolute annihilation, and of absolute removal of these troublesome races. My attention was called to an article in the *Economic Journal*, written by a great financial authority in the City, over well-known initials. In this article the argument was deliberately put forward that the prolongation of the war was an advantage to His Majesty's Ministers and to those interested in speculations in South Africa. The prolongation of the war was said to be an advantage to British occupation, because each month, as it went on, diminished and swept away the Boer race; and day by day more and more of these wretched men were being reduced to bankruptcy, and more and more would be killed off and disappear. I listened with interest to a speech made by the noble Lord the Member for North Bedfordshire, who has rendered valuable service in South Africa. He spoke in a very appreciative way of the character of the Boer farmers, and he pointed out that the probable solution in South Africa would be the complete colonisation of these Boer colonies by British colonists, who had been encouraged to take these farm under a sort of compulsory expropriation.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! These matters do not arise under this Amendment.

*MR. CHANNING: I will not pursue that argument further, but I was simply using it as an illustration that even in minds like that of the noble Lord who has been in South Africa there was a contemplation of this policy of driving the Boers out of their own country, in order that we might occupy it ourselves. This impression has arisen because of the persistent refusal of His Majesty's Government to put forward conciliatory terms which might be accepted by a brave and resolute people. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will remove this impression, and that His Majesty's

Government may even now do something to bring this hateful war to a conclusion. I say that His Majesty's Government, in the face of the speeches which have been made and of the articles which we have seen in the press, and in view of all the facts we have before us, are bound to attempt to clear themselves from the suspicion that this war is being prolonged in order to accomplish the extinction and the extermination of these people.

I have only one more word to add, and it is that I have always been taught—and I believe every lad in the Anglo-Saxon race has been taught—to love and respect the passionate determination of a people to make any sacrifice to defend their homes. That is the fundamental quality of the Boers who are fighting against us to-day. We heard to-day that some of the Boer women were condemned in the camps because their husbands were showing this noble courage and fighting for their independence, and it was said that these women were to be subjected to starvation rations in order that their husbands might be coerced. I heard a few days ago that in some of our camps Boer women had been expressing in the strongest and most passionate terms their hope and belief that their husbands and sons would never allow the sufferings of the women to be a motive for surrendering their struggle for their liberties. Whatever we may think of the origin of the war, such noble motives as these should weigh in our hearts, and should have their influence in urging His Majesty's Government to take some such course as is suggested in this Amendment—

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the wholesale burning of farmhouses, the wanton destruction and looting of private property, the driving of women and children out of their homes without shelter or proper provision of food, and the confinement of women and children in prison camps are practices not in accordance with the usages of war as recognised by civilised nations; that such proceedings are in the highest degree disgraceful and dishonouring to a nation professing to be Christian, and are calculated by the intense indignation and hatred of the British name which they must excite in the Dutch population to immensely increase the difficulty of restoring peace to South Africa. And we humbly and earnestly represent to Your Majesty that it is the duty of Your Majesty's Government immediately to put a stop to all practices contrary to the recognised usages of war in the conduct of the war in South Africa; and to make an effort to bring the war to an end by proposing to the Governments of the two Republics such terms of peace as brave and honourable men might, under all the circumstances, be reasonably expected to entertain.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I have heard many astonishing things in the course of this debate, but I think the most astonishing of all was that which fell from the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down when he alluded to the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo as dictated by a wise and broad statesmanship. I am no stranger to the methods of the hon. Member for East Mayo. This is a subject which deserves at the hands of the House of Commons a treatment distinguished by judgment and discretion, and, if possible, without passion. I have heard the hon. Member for East Mayo on many occasions, but, though well steeled to his invective, I confess that I do not think that either in the vehemence or in the length of his paroxysms he ever surpassed himself in the historical exaggerations which he has applied to this subject. Those hon. Gentlemen who do not know the hon. Member for East Mayo and who do not know his supporters might suppose that this rhetoric had been called into existence by this special case, whereas nearly every piece of invective was familiar to us on this side of the House. It has been used before in the Irish debates—yes, and not only has the invective done duty before, but the cheers with which it was greeted have also done duty before. It has done duty whenever British soldiers were fighting against the Mahdi, or the Khalifa, or the Afridis, or any real or supposed enemy of Great Britain.

The hon. Member, who revels in such a speech, asked us at the close to enter on the business in a spirit of conciliation. The hon. Member stood there as an apostle of conciliation; but what single sentence in his speech led to conciliation? What single opportunity did he give to Gentlemen on this side of the House to join him in that effort, which many of us on this side of the House, even in the present debate on the Address, have urged the House of Commons to make, and to put aside these bitternesses if we could in order to arrive at some common ground of settlement. On the contrary, the hon. Member said everything he could to stimulate antagonism. He said everything he could to exasperate and not to conciliate opposition. He did everything he could to make us farther apart and to make the cleavage greater. He did everything he could in these directions, and every word he used will be telegraphed to South Africa, and there they will impair the chances of an ultimate settlement. I should not object to his invective if it were always based on facts. The hon. Member has corrected me with regard to a statement I made, on information which reached me and which has since been corroborated by Sir A. Milner. I said not one word with regard to the Boers. What I said was that these were men whose minds had been poisoned by pernicious literature which the hon. Member freely quoted and which the hon. Member for Carnarvon also quoted, and which has since been found to be doctored for the palate of hon. Members opposite. The hon. Member objected when I rose to ask him what evidence he had of the truth of the pamphlet from which he was quoting—an interruption which he repudiated at the time, but which has since been found to be justified by one of the most outrageous and open instances of cutting out all which tells against his side, in order to make a case, which has ever been put before the House of Commons, even by a Conciliation Committee. In that race, in that competition of unjust modelling of evidence, the hon. Member for East Mayo is not far behind his colleague the Member for Carnarvon. The hon. Member attacked Lord Roberts for his political conduct of the war, and he even ventured to impeach his military conduct for the state in which he left the troops in South Africa. The hon. Member said, What was the Commander-in-Chief for, if he left the Army in that position? And he quoted from an article the purport of which was to explain the grounds on which Lord Kitchener had to take three months to remove the consequences of Lord Roberts's "disorganisation" before he could move.

Mr. DILLON: What I said was that if the account given in a specially inspired article published in *The Times* last Friday was correct, then Lord Roberts was not fit to command.

Mr. BRODRICK: Yes, and he has repeated it again. How "specially inspired"? What right has the hon. Member to declare that the article was specially inspired?

Mr. DILLON: It could not pass the censor otherwise.

Mr. BRODRICK: Then why did not Lord Kitchener censor all the letters from which the hon. Member has quoted reflecting upon himself? The hon. Member must know as well as I do that letters have come to this country by the hundred and the thousand which cannot be touched by the censor. Coming to Lord Kitchener, an honourable and generous man, who has honourably served with Lord Roberts, with whom he is on the closest terms of intimacy and friendship, the hon. Member had the assurance to tell the House that Lord Kitchener had inspired this letter against Lord Roberts, and—putting his own construction upon it—said this was Lord Kitchener's revenge for Paardeberg. [Cries of "Shame."] The motive of the hon. Member can be seen from that statement, and from the fact that he left off reading the letter at the exact point where it relieved Lord Kitchener from the gross insinuation the hon. Member sought to convey. What was the nature of that letter? It contained these words—"It must not be imagined that Lord Roberts was in any way to blame for this state of things." Why did the hon. Member not read that sentence?

Mr. DILLON: I read that out loud to the House.

An Hon. Member: Apologise!

Mr. BRODRICK: I am afraid if the hon. Member did read it I do not recollect it.

Mr. DILLON: Everyone heard me.

Mr. BRODRICK: If he did read it then it certainly does not appear in print. Did the hon. Member read this—

> "It was the inevitable outcome of a protracted campaign in a difficult country, with an enormous area, and also the complete change in the character of the war on the part of the enemy from a war of defence to an offensive guerilla war."

Why did not the hon. Member read that? Because it would have destroyed his bitter and groundless insinuation about Lord Kitchener going behind the back of Lord Roberts to a correspondent of *The Times* in order to poison the mind of the British public, which Lord Kitchener would never have thought of doing. Just in the same way the hon. Member was good enough to put into my mouth expressions I never used, and for which there was not a particle of evidence to justify his charges. The hon. Member has tried to saddle us with statements we have never made, just as he has tried to saddle Lord Kitchener with things he has never written. He has taken on trust garbled extracts which have reached him from anonymous letters, and when Lord Roberts, out of the courtesy of his nature, writing to Mr. Stead, said—what many of us, I fear, would not have said—namely,

> "I readily accept your statement that this officer is a man of good standing and unblemished repute,"

the hon. Member went as near as he dared to saying that Lord Roberts was standing bail for the truth of the accusation made by Mr. Stead.

Mr. DILLON: Nothing of the kind.

Mr. BRODRICK: I will not follow the hon. Member further than I can help upon these lines, for I believe that they are fraught with the utmost danger to future negotiations, the utmost inconvenience at present, and I believe it to be wholly foreign to the judicial temper in which the House should discuss these proceedings.

Looking at the subject from that point of view, I would say one word as to the exaggerated account which the hon. Member gave of the state of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. He said there had been a wholesale devastation of the country. That is absolutely untrue, according to any facts which have reached us, or even from any insinuations which have reached us, from any authentic source. There must, of course, be very considerable devastation in tracts of country which have been fought over in some instances half-a-dozen or a dozen times. Obviously that is inevitable in war. But what are the facts of the case? I will tell the House in two or three minutes. In the first place, we are still waiting for the actual facts as to the number of farms burned; but the hon. Member left the impression on the House that all the burnings and devastation had been carried out by orders of British generals. That is absolutely wrong. When the British entered the Orange Free State they found that lies had been spread in front of them, calumnious statements that the honour of women would not be safe and that farms would be looted; and they found that farm after farm had been deserted, and in every single instance those farms had been looted and in many cases burned by the Kaffirs. I have it on the authority of Lord Roberts himself that those in advance of the army arrived at homestead after homestead which they found a smoking ruin when they entered the colony. And to a large extent the destruction and devastation of the farms in the two colonies was caused by the desertion of the farms by the Boers and their destruction by the Kaffirs. I do not wish to say anything to make matters more difficult between the two races; but I would remind the House that one of our greatest difficulties has been the attitude of some of the Boers towards the Kaffirs, and that the Kaffirs had a long score to settle with the Boers, when the time and the opportunity came for looting their houses. There was a second class of cases which came under the description of punishment—that word to which the hon. Member for East Mayo so vehemently objected. A British general was not merely entitled, but he was bound to take serious notice of cases of treachery in farmhouses. There has been an immense amount of treachery in this war, of breach of parole, and a great deal of harbouring of the enemy in farmhouses which had received our protection. There has been concealment of arms and ammunition. Ammunition has been discovered when some farms were burnt carefully kept out of sight. The destruction of these buildings forms the second class of cases for which I am perfectly ready in this House to stand bail and to defend the conduct of the generals, and which accounts for a very large amount of such devastation as has been caused.

There has been a third class of case—the destruction of the line on which the whole provision of the forces, and the non-combatants as well, depended during the progress of the operations. The hon. Member for East Mayo and other Members on the same side have addressed the House with great vehemence and have delivered a strong attack upon us because we have not always been able to give the whole of the population which depended upon us full rations of every kind during the campaign. But the same Members who so vehemently attack us for that make an equally vigorous attack because punitive measures were set in force in order to protect the lines from being broken. At one time, for weeks together, the line was broken at some place or other every night, and it was absolutely necessary to take strong steps in these cases. Lord Roberts may have issued strong proclamations, and may have acted up to them in certain cases. If he did so it was because he thought it was necessary in order to preserve his force, and also in order to find food for the enormous civil population depending upon him. When we talk of war, do let us divest our minds of cant. War cannot be made without a certain amount of human suffering. All you can do is to palliate that suffering and alleviate it as much as you can. What Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener have had to do will bear comparison with the humanity of any war that has ever been waged. [Cries of "No" from the Irish benches.] There is no war which has ever been carried on before in which the general began by sending on parole all those who were willing to go back to their farms; there has been no war in which the general has attempted successfully to feed all the women and children who came to him. Go back to the American War and see the devastation of tracts of country by Sheridan and Sherman; go back to the Franco-German War and see what was found necessary by the German generals through many months when they were in a hostile country. So far from hon. Members calling on all their gods to witness against their own fellow-countrymen, I say that we have a right to be proud of the humanity of our officers. We have a right also to be proud that in all these difficulties we have scarcely heard of one outrage by a private soldier, and we can hardly trace a single case in which a general has by some hasty expression or decision diverged from the path which we, sitting quietly here, find it so easy to trace out for him.

I am asked to declare again what the intentions of the Government are. They have been already stated by the Secretary for the Colonies in the admirable speech he made last December, and confirmed by the First Lord of the Treasury during the present session of Parliament. But we are told that if we do not at once answer the statements made by our opponents we have assented to them. I say again, as regards the question of the independence of the two Republics, the Government has not the slightest intention of giving way. Subject to that, we are willing to consider at the proper time, and we have encouraged the generals to communicate freely with the Boer commanders, reasonable terms of settlement. It is perfectly well known to all in authority in the Transvaal that there is no reluctance whatever on the part of His Majesty's representatives to meet them; but we shall do no good by going cap in hand at this moment and offering terms which would be indignantly rejected, such as those discussed in the House on the last occasion and on the present. I can only say this, that if more motions of this kind are made it will be our duty to answer them, but that we can add nothing to the declarations we have already made. So far from these motions being those of wise and broad statesmanship, I believe that they are in every way injurious to the ends which they are supposed to promote. They are not wanted as a check on our generals, they are not necessary as a stimulus to the Government to make peace, and believe they create a false impression abroad and in South Africa, while I know that the speeches by which they are accompanied contain grave and unwarrantable imputations on the Commander-in-Chief and form a gross libel on our Army. They tend to heighten passions and to deepen resentments, and in consequence they increase the difficulty of settlement. I do not think that many of the observations addressed to the House were made with the object of conveying sympathy with the Boers—[HON. MEMBERS on the Irish benches: Oh, oh!]—so much as with a desire to embarrass the Government. The Government have shown that, although they mean vigorously to prosecute the war by every means in their power, they are still ready at any moment to welcome proffered peace, on terms which perhaps are not usually given, and to allow those who have been in arms against us to go to their homes. We are determined that there shall be humane treatment of those who surrender, as well as of those who, according to the laws of war, are in arms against us. I trust that we shall not be hampered further by motions of this kind, which can add nothing to our determination in one direction or the other, but which are eminently calculated to prevent what ought to be, and I hope still is, the desire of all parties in the House—namely, an early and satisfactory conclusion of the war.

*MR. C. P. SCOTT (Lancashire, Leigh): Mr. Speaker, we all recognise the great importance of the statement which has just been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. I do not refer to the purely controversial matters dealt with in his speech, but towards the end of his speech he came on to discuss a matter which is vital at this time, the question of the terms upon which this war might be brought to an end, and he said that the statement which he made might be regarded as final. The statement was evidently very carefully considered and carefully worded, and we are told that after this, if any further questions are raised in this House, we may expect to be referred back to the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman this evening. We are entitled, therefore, to ask for some little information in regard to those terms to which we alluded. We are entitled to know what the Government really mean by the statement which they have put into the mouth of the Minister for War to-night. Now, the right hon. Gentleman spoke of future negotiations, and he deprecated the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo on the ground that the motion which he moved and the speech which he had made upon it were calculated to increase the difficulties which might arise in the course of those negotiations. We are happy to hear there are to be negotiations. It is not so long ago—a very little while—that we heard that there were to be no negotiations, and that the only terms to be offered to the Boers were to be unconditional surrender.

The Secretary of State for War spoke further of reasonable terms of settlement. He said that the Boer leaders in the field were perfectly well aware that reasonable terms of settlement were open to them, and although it was not for us to go hat in hand to them, still they were aware that if they desired terms of accommodation, terms of accommodation could be had. We are extremely glad to hear that. We do not want to know the details or even the main substance of those proposals, but we do want to know what is to be their character. There has been a good deal of studied ambiguity with regard to this matter. At one moment we are told that there can be no negotiations at all, and at other times we are informed that there can be negotiations, but only in regard to the individual soldiers in the field. What we really want to know is this: Are the Government prepared, as part of those terms on which the Boer army are to lay down their arms, to give them assurances as to the mode in which the Government of their country is to be carried on? The whole question rests upon that. Of course, we cannot expect for a moment that men in the field would lay down their arms unless they were told that their lives would be safe, but they will want to know something more, and it will be absolutely futile to ask these men to lay down their arms unless you also say what is to happen to the country when they have done so. They have taken up arms in the defence of their country, and they will not lay them down voluntarily until they know roughly, broadly, what is to be the position of the country and its Government when they have surrendered that power which they now hold. I think this House has a right to be informed whether our commanders in the field are prepared to inform the Boer leaders broadly, roughly, in outline, what the condition of the Government of the country is to be when the surrender has taken place. If that be not done I am afraid all this talk about coming to terms will be perfectly futile. It will very likely be the fact that within the next few weeks or days the Boer forces may undergo some grave reverse; it may be that the force under De Wet may be dispersed, and that under Botha broken up, but that will not put an end to the war, it will merely mark a new stage, and the war may drag from month to month and from year to year before the country can be declared settled, and before we can reach the goal which every man in this House ardently longs to reach, if it can only be reached with safety and honour.

I am satisfied that if terms were offered, if assurances, proofs, were given to our gallant enemy in the field that we honestly desire to respect their right to internal self-government, that we honestly intend and are determined to follow the objects we had when we engaged in this war, and that we are prepared to act up to the promises we had in our mouth at that time, and if they could see we did not desire to appropriate their country and the gold in it—if they were assured of all these things (and until they are so assured they will not lay down their arms)—then I believe there might be in truth a healing up, not immediate but gradual, of the terrible wounds inflicted by the war. If they found we were prepared to stand by the main lines of the policy with which we began the war, they would say these people are honest, and England, whom we thought so unworthy, is still worthy of our faith. That would save for this country the possibility of holding permanently our South African possessions; but if that be not done, if these terms that are to be offered are simply terms of surrender to the individual commandoes, then we shall be no forwarder than we were before.

I trust the Government, if this is, as they say, their last attempt at conciliation, will tell us a little more about it, in order that we may derive some hope that at last they have arrived at something like a true estimation of the real facts of the situation, and that it is not their intention to palter with it.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): What I want to know is whether the terms now to be offered to the Boers are the terms for which they are fighting—the independence of their country. I do not believe they are, neither do I think that anything said either in or outside this House, by those who are termed pro-Boers or those who are for the war, will have any effect on the conduct of the war. The Boer generals and the Boer farmers are not spoiled children, they know what they are fighting for and why they are fighting, and the opinion of anyone in this House, whether on the Government side or on this side, is, and must be, to them a matter of the most supreme indifference. Anyone who can imagine men of the calibre of Louis Botha, Christian De Wet, Delarey, and the other generals of the Boer army, who are now exciting the admiration of the world and teaching nations the art of war, being influenced by anything said here by the members of the Government or Opposition has failed to appreciate the position.

I appeal for the independence of the Boers as a means of settlement, because we have no right to take their independence from these people. It is not that we cannot subdue the Boers, that is not my point of view. The words "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you" apply to nations as they do to individuals, and a nation professing to be Christian should do its best to uphold so sacred a charge. Not only are we trying to do that which we have no right to do, but we are attempting the impossible. Our army may wear down the Boer resistance, but you cannot wear down the Boer independence. In the end superiority is bound to prevail, and if these men have proved one thing more conclusively than any other, it is that in every respect—mental, moral, and physical—the Boers are superior to those we have been able to put in the field against them. It may be said that by that remark I am casting reflections upon my own countrymen, but that is not so. I have relatives on the field fighting for His Majesty, and I cast no reflections upon men doing what they believe to be their duty when fighting for their country. I am stating facts, and it is because Gentlemen opposite, and Gentlemen on this side who support the war, have shut their eyes to facts all the way through that we are in the position we are in to-day. We may by force of numbers overrun the Boers, but in the end they are bound to, and must, dominate South Africa. The position on these benches around me (the Irish Nationalist benches), after a hundred years of an attempt to enforce British rule upon a people who rejected it and repelled it, ought to be sufficient to convince even the most unwilling of the impossibility of one white race imposing its will upon another white race. In South Africa you will have Ireland ten times multiplied because of the distance from this country, and because of the opportunities for effective resistance, and so I press as good policy, as sound morality, and as an act of justice which the Government owes to these countries, that even now it should be made known to the Boers, not by sending women and discredited immoral parsons as envoys to them, but by direct communication from the Government to those who are left at the heads of the Boer army in the field, that you proclaim an armistice to discuss terms of settlement. Treat these men as they have a right to be treated—as honourable men who deserve honourable treatment at our hands.

I rose to call attention to a statement of the Secretary of State for War to-night in connection with a leaflet to which he referred. He spoke in terms of deepest reproach concerning all those responsible for the issue of a mutilated extract from a letter written by Lieutenant Morrison, published in a Canadian newspaper, reproduced in a garbled form in a New York paper, and cabled in that form to this country, and reproduced here. Such is the history in brief of the letter which the Conciliation Committee afterwards issued in leaflet form. Anyone listening to the statements of the Secretary of State for War, or reading the comments of the war press on this incident, could come to no other conclusion than that the doctoring of the document and the leaving out of certain passages was the deliberate work of the Conciliation Committee, or of the *Manchester Guardian*, which first reproduced the letter. I ask the House to remember the kind of men whom we have thus by implication been making liable. The chairman of the Conciliation Committee is no Socialist leader or Irish rebel. He is a man who for twenty years adorned this House, and for over a dozen years supported the Government in its anti-Home Rule policy, a man who commanded the confidence for his integrity and ability of every section of this House—the right hon. Leonard Courtney. Will any man dare to say that he would be guilty of dishonourable conduct in connection with a leaflet of this kind? If the Secretary of State for War meant to blame him in connection with that matter, he was libelling a man whose shoe latchet he was not worthy to unloose. I rise to let it be known, speaking as a member of the Conciliation Committee, that the majority of that committee are not pro-Boer Radicals, but were until this war broke out supporters of the Unionist Government and the Unionist party. This fact requires to be stated emphatically, because everything is being done to spread the belief that only people of little influence and of less ability have dared to make a stand against the war. On the Conciliation Committee and on the Stop-the-War Committee are some of the best men in literature, and quite a number of the noblest professors and upholders of the Christian faith in the country. Men who hold high positions in politics are enthusiastic and devoted members, and to profess that a committee composed of people of that type could be guilty of conduct of this kind is a wanton insult which should not be allowed to pass. When we remember the history of the war—when we remember that the press by sheer and deliberate lying and misrepresentation misled the nation into the war, it lies with bad grace on the lips of any supporter of the war to feel indignation for a mere slip, for which the persons accused cannot be reasonably held guilty by anyone who knows them. I hope that whoever speaks for the Government this evening will take the opportunity of doing an act of justice to an old colleague by making it perfectly clear that no one in this House believes that he personally or his colleagues were directly responsible for it.

Mr. BOYLE (Donegal, W.) said he was a member of an Ulster constituency, and he was proud to say that a majority of the Members from that province and a great majority of the population were entirely and avowedly against the war. They were not only against the war, but they were expressly against the methods by which it was being conducted by England. He represented a constituency in a very remote part where the people only got a tri-weekly paper. When he went there he was asked how the war was going on. Whenever De Wet achieved a victory there was gladness and glee around the homesteads. Why was that? Because the English Government in West Donegal were doing the same things that the English were doing in South Africa

He had listened with the greatest possible interest to the powerful indictment by the hon. Member for East Mayo. The Secretary of State for War had made a feeble reply to that indictment. The Irish Nationalist Members who advocated right, justice, and freedom were accused from the Treasury Bench of talking cant. Were the speeches of Burke and Lord Chatham cant, when the British were trying to enslave a white race in America? The speeches delivered from the Opposition benches then were the speeches of wise and statesmanlike men. About the time the war began he had a relative at Kimberley who was not in any way connected with the military, but as all persons had to go under arms he went under arms. His friend wrote a letter to him after the siege of Kimberley to the effect that the Boers were very bad people and should not be encouraged by the Irish. Lately he had another letter from the same gentleman, in which he said that now the British were devastating farms and burning homesteads as had been done in Ireland. He would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite if it was a mark of civilisation to devastate farms and homesteads. He would say that they would not annihilate the Boers. So long as one Boer mother could give birth to a son so long would there be antagonism and hostility in South Africa to the English Government. Ireland was a parallel example. If the forces of tyranny could have annihilated the Irish race there would not be one Member of the old stock on these benches now. The burning of farms in South Africa was not the way to end the war. When they burned the homestead of De Wet he said he would make the English Government pay the sum of £2,000,000 for the house.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 226; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 12.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brymer, William Ernest
Bullard, Sir Harry
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J Austen (Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, William Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Doughty, George

Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Dunn, Sir William
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, RtHn SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward A.
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin&Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. Evans-(T'rH'lets)
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George J.
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, SirE W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Hy. D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Groves, James Grimble
Hain Edward
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Ld. G. (Mid'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. R. Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. L. (Tynemouth)
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Edw. B. (Hampstead)
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Cpt. J. (Kent, Faversh.
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick W.
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee, Cpt. A. H. (Hants., Fareh'm
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Macartney, Rt. Hn. W. G. E.
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Chas. (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
Malcolm, Ian
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robert J. (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, H. Pike (Darlington)
Penn, John
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalyb'ge
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T.
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tynesd.
Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edwd. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gower
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Ure, Alexander
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Webb, Col. William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-u.-Lyne
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset)
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wylie, Alexander
Young, Commander (Berks, E.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ambrose, Robert
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland-
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Cogan, Dennis J.
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Chas. M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Evans, Samuel T.
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester

Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Labouchere, Henry
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
M'Crae, George
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary M.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Roche, John
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gower
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, E.)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir Thomas Esmonde and Captain Donelan.

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there added."

The House divided:—Ayes, 91; Noes, 243. (Division List No. 13.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ambrose, Robert
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cogan, Denis, J.
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Delany, William
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T.
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hayden, John Patrick
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Horniman, Frederick John
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Labouchere, Henry
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, N.)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mooney, John J.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kend'l (Tipperary, Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roche, John
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Tully, Jasper
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Dillon and Mr. Channing.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Hy. Eden
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert

Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj K. R. (Christch'rch
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir F. T. (Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H (Bristol)
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Brymer, William Ernest
Bullard, Sir Harry
Butcher, John George

Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
Colston, Chas. E. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)

Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, J. K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorrington, Sir John Edward
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Dunn, Sir William
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.

Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt Hn Sir J. (Manc'r.
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue

Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Garfit, William
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin&Nairn
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, Sir E. W. (B'y S Edm'ds.
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble

Hain, Edward
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G (M'd'sx
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harris, F Leverton (Tynemouth
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Robt. Trotter
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead)
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt. J. (Kent, Fav'rsh
Howard, J. (Mid., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. Jas. Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth

Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees

Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee, Capt. A. H. (Hants, Farehm
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Macartney, Rt. Hon. W. G. E.
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
M'Crae, George
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin
Malcolm, Ian
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)

Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morgan, Hn. Fred. (Monm'thsh.
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt Hn A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, H. Pike (Darlington)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, Rt Hn M. W (St'lybr'dge
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John

Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. T. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.)
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, H. C, (N'rth'mb Tynes'de
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier

Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tomlinson, W. E. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Ure, Alexander
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Webb, Col. William George
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset)
Williams, Rt Hn J Powell-(Birm
Willox, Sir John Archibald

Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E R (Bath
Wylie, Alexander
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly.

The House divided:—Ayes, 297; Noes, 78. (Division List No. 14.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Col. James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christch'ch
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Broadhurst, Henry
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Brymer, William Ernest
Bullard, Sir Harry
Burt, Thomas
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Carlile, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Ed. H. Athole
Colville, John
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davies, M Vaughan-(Cardigan
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Garfit, William
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, Hn. J. E (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, Maj. Evans-(Tr. Hmlts
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George J.
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G (Midx
Hanbury, Rt. Hn. Robert Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harris, F. L. (Tynemouth)
Harwood, George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale-
Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Alexander
Hermon-Hodge, Robert Trotter
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead)
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Houldsworth Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt. J. (Faversham)
Howard, J. (Mid., Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. J. Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Labouchere, Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Langley, Batty
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lee, Capt. A H (Hants, Fareh'm
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Macartney, Rt Hn W. G. Ellison
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Col. J. Antrim, E.)
M'Crae, George
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin

Malcolm, Ian
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Maxwell, W.J.H(Dumfriessh.)
Milward, Colonel Victor
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropsh.)
Morgan, David J.(Waltham'w)
Morgan, Hn. F.(Monmouthsh.)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A.(Deptford
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Philipps. John Wynford
Pilkington, Richard
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharpe
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rasch, Major Frederick Carne
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Rea, Russell
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, Hon. M. W.(Stalybri'e)
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. Thomson
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. T. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seton-Karr, Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Capt John(Forfarshire
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H. C(North'mb. Tynes'e
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R(North'nts
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somers't
Stanley, Lord (Lancs.)
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E.(Chichester)
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tomkinson, James
Tomlinson, W. E. Murray
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Ure, Alexander
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson(Leeds, S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Lieut.-Col. C. E.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Webb, Col. William George
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton-under-L.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond(Merioneth)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley(York E. R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine(Essex
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wylie, Alexander
Young, Commander (Berks, E.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, W. (Cork N. E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda
Ambrose, Robert
Barry, E. (Cork S.)
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Burke, E. Haviland-
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cogan, Dennis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Evans, Samuel T.
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Holland, William Henry
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jones, David Brynmor(Swans'a
Jordon, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Leamy, Edmund
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
M'Dermott, Patrick
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti. Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow, W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, John Bryn-(Eifion)
Roche, John
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Tully, Jasper
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Wilson, Henry J. York, W. R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir Thomas Esmonde and
Captain Donelan.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your

Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

To be presented by Privy Councillors and Members of His Majesty's Household.

SUPPLY.

Resolved, that this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to His Majesty.

Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present Session be referred to the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolved, That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to His Majesty.—(*Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not propose to move to-night the first of the two motions which stand in my name—that relating to Ways and Means—because I am very anxious to show, as far as I am concerned, that it is not my fault if there is not ample opportunity given to-morrow to discuss the Eight Hours Bill. I shall, therefore, commence by moving the second resolution standing in my name, which is the sessional Order dealing with Supply, which has been agreed to session after session by the House, and which in the opinion of every Member competent to form a judgment upon it has been a great convenience, and has greatly increased the opportunities of independent Members of discussing the general policy of the Government. I think I may be absolved from making any definition of that sessional Order, but it may be desirable to point out to the House that I have made one small change in the last paragraph of the Order. If hon. Members will take up their Papers and look at the last line on page 1, it will be observed that after the words "any vote of credit" I have added these words—

> "Or of Votes for Supplementary or Additional Estimates presented by the Government for war expenditure."

These words are entirely new, and the effect of adding them is that if after Easter the Government have to come to the House for additional Estimates for military expenditure, these Estimates will not be discussed within the fixed and rigid limits of this rule, but they will be discussed with the full freedom accorded to discussions in Supply on Supplementary Estimates before Easter. I have always felt that the justification for this Supply rule was that it gave an opportunity for discussing the ordinary administration of the Government within reasonable limits and within reasonable time, and I think it would be a straining of the rule to make it include cases entirely outside the ordinary administration of the Government, and it was in order to meet that view that originally the words "Vote of Credit" were put into the rule. If, for example, things should go badly in South Africa—we have no reason to think they will; in fact, we feel confident that they will not—but if they should, it would seem most unreasonable that, if we had to come to the House of Commons with Supplementary Estimates for the war, say in June, May, or July, the House should feel itself debarred from a full and free criticism of the policy of the Government by the limitations imposed by this rule. Therefore, the change I suggest is entirely in favour of the independent criticism of the Government, and so far as it can be said to be for or against the Government, it is rather against it. I trust the House will appreciate the motive for the change, and that after the long experience we have had of this rule it will be passed without any lengthened discussion, and with absolute unanimity.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, so soon as the Committee of Supply has been appointed and Estimates have been presented, the Business of Supply shall (until it be disposed of) be the first Order of the day on Friday, unless the House otherwise order on the motion of a Minister of the Crown moved at the commencement of Public Business to be decided without Amendment or Debate; and the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 shall be extended to Friday:

Not more than twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, on which the Speaker leaves the Chair for the Committee of Supply without Question put, counting from the first day on which the Speaker so left the Chair under Standing Order No. 56, shall be allotted for the consideration of the Annual Estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, including Votes on Account, the Business of Supply standing first Order on every such day:

Provided always, that on Motion made after notice by a Minister of the Crown, to be decided without Amendment or Debate, additional time, not exceeding three days, may be allotted for the Business of Supply, either before or after the 5th of August:

On the last but one of the allotted days, at Ten o'clock p.m., the Chairman shall proceed to put forthwith every question necessary to dispose of the outstanding Votes in Committee of Supply; and on the last, not being earlier than the twentieth of the allotted days, the Speaker shall, at Ten o'clock p.m., proceed to put forthwith every question necessary to complete the outstanding Reports of Supply:

On the days appointed for concluding the Business of Supply, the consideration of such business shall not be anticipated by a Motion of Adjournment under Standing Order No. 17; nor may any dilatory Motion be moved on such proceedings; nor shall they be interrupted under the proceedings of any Standing Order relating to the Sittings of the House:

Provided always that any Additional Estimate for any new service of matters not included in the original Estimate for the year shall be submitted for consideration in the Committee of Supply on any day not later than two days before the Committee is closed:

Provided also that the days occupied by the consideration of Estimates supplementary to those of a previous Session, or of any Vote of Credit, or of Votes for Supplementary or Additional Estimates presented by the Government for War Expenditure, shall not be included in the computation of the twenty days. Provided also that two Morning Sittings shall be deemed equivalent to one Three o'clock Sitting."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

*Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I desire to join in the protest which was made earlier in the evening against this motion being placed where it is. I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman would have found the slightest difficulty in placing it the first order on Thursday next, and then we should have been able to discuss the matter free from any pressure, and without feeling that we were interfering with the opportunities of hon. Gentlemen who had been successful in the ballot. I think we desire, as a whole, that hon. Members shall have a chance to-morrow of discussing the Eight Hours Miners Bill. The right hon. Gentleman seems to have assumed on the part of the whole House rather too great a knowledge of the business before it. This is a new Parliament, and a very large number of hon. Members are here for the first time. I wonder how many hon. Members understand the effect of the seven rather complicated paragraphs which you, Sir, have just read to the House. Those of us whose memories go back to the old times of Supply think that, in the main, the operation of this rule has produced a better state of things. I believe that the origin of the rule was in the year 1895, after what was to the Leader of the House rather an unhappy experience then, for he had great difficulty in getting Supply through. Consequently the right hon. Gentleman came down one day in the year 1896 and laid this rule before us. I agree that the rule has worked an improvement, but only in respect of one portion of the rule—namely, that in regard to the allocation of a particular day to Supply. That we all now know beforehand when we are going to go into Committee to deal with the Estimates is a great improvement upon the old state of things. I remember well in this very place a resolution being moved in the year 1892 to the effect that a particular day should be allotted to Supply, and that that day should be Friday, and I remember the right hon. Gentleman telling me across the floor of the House that the thing was impossible. I was delighted to see the right hon. Gentleman come down to this House four years afterwards and ask the House to do what he had before declared to be impossible. So long as a good thing is done, I am not going to quarrel as to who does it. I agree that this part of the rule has worked admirably. But when I turn to the second part of the rule—the closure part—I do not admit that that has worked well. I hold a very strong opinion with regard to the closure. I hold that the use of the closure is a mark of the Parliamentary incapacity of the man who uses it. I recollect that two great measures which I saw pass through this House—the Local Government Act of 1893–4 and the Finance Act of 1894—were carried through respectively by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton without the aid of the closure. I remember Lord Randolph Churchill, as the Leader of the House, coming down here in August, 1886, after the General Election, and he got all his Estimates through without the aid of the closure. I have taken the trouble to look up the figures in the Library, and I find that in the year 1896 the total number of Votes was 150, and out of that number 21 were closured. In the year 1897 the number was 159, and 30 were closured; in 1898 the number of Votes was 170, and 32 were closured; in 1899 there were 151 Votes and the number closured was 46; and in 1900 there were 151 Votes and 46 of them were closured. Now what does the closuring of Votes mean? It means not only that the money is voted without any possibility even of the Minister in charge of the Vote getting up to answer questions, but it means that at ten o'clock upon a certain day the Chairman, or you, Mr. Speaker, may get up and put Votes seriatim, and nothing can happen except a division. It not only means that, but also that with all the great departments for which money is voted there is no possibility of the House in Committee examining into the conduct of those departments and into the economy or extravagance of their expenditure. What is the object of Supply after all? I confess that I entertain a much higher opinion of the functions of the House in Committee of Supply as compared with its legislative labours than some of my colleagues. I have the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury in entire agreement with me in that view. I have read his speeches delivered in 1881 and 1882, when Mr. Gladstone was proposing the Closure, in which he gave a most admirable picture of the functions of the House of Commons.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have forgotten them.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: I can assure the House that those speeches form most admirable studies for young members. Now what did the right hon. Gentleman opposite say when Mr. Gladstone proposed this rule? He said—

> "It will have the effect of enabling private Members to bring forward in that discussion on the Estimates all those questions in which they are interested, and it will enable them to keep close control over the administrative action of the Government for the time being."

Now what is the object of discussions in Committee of Supply? I do not think it is so much a question of economy, because, in my opinion, the House of Commons is rather inclined to press expenditure upon the Government than otherwise. It is in Committee of Supply that we are enabled to have the effective criticism and cross-examination of the policy of a particular Minister. We all know that in these days a good deal of the cross-examination of Ministers formerly done at question time in the form of supplementary questions has been curtailed, and at the best this method is always unsatisfactory. I have seen the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Monmouthshire get up in this House and exercise his great powers of cross-examination in Committee of Supply with the most happy effect upon the Government of the day. I can assure hon. Members who have listened to me that they cannot value too highly the privilege of putting a question to a Minister and getting an answer or an explanation at once during the informal debate of Committee of Supply. The right hon. Gentleman opposite, in the speech from which I have already quoted, said—

> "Broadly, Supply alone affords private Members in this House that right of criticism, that constant power of demanding from the Government explanations of their administrative and executive action, which, without Supply, can never be possessed."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: Then let the right hon. Gentleman do nothing to diminish that power of criticism. Surely I have given him some reason to doubt the working of this rule when I point out that last year forty-six Votes out of 151 were closured. [MR. A. J. BALFOUR dissented.] Does the right hon. Gentleman dispute my figures?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No; but I dispute the inference drawn from them.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS: It is a fact that a number of Votes were closured, and amongst them were a large number of Votes which had never come before the House in any form. This rule embraces in its operation the discussion on a Vote on Account. I can speak upon this matter with some knowledge, because I have had to consider the matter from quite another point of view. A Vote on Account does not give to any hon. Member the same facility of effective criticism as the ordinary Votes put from the Chair do. Under the *régime* of Mr. Courtney some antiquated rules were furbished up, and they became a part of the procedure to be adopted by succeeding chairmen. In this way the power of criticism was very much restricted in Committee of Supply. We all know that towards the end of the session hon. Members of this House who are interested enter into a kind of scramble with one another as to what Vote shall have the first order place on a Friday. Very often the Member for the Forest of Dean gets up and asks that the Estimate for the Board of Trade or some other Department shall be taken on a particular Friday, but I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman opposite has often resisted these appeals, and refused to give information as to what shall be put down first. There is always that kind of pressure brought to bear on the Government. This rule, so far as the closure part is concerned, puts the power into the hands of any Government of very much diminishing, if not of burking, the discussion of any inconvenient Vote of Supply. We have had this rule enforced only for five years, and it was worked by the right hon. Gentleman fairly well through the earlier years of that time. But we might have a very much worse Leader of the House than the right hon. Gentleman, whose fair-mindedness and absolute sense of honour, and the fact that he never breaks a promise, are some guarantees against the abuse of this rule. But it is possible that we might have someone in his position who might not be of the same calibre or possess the same qualifications. We must not forget that inroads are constantly being made into the effective power of control by this House over the Executive administration of the country. Necessarily, that requires watching, and if I had been allowed the necessary time I intended putting a few Amendments down to that effect. I think experience has proved that twenty days for Supply is altogether insufficient. It is really only nineteen days, because at ten o'clock on the nineteenth day the Chairman is bound to rise and put the Votes. Therefore, it is only nineteen-days at the most. The right hon. Gentleman took power some short time ago to have three additional days devoted to Supply, and I remember that when the rule was first moved we on this side of the House thought that twenty-five days at the very least should be allowed for Supply. I think Votes on Account ought to be excluded, as the discussion then comes under entirely different rules. The right hon. Gentleman has put in some words at the end of his rule which have entirely given away his own case, and conceded substantially what I am pleading for. He says there may be some Votes on which the House ought to have opportunity for fair and effective criticism; but I maintain that we ought to have that on every Vote. I do not intend to move any Amendment, but simply to express my satisfaction with the rule as regards the allocation of a particular day, but my very strong objection to the closure part of it, which I believe may be found to have some very unexpected consequences.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I do not agree with the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down in the satisfaction he has expressed in regard to the working of this rule. I have always looked upon this rule as an exceedingly adroit device put forward by the Government to enable them to get Supply as easily as possible. It is a Front Bench rule, and I have no doubt at all that gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench will agree that it is most admirable. But from the point of view of the private Member I believe it is absolutely fatal, and calculated to stifle independent criticism of the Government of the day. In a special way I regard it as fatal from the point of view of Ireland. Although it will be admitted that Irish Members on every occasion when the rights of the private Members have been called in question have taken their side and endeavoured to maintain their privileges, yet, at the same time, I would care very little for the operation of this rule were it not that it interferes with the rights of Irish Members to discuss the Irish Estimates. Under the operation of this rule, at first four nights were given to Irish Supply, but of late years the discussion of the Irish Estimates has been limited to three nights, although it must be evident that three nights are thoroughly inadequate for the purpose. There is scarcely any opportunity of raising questions in regard to administration in Ireland except on the Estimates, and it is absolutely absurd to imagine that that can be done in three nights.

Let me just call the attention of the House for a moment to the way in which this rule has been worked so far as Ireland is concerned. It will be admitted, probably with the greatest readiness, by the Leader of the House, that the most important Departments in Ireland, and those needing the most criticism from the Irish Nationalist Members and examination from the House generally, are those which deal with the administration of the Chief Secretary, and with the Royal Irish Constabulary, and yet under the operation of this rule these great Departments have not been discussed, and the Votes for their maintenance have been closured year after year. In 1897, the year after this rule came into force, neither the Royal Irish Constabulary, the Lord Lieutenant's Department, the Resident Magistrates, the Prisons Board, nor the Queen's Colleges, which raise the whole question of University Education in Ireland, were discussed, and the Votes were, at the end of twenty days, put by you, Sir, from the chair and carried without opportunity for debate. In the year 1898 the Local Government Vote was guillotined, and there was no discussion upon it. The same thing occurred with the Votes for County Courts, the Royal Irish Constabulary, which raises all sorts of constitutional questions, the Prisons Board, and the Industrial Schools. And will it be believed, the Chief Secretary's Vote was closured without any discussion that year under the operation of this rule. I think the present occupant of the office of Chief Secretary, if he will allow me to say so, is not exceedingly desirous that that Vote shall be closured. I am speaking from what I know of the right hon Gentleman, that I think he would desire that the administration of his Department should be subjected to the free discussion of this House; but under the operation of this rule we have had this most important Department closured. It is absurd to imagine that in these circumstances the Irish Members could acquiesce in this system. I have often had occasion to admire the audacity of the Leader of the House, but never more than to-night, when he said in proposing the rule that he did not think it necessary to justify it by argument, because everybody was in favour of it. The hon. Gentleman who spoke before me called attention to the fact that this was a new Parliament. Now, when this rule was proposed in 1896 it was discussed for three nights before it was passed; and, every time it has been renewed since, it has been subjected to long and critical discussions. Surely, in proposing this rule to a new Parliament, it would have been only respectful in the Leader of the House to have explained the meaning of the rule; but, in his own airy fashion, he said he would not support it with argument, because he understood that everyone was in favour of it! I believe that, from a constitutional point of view, the duty of discussing Supply is more important than legislation; and this rule strikes at the root of the power of this House to discuss grievances before voting Supply.

I do not know whether the Leader of the House has anything special to say to the Irish Members. When he first proposed the rule we were told that we should have full time to consider the Irish Estimates, and that care would be taken that the Irish Votes would be taken on consecutive nights to suit the convenience of Irish Members. At first he gave us four nights, which were quite an inadequate number, but having got this rule, to some extent by smooth phrases, he turned round and reduced the Irish nights from four to three. I ask him what he proposes to do during the present session? Does he propose to give us three nights or to go back to the original number of four? In any case, so far as the Irish Members are concerned, they are bound to protest in every way against the passage of the rule. I think we have all of us reason to complain that the right hon. Gentleman has brought forward this rule at this hour of the night. I do not myself believe that anything is to be gained by party managers by their attempts at sharp practice in this House. There is no question that counting on the universal desire of the independent Members that the Miners Eight Hours Bill should be discussed to-morrow, the Government thought they would get this rule through without discussion. So far as the first rule is concerned they have failed; they have put it off till Thursday next.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: To please you.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: To please us! If the right hon. Gentleman had put it off at an earlier hour in the evening, he would have saved two hours discussion. However, he knows his own business best. He has put the first rule off till Thursday next, but he has taken this long, serious, and cumbersome rule at this hour of the night without giving one word of explanation to new Members of a new Parliament. I hope he will not succeed in getting it passed before twelve o'clock to-night. I think that to deprive private Members of the right to discuss the Estimates is very seriously to abridge the privileges of the House, and I sincerely trust that the Government will not succeed, after an hour's debate, and introduced as it was perfunctorily, in getting the rule. We protest that this rule has worked iniquitously, so far as Irish interests are concerned, and that it is subversive of and dangerous to the rights of private Members.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I confess there is something to be said for this rule and something against it. Why did we not make this a Standing instead of a Sessional Order? The question was discussed at the time it was brought in, and it was then suggested that it should be a Sessional Order in order that we might have an opportunity of discussing it every year. It was thought that changes or modifications might be made in it as the result of experience; but practically no changes were made in it in the last Parliament, and it seems to me that in a new Parliament we should have those changes which are admitted to be desirable. The first change I would suggest is that instead of devoting twenty days to Supply there should be twenty-five days. Twenty days are really not sufficient after the statement of my hon. friend, who pointed out that Ireland only got three days. We know that there is a great deal of discussion on matters relating to Ireland, and that there are differences of opinion between the present Government and the representatives of Ireland. They certainly ought to have more than three days.

Well, there is another objection, and it is that there is not a sufficient division of the Estimates. We have the Irish Estimates, the Scotch Estimates, the Army Estimates, and the Navy Estimates. It happens that at one time Gentlemen connected with the Army are very anxious to put forward matters in relation to the Army, and colonels, majors, and captains get up and make most lengthy speeches; but the consequence is that those interested in the Navy and other services have not got time to say much for themselves. We know perfectly well that there is a Service Association to which all these Army men belong, and they get up and talk at interminable length. Naturally the Civil Service Estimates are on that account put off. Now, there are a certain number of Gentlemen on this side of the House—and perhaps I count myself among the number—who are modest and unassuming, and who really get thrust out on these occasions, and cannot find an opportunity for discussing those subjects in which they are interested, and these Votes are included in the massacre of the innocents. There are the Home Office questions, which I have seen again and again put aside. Sometimes with a struggle Gentlemen interested in these matters get one single question debated. And there are Board of Trade questions which are not really discussed. There is another class of subjects, including Votes on Account. I think it is most unfair that the Government should take these enormous sums on account. Formerly, comparatively small amounts were asked for at a time, but latterly the Government say "Let us come forward with most enormous sums," and almost invariably when these are taken, only one single subject can be discussed. If we had two or three Votes on Account there might be opportunity for some discussion. Sometimes that is a way of attacking the Government. It is an indirect way of moving a vote of want of confidence in the Government. As a matter of fact, I do not think that three days are enough for the Votes on Account. I think that, whatever the number of days set apart for Supply, we ought to have them for the discussion of the Estimates of the year; and that the Government should take other Votes in their own time and not in the twenty or twenty-five days devoted to the Estimates of the year.

There is another objection to the last paragraph, which limits extra days discussion to Votes for war expenditure. We hear nothing nowadays but war, war, war. But it is said that we are going to have proposals for the reorganisation of the Army, and the enlargement of the Army, and the increase of the Navy; and time ought to be given to these subjects as well as to war expenditure. I say, too, that peace expenditure, on education for instance, is of far greater importance to the country than war expenditure. I think we have a right to complain that the right hon. Gentleman has not adopted the practice of every previous session, of bringing on this discussion at the beginning instead of at the far end of the sitting, and after having closured a very interesting debate. Much as I desire the Miners Eight Hours Bill to be discussed to-morrow, I cannot resign one single right that I have to express my opinion on these rules; and I hope my friends around me will not resign their rights either. If the Miners Eight Hours Bill is not to be discussed to-morrow, then the responsibility will be on the Government.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I quite agree with several remarks of previous speakers in reference to the important duty which the House of Commons discharges in Committee of Supply. But they have omitted to state that the object of this rule was to increase the control of the House of Commons over expenditure and administration, and to do away with a state of things which older Members of the House know, but of which new Members have no idea. The hon. Member for Rushcliffe Division was rather too lavish in the tribute of admiration he gave to the Leader of the House. This rule, I am bound to say, is not a child of the Leader of the House, although he carried it through the House eventually. But the scheme of having one day in the week for Supply was the proposal of the right hon. the Member for West Monmouth.

MR. DILLON: But not the closure.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: I am not talking of the closure. The scheme was proposed by the right hon. the Member for West Monmouth, and I believe the first Friday night it was to come on the Government fell, and no further progress was made with it in that Parliament. As one having no interest in the matter except that of promoting the efficiency of the House, I must say that the rule has, on the whole, worked very well. [Cries of "No" from the Irish benches.] Well, I give the House my opinion.

What is the history of the state of things? If Members will only go back and inquire what the control of the House was over the Executive and the voting of Supply prior to the adoption of this rule, they would see what happened. Now and then the Government asked for a considerable number of Votes on Account, till these Votes on Account became such a serious evil that a special Committee was appointed to consider the practice, for it meant that the Government were taking lump sums without any control or examination by the House of Commons. What happened next? As the session went on, after the slaughter of the innocents had taken place, the Government told the House that they could not get away for their holidays until Supply had been passed. The House then sat night after night voting money by millions without proper discussion and without any administrative control. Bargains were arranged in and out of the House—"If you do so and so, so much earlier will the holidays begin." Well, the autumn recess is not a thing to be trifled with, and the Government were strong enough to stifle all desire for administrative cross-examination or administrative efficiency. Many Members who interested themselves in financial matters, I believe, came to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary to have some new scheme in order to provide that the House should have sufficient control over expenditure. A specific day once a week was the proposal of the right hon. the Member for West Monmouth, and was eventually agreed to by the House. The hon. Member for East Mayo said that the closure was not a part of that scheme. But it is substantially part of the scheme, because there must be a limit to the number of days to be devoted to Supply. The Leader of the House knows very well that I have taken exception to the allotment of the limited number of days, and that the present scheme is not the best that can be worked out. I feel considerable dissatisfaction with the mode in which the Civil Service Estimates, for example, have during the last two or three years been treated. I think that the duty of the allocation of the different nights ought to rest upon the Executive Government of the day. The right hon. Gentleman, as we all know, is most courteous and considerate, and I venture to say that he has been, if anything, too yielding in putting off Votes of general interest and in putting down Votes which are of interest only to individual Members. We have at present no system of allocation or distribution, except that one day of the week must be devoted to Supply. I think that the plan can be improved on in many points, but, taking it as it stands, I think that historically and practically the rule has been a great improvement on the state of things that existed before.

COLONEL MILWARD (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon): Although I am of opinion that the new system is much better than the old system, yet I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the present proposal is capable of improvement. I can quite easily understand that a Leader of the House not so eminently scrupulous as my right hon. friend might very easily burke discussion on subjects which Members of the House might very strongly desire to discuss. If we had a Committee independent of the Government, such as the Committee of Selection or the Public Accounts Committee, who would choose the order of the day, it would I think be more desirable. The very fact that a particular subject is put down for a particular day indicates that criticism is to be passed on the Government regarding it, but at present it is possible for the Government to put aside a matter which they do not wish to have brought forward in the House. I think that is too dangerous a power to place in the hands of the Executive. I also think that the nineteenth and twentieth days—the days of the closure—are almost a scandal, and at all events extremely undignified as far as the business of the House is concerned. Hon. Gentlemen who take, as I take myself, an interest in the number of divisions that they take part in, come back to the House of Commons and vote in twenty or thirty divisions which are taken on those days, their object being not to take an intelligent interest in the Estimates but to swell the number of their divisions. Many important Estimates are put forward on the nineteenth and twentieth days of which never a word has been heard. Therefore, while fully admitting that the present practice is an improvement on that of years past, still there are means by which it might be improved, and I hope that in another session the Government will direct their attention to the question of allocation, and also to the absurd system by which many Votes are closured on the last two days of Supply without a word of discussion.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): There is one remark that I desire to make about these rules. I am sure we all recognise that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House always endeavours to approach this matter not from a party standpoint, but in order to make the best arrangements possible. There is one great defect in the system, and that is the automatic closure at the end. Every critic is agreed as to that. Even the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton, who defended the rules more stoutly than the Leader of the House, passed very lightly over the question of the automatic closure at the end. In his description of the system which preceded these rules he said that two or three weeks were given to Supply and that the Government had to bargain with Members. I am very fond of these bargains—Members generally get something out of them; but there is no possibility of bargaining under these rules, as everything left over is automatically closured. I think that is a great defect, and I would submit to the right hon. Gentleman that some amendment on this point might be devised. If a longer time were given us—say, even half an hour or an hour—for referring to some of the great questions which are about to be closured it would be an improvement. I believe on one night recently twenty-eight millions were voted, and I question whether a parallel to that could be found under the old system. While we have an advantage in one respect under the new system, we have also the disadvantage of the automatic closure at the end. As the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has explained, the Government have also the right to select the Votes they like best, and the others may be left over to be automatically dealt with in the last two days. I quite frankly admit that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House does everything he can to meet the wishes of hon. Members on this side, but we are as likely to make a mistake as the Government. We cannot think of everything at once, and we may select something which seems desirable to us to discuss, only to find out at the last moment that a still more important subject has to be automatically closured. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will think over this matter and give us a longer buffer, which is what we require. Even a very little added time would be a great help. I do not see any harm in the new point introduced into the rules by the right hon. Gentleman, but I hope he has got nothing up his sleeve with regard to it. So far as I can see it is an improvement, because it gives us longer time. He has left out the rule with reference to Ways and Means, and I would appeal to him not to bring it up again. I am sure——

*Mr. SPEAKER : That hardly arises on this question.

Mr. LOUGH : I readily accept your ruling, Sir. Generally, I think, the right hon. Gentleman has put the matter very plainly to us, and I hope he will be able to state that the severity of the automatic closure at the end will be somewhat mitigated. That would be a great improvement.

Mr. CAINE (Cornwall, Camborne): I wish to make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House. Many new Members do not understand these elaborate rules. I am in some sense a new Member myself. Although I was a Member of four Parliaments after 1880, still I have been five years out of the House, and I am astonished at the fetters and cramps that the House has placed upon itself during that period with regard to facilities for debate, I find it impossible to take any step without going to the Table to find out whether I would be in order, although five years ago I would be under no such necessity. I think it would be much better if this motion were put down at a time when it could be properly discussed and when Amendments could be placed on the Paper, and I would therefore appeal to the Leader of the House to adjourn the debate until Thursday.

*Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I wish also to make an appeal to the Leader of the House with regard to a point raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton—namely, the allocation of days for various classes of Supply. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman and with my hon. and gallant friend that the allocation of days as between the different classes of Supply is very uncertain and very often very unjust. Questions of very great importance have been, I will not say burked, but have been passed over, and the opportunity for discussing them has been lost because the time of the House has been entirely taken up with some other class of Supply very much less important. Organised parties and sections in this House have a very great advantage in obtaining days over individual Members who may be quite as numerous and equally interested in some subject of great importance. For instance, the Irish party by their activity and organisation always command a very great and perhaps an excessive share of the time allotted for Supply. [Several Hon. Members: No, no!] I quite admit Irish Members have a full right to their opinion, and I will not pursue the specialisation of this subject. The particular subject to which I wish to refer is the Foreign Office Vote. In recent years that Vote has been placed very much in the background, I will not say deliberately, but the opportunity for discussing important questions on it has not been given. Take the subject of China, which has been very little discussed during the last few years, although it is a subject of vast importance, and involves greater British interests than any other subject, not even excepting South Africa. That has been burked for season after season. I think the suggestion of my hon. and gallant friend the Member for Stratford-on-Avon—that a special Committee should be appointed to consider with the Government the allocation of the days to be given to Supply as between the different classes—is a very valuable suggestion. I agree with my hon. and gallant friend that this is a question which ought not to be left entirely to the Government of the day. It is not a question which it is quite safe to leave entirely to the Government, and I should like to see a small Committee appointed, consisting of the leaders on both sides and of the various sections of the House, to consider and report as to the number of days it is, as a rule, desirable to allocate to the different classes of Supply. I do not say that there should be a hard and fast rule without any variation, but at all events it ought to be laid down that such a subject as the Foreign Office Vote should always have at least two days of Supply allotted to it. I hope my right hon. friend the Leader of the House will consider that suggestion.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.): This motion has received the imprimatur of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton, as we all expected it would. Indeed, he was more enthusiastic in its favour than the right hon. Gentleman who moved it, but who gave no arguments in favour of it. I put it to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton that the ordinary Members of this House, as distinct from Front Bench men, are more interested in this question of Supply than either of the Front Benches. I would also call his attention to the fact that since this rule has been in operation, and when great questions concerning the Civil Service, Irish affairs, and other different subjects have been under discussion, Gentlemen on the front benches have been conspicuous by their absence; and even when present they sit indolently and perhaps somnolently in their places. Therefore the question of Supply is of much more importance to and much better understood by Gentlemen on the back benches than by right hon. Gentlemen on the front benches.

If there is one class of Members who regard this rule with keen suspicion and great jealousy it is the Irish Members. I have had some experience in connection with the Irish Estimates, and it leads me to the conclusion that since this rule has come into operation a great deal of time is very often spent on comparatively unimportant Votes, and the Votes that really touch Irish administration, which go to the root of the action of the Executive in Ireland, and which alone give Irish Members an opportunity of criticising the Government in Ireland, are passed over *sub silentio.* Irish Members may have an opportunity of intervening in big debates, but the cross-examination in Supply of the Ministers connected with the Executive in Ireland is of more importance to Irish interests than if we had a full-dress debate once a month. The fact is that in this country any subject which engages public attention, whether it concerns the Army, the Navy, the Civil Service, or the Foreign Office, is discussed in institutions all over the country, as well as in the press, and the necessity of discussing it in this House is not a tenth of the necessity which exists for the discussion of Irish affairs, because subjects of interest in Ireland, and gross abuses of the administration in Ireland, pass comparatively unheeded in this country, and, even if they are taken notice of in the press, they only find lodgment in some obscure corner. Therefore the chief opportunity which the Irish Members have of discussing questions in connection with the administration of Ireland is on the Votes in Supply. When I came to this House fifteen years ago our opportunities for debating Supply were practically unlimited. At any rate, they were much more comprehensive than they are at present. Now the consideration of the Irish Votes in Supply is arbitrarily cut down to three nights. What happens? The Minister does not care a *threneen.* Irish Members may get up one after the other, and speak a whole night perhaps on the drainage of the river Suck, but the Minister knows very well all the time important Votes affecting administration in Ireland are being put back, and he actually connives—and it is very hard to blame him—at this waste of public time, in order that when his own Department comes to be discussed only an hour or perhaps a few minutes remain to consider matters of importance. I was very much struck by the attempt of my hon. and learned friend the Member for Waterford to draw the present Chief Secretary into some expression of opinion that he would not be the naughty boy that previous Chief Secretaries have been. I noticed when my hon. and learned friend was speaking that a smile spread over the good-looking features of the present Chief Secretary, and when my hon. and learned friend mentioned that the Chief Secretary's Vote had not been discussed last year or the year before, he no doubt mentally rubbed his hands in glee, and said, "I am going to have a jolly fine time of it." But when my hon. and learned friend, in that winning way of his, appealed to the right hon. Gentleman as to whether he would not be more industrious, and whether he would not see that these important Votes would not be scamped, the right hon. Gentleman sat tight and said nothing; but the smile remained. I contend from every point of view that there is no section of Members in this House more interested in this question of Supply than the Irish Members. It is supposed to be a maxim of constitutional law that the redress of grievances should precede Supply, and I suppose that the brightest pages in connection with the constitutional freedom of Great Britain refer to the battles which have been fought between arbitrary monarchs and the Commons on questions of Supply. I contend that the importance of discussions in Supply to this country is not so great as it was a century, or even a few generations ago. You have institutions—the press and debating societies—throughout Great Britain, but in Ireland acts may be committed by the Executive which may be in themselves unconstitutional, and the only chance of redress we have is during the discussion of Votes in Supply affecting Irish matters, and therefore I say any system under which the Irish Votes only get three days works unfairly. After the King's Speech, and with the exception of a little Bill or two we hope to introduce, we shall have practically no opportunity of bringing forward questions affecting our country, except on these Votes of Supply, and I certainly think the Irish Members should strenuously urge that we should at least have five or six days, and that a guarantee to that effect should be given us.

MR. DILLON : The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton claimed the paternity of these rules for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth. If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth were present to-night I am not certain that he would be proud of it, because when the rules were proposed for the first time he strongly opposed—and he is the most experienced champion of the rights of the House of Commons—the application of the automatic closure to Supply. Of course, everyone who takes any interest in Supply (and I agree with my hon. friend that the Front Benches are not the most interested in it) agreed with the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth that it would be a good thing if one night each week were given to Supply; but the right hon. Gentleman never proposed and never assented to the application of the automatic closure, and when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton declares that the application of the automatic closure to Supply, which is a scandal and disgrace to this House, was an inseparable part of the scheme proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth I entirely deny it. The right hon. Gentleman stated in his speech that he believed the scheme would work without it, and he appealed to the Government to give the proposal a fair trial. I want to know why such a scheme should not work well. Why could we not give Friday of each week to the discussion of Supply, and let the Votes not discussed on Fridays be taken in the ordinary way? That would be an improvement, and would not place any new difficulty in the path of the Government.

The First Lord of the Treasury, when he made his original proposal, made it in a very insinuating speech. He declared that his object in making it was to improve the position and opportunities of private Members. But how did he improve the opportunities of private Members? Before these rules were introduced we had Fridays and also Tuesdays for private Members' business. He proposed to take away Fridays from private Members for Government business, but he said, in that agreeable and insinuating manner of which he is the master, "I must not take away Fridays for Government business. Supply is private Members' business, and under these rules we are giving private Members an admirable opportunity of bringing forward subjects in which they are interested." I say that in taking Fridays for Supply the right hon. Gentleman was taking away a private Members' night, for which he has given us absolutely nothing in return. Moreover, he has put in force the extraordinary principle of the automatic closure. Now I want to ask the Government a question which I have asked before. Why is this automatic closure to be applied to Supply and not to be applied to Bills? In the debates which took place in 1896 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth—and no one has a greater knowledge of the House of Commons than he has—expressed it as his deliberate opinion that if you applied the automatic closure to Supply you would be driven irresistibly by the force of logic to apply it to legislation. I believe that to be true, because every argument in favour of closuring Supply applies with greatly increased force to legislation. In Supply there are only two stages; in legislation there are several stages, and also the check of the House of Lords, which does not exist in the case of Supply; and therefore, apart from all other considerations, it is a much more violent proceeding to apply the automatic closure to money Votes in this House than to apply it to Bills. As I have said, these rules give private Members nothing, while depriving them of one of the most effective, I think I might almost say the only, means they have of putting pressure on the Government and of really effectively surveying the action of the Executive. We have seen to-night ample proof that this Sessional Order is in itself vicious. It proposes to apply to delicate machinery, which is the result of ages of experience, and is the most perfect machinery ever devised by the wit of man to bring the Executive Government into touch with the people, a strait-jacket which will make it impossible to work, and which will ultimately result in bringing it into absolute inaction. I am perfectly convinced if this system is persisted in that the time will come when even the twenty days which are now allotted for Supply will be more than sufficient, because the discussion of Supply under the operation of these rules will become absolutely unreal and farcical, and hon. Members have a very great dislike to taking part in what they know to be a mockery and a farce. Some among us took the liberty of saying in 1896 that the effect of these rules would be to increase enormously the expenditure of this country. Everyone who has devoted any attention to the subject knows that one of the chief aids which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had in defending himself and the Treasury against the ever-increasing demands of the great Departments of the State, was the dread of passing his Estimates through this House. When you passed these rules you removed from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that great aid. What has been the result? In the whole history of England there has never been such an unheard-of rapidity of increase in the Estimates, and I venture to submit to the House that those of us who prophesied that the result of the introduction of these rules would be a great and unparalleled increase in the expenditure of this country have been fully justified.

There is another matter which has been touched upon lightly in the course of this debate. An hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite said that these rules placed too much power in the hands of the Executive Government. I believe that is true. The working of these rules is only beginning to be understood. Everyone who has any experience of the House of Commons knows that it takes many years before hon. Members can realise what the effect of a great change in procedure is. These rules enable the Government, if they are so disposed, to withdraw any Vote or group of Votes from the discussion of the House altogether. For instance, they might say that the condition of Ireland was such that it would be better not to discuss Irish Votes at all, or it would be open to them to take the view that the condition of foreign affairs was such that no time was available for the discussion of Irish business. The right hon, Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury is at present, and has been for some years, sailing in summer seas with a favourable wind behind him. He has a majority of 130, and an Opposition which takes things so quietly that he gets up occasionally and complains that they will not play the game and give him an interest in the discussions. But we in Ireland have known the right hon. Gentleman under other circumstances, and we know that if he is pushed into a corner he has claws, although at present they may be withdrawn. If Ireland became troublesome again, and if the Irish Members became a nuisance, I am not so sure that the right hon. Gentleman, however agreeable his speeches may now be, would not closure the Irish Estimates. The law would be with him, and the only right we should have would be dependent on the goodwill of Ministers, and a right which depends on the goodwill of Ministers is practically non-existent. These rules give the Leader of the House the absolute right, without in the least degree infringing their spirit or their letter, to closure all the Irish Votes. I think that alone shows that it would be impossible for us to agree to them. I have merely touched upon the fringe of the subject. It is a subject in which I take great interest and which I understand, but as it is only a Sessional Order, and as we shall have another opportunity of discussing it, I do not intend to say all I should like to say now. I will, however, submit an Amendment which I believe I shall be in order in moving at a later stage, in order to further safeguard the rights of Members.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot speak on the subject again.

MR. DILLON: We were allowed a Second Reading discussion in 1896, in 1897, and 1898, and Amendments were taken afterwards, but it is not a matter of importance, because one of my colleagues will move my Amendment. The Amendment which I desire to move is, "Provided also that not less than six nights shall be allocated for the discussion of Irish Estimates."

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick's): As an Irish Member, I protest most strongly against the motion before the House, because my experience in this House is that the only effective opportunity an Irish Member has of entering a protest against what is called Government in Ireland is on Supply. We have no constitutional Government in Ireland. We are governed by bodies non-elected and irresponsible, and who are not chosen by the people, and the only opportunity given to Irish Members in this House of criticising the action of these bodies who deal with public money collected from the Irish taxpayer is on Votes in Supply. In my opinion this motion is an infringement of the liberties of Irish Members in this House. I also maintain that the right hon. Gentleman ought not to have brought in rules of this kind without notice, and without Members being afforded an opportunity of putting down Amendments. The right hon. Gentleman contends, in that nice language of which he is such a master, that it is for the advantage of private Members that he has introduced these rules. I am surprised that the House has not taken more cognisance of this motion, because, in my opinion, the most sacred privilege which belongs to Members of this House is the right to criticise Supply and Ways and Means. What is the difference between this House and the House of Lords? It is that we can originate money Bills, and are supposed to regulate taxation. The motion of the right hon. Gentleman proposes to limit the power which now resides in private Members, and as an Irish Member I protest most strongly against it, and I hope we will be able to defeat it by the votes of the independent Members of this House. May I briefly point out this fact. Members frequently come over from Ireland to take part in the discussion on Votes in Supply only to find, when they arrive in this House, that the automatic closure has been brought into operation, and they might just as well have stayed at home. [HON. MEMBERS laughed.] Hon. Members opposite may think that this a matter of laughter.

*MR. SPEAKER: It is not relevant to the question before the House.

MR. FIELD: I was pointing out, Mr. Speaker, the fact that Members coming over from Ireland find that they are prevented from taking part in debate owing to the automatic closure.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is the irrelevant observation to which I refer.

MR. FIELD: I bow to your ruling, Sir; but when a Member is prevented by the automatic closure from taking part in debate, that is certainly a very relevant matter for him. I object most strongly to this motion, because, in my opinion—and I am sure my opinion is the opinion of the independent Members of this House—it is an attempt to limit the right which private Members possess at present of criticising Supply. That is one of the most important functions that can be exercised by the House of Commons, and is at the root of all the liberty which England possesses. It is on money questions that the whole Government of this country depends. If you stop supplies you stop the Government, and that is the reason why the right hon. Gentleman is so anxious to have this matter settled without discussion, and that is the reason why right hon. Gentlemen on the two Front Benches want things manipulated according to their own ideas, and object to have questions of Supply debated by independent Members. This is a dangerous proposal, and ought to be resisted not only by Liberal Members, but also by independent Conservative Members, because, as I understand, the Conservative Members are as jealous of their liberties as either Irish or Liberal Members. I trust that when this matter is put to a vote, at least a sufficient number of Members will vote against it to show the public that we are determined to maintain our right, as private Members, to criticise Supply brought before us by the Government.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman who introduced this motion has a majority, and that majority will support him, but some day perhaps hon. Gentlemen opposite who used to be such strong champions of the rights of private Members may realise more than they do now the importance of these rules. With the experience which we have had of the operation of these rules, I am more convinced than ever that they are not in the best interests of the House. Year after year we have been unable, no matter how keenly we may have desired it, to say a single word with regard to several great spending Departments of the State. I can point to case after case, especially affecting Scotland, where we have had no opportunity of saying a word. It has been the same with the Board of Agriculture, the Local Government Board, and many other Departments. What is the result? This House is losing its power. The Departments are becoming your masters. What do they care if you have a grievance in Supply? They know perfectly well that no opportunity will arise for discussing it. We are told that this is really a private Member's motion. Is it not a fact that before these rules were introduced we could discuss Votes on Account, and had still left to us the discussion on the Vote in Supply? It may have been the fault of private Members if they did not avail themselves of this opportunity, but at least they had it. I desire to move an Amendment, and I must complain that no opportunity was given us of putting Amendments on the Paper. I beg to move in line 16 to leave out the word "three" in order to insert the word "five." The result will be to give two more days for Supply, which would certainly be some slight concession to the views we hold on this side of the House, especially as the Foreign Office and the War Office will take more time than usual this session.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 16, to leave out the word 'three, in order to insert the word 'five.'"—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Question proposed, "That the word three' stand part of the Question."

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): The Amendment appears to me to be one which would to some extent meet the difficulties which have been pointed out by hon. Members from Ireland. There can be no doubt whatever, no matter how hon. Gentlemen opposite may object, that it is a perfectly reasonable thing for Irish Members to take every opportunity to increase our facilities for discussing Supply with reference to our own country. The three or four days now allotted to Irish Supply are not nearly enough. I hope the Amendment will be accepted. In my opinion the First Lord of the Treasury has not treated the House fairly in proposing this motion at this time. He knows perfectly well what is expected to take place to-morrow and the state of public business generally, and it would be much better if he deferred the further consideration of the motion until Thursday. But as he has not done so, I hope he will accept this very reasonable Amendment. It is a monstrous thing, apart from the Irish point of view altogether, that the whole Supply of this country must be dealt with in twenty days. That is not nearly enough, and there should be thirty or thirty-five days allotted to Supply. The result of the present system undoubtedly is that Supply cannot be adequately debated.

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

LEAD POISONING.

Address for "Return of the number of cases of Lead Poisoning reported as occurring (1) in the earthenware and china industry, for each month from January, 1898, to December, 1900, both inclusive, and (2) in all other trades (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 171, of Session 1900)."—(*Mr. Coghill.*)

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Fifteen Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of—Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Banbury, Mr. Blake Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Goddard, Sir Brampton Gurdon, Sir Arthur Hayter, Mr. Brodie Hoare, Mr. Herbert Lewis, Sir Robert Mowbray and Mr. Pym.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed, to whom shall be referred all Petitions presented to the House, with the exception of such as relate to Private Bills; and that such Committee do classify and prepare abstracts of the same, in such form and manner as shall appear to them best suited to convey to the House all requisite information respecting their contents, and do report the same from time to time to the House; and that the Reports of the Committee do set forth the number of signatures to each Petition only in respect to those signatures to which addresses are fixed; and that such Committee have power to direct the printing *in extenso* of such Petitions, or of such parts of Petitions as shall appear to require it:—And that such Committee have power to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of—Mr. Allsopp, Mr. Edward Barry, Mr. Brymer, Sir Charles Dalrymple, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, General Laurie, Mr. Herbert Lewis, Sir Henry Meysey-Thompson, Mr. Charles Morley, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Philipps, Mr. Tollemache, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and Mr. Henry Joseph Wilson.

Ordered, That three be the quorum.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

Adjourned at five minutes afte
Twelve of the clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 27th February, 1901.

Another Member took and subscribed the Oath.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that he had received the following Message of Sympathy on the death of Her late Majesty from the President of the House of Representatives in the Austrian Reichsrath—

Copy.

Austrian Reichsrath,
Office of the President of the
House of Representatives,
Vienna,
Translation. 1st February, 1901.

Sir,

At the opening Session of the House of Representatives in the Austrian Reichsrath, on the 31st of January of this year, I delivered, as President by right of seniority, the following eulogy of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria :—

"Honourable Gentlemen, permit me to touch on the mournful event which has happened almost simultaneously with the Convocation of the Reichsrath. I allude to the passing away of Her Majesty the venerable Queen Victoria of England, that glorious and wise Princess who has departed this life after a reign of nearly sixty-four years. The lofty virtues, by which the deceased Sovereign was adorned, the general respect which was paid to Her on all sides on account of Her truly constitutional principles, the rare qualities of heart and mind which were peculiarly Hers, enable us to appreciate the magnitude of the loss that has plunged into deep mourning both the people and the Royal Family of a great Country which has ever been our friend.

"Our illustrious Monarch, towards whom the venerable Sovereign entertained to the last feelings of the sincerest friendship, has already given moving expression to the deep sorrow which animates him on this occasion.

"By rising from their seats honourable Gentlemen will give suitable expression to their deep sympathy, and will follow the example of all the Parliamentary bodies at present in Session; and this proceeding shall be recorded in the minutes of to-day's meeting.

"In conclusion, I beg the Honourable House to authorise the President to communicate our sincere sympathy to the Speaker of the House of Commons."

I have the honour, with the concurrence of the House, which has furnished me with express powers for the purpose, to communicate this information to the House of Commons through your intermediary.

Accept, etc.,
(Signed) DOCTOR WEIGEL.

To the
Speaker of the House of Commons,
The Right Hon. William Court Gully.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account [presented 15th February] to be printed. [No. 56.]

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen for 1899–1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 57.]

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND, 1899–1900.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February; *Mr. Austen Chamberlain*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 58.]

NATIONAL GALLERY REPORT.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February; *Mr. Austen Chamberlain*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 59.]

LEAD POISONING.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February; *Mr. Jesse Collings*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 60.]

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th February; *Mr. Coghill*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 61.]

NEW SOUTH WALES (FEDERAL ELECTIONS ACT, 1900).

Copy presented, of the Federal Elections Act, 1900 (New South Wales) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 62.]

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND TRAVERS' FOUNDATION.

Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1900, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 63.]

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES.

Copy presented, of Statements of Account, and of Life Assurance and Annuity Business and Abstracts of Actuarial Reports, deposited with the

Board of Trade during the year ended 31st December, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 64.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Question [26th February], "That, so soon as the Committee of Supply has been appointed and Estimates have been presented, the Business of Supply shall (until it be disposed of) be the first Order of the Day on Friday, unless the House otherwise order on the Motion of a Minister of the Crown moved at the commencement of Public Business to be decided without Amendment or Debate; and the provisions of Standing Order No. 56 shall be extended to Friday:

Not more than twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, on which the Speaker leaves the Chair for the Committee of Supply without Question put, counting from the first day on which the Speaker so left the Chair under Standing Order No. 56, shall be allotted for the consideration of the Annual Estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, including Votes on Account, the Business of Supply standing first Order on every such day:

Provided always, that on Motion made after Notice by a Minister of the Crown, to be decided without Amendment or Debate, additional time, not exceeding three days, may be allotted for the Business of Supply, either before or after the 5th of August:

On the last but one of the allotted days, at Ten o'clock p.m., the Chairman shall proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to dispose of the outstanding Votes in Committee of Supply; and on the last, not being earlier than the twentieth of the allotted days, the Speaker shall, at Ten o'clock p.m., proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to complete the outstanding Reports of Supply:

On the days appointed for concluding the Business of Supply, the consideration of such business shall not be anticipated by a Motion of Adjournment under Standing Order No. 17; nor may any dilatory Motion be moved on such proceedings; nor shall they be interrupted under the provisions of any Standing Order relating to the Sittings of the House:

Provided always that any Additional Estimate for any new service or matter, not included in the original Estimates for the year shall be submitted for consideration in the Committee of Supply on any day not later than two days before the Committee is closed:

Provided also that the days occupied by the consideration of Estimates supplementary to those of a previous Session, or of any Vote of Credit, or of Votes for Supplementary or Additional Estimates presented by the Government for War Expenditure, shall not be included in the computation of the twenty days. Provided also that two Morning Sittings shall be deemed equivalent to one Three o'clock Sitting."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

And which Amendment was—

"In line 16, to leave out the word 'three,' in order to insert the word 'five.'"—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'three' stand part of the Question."

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I observe with great satisfaction that the First Lord of the Treasury has, according to the Paper, somewhat modified his original proposal to take all the resolutions of which he gave notice yesterday. As far as I personally am concerned, I shall be as brief as possible in giving my reason for supporting the Amendment, because, although I protest against the arrangement of the First Lord of the Treasury for limiting the debate upon this matter, I am anxious that the Eight Hours Bill should be discussed and divided upon this afternoon. It is rather hard upon those who consider that the question of the time allotted to Supply should be thoroughly discussed to find that if they so discuss it they will prevent the consideration of a measure which may do something to lessen the loss of life in the mining operations of the country. The hon. Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs proposes to extend the time by giving five instead of three additional days if necessary. It is absolutely essential that at least this Amendment should be accepted, and I challenge any hon. Member to say honestly that there is anything unreasonable in the proposal. According to the resolution the discussion of Supply is to be limited to twenty days. Can it conscientiously be said that twenty days is sufficient for the discussion of all that is involved in the enormous expenditure of the Government? There are only three days in the whole year intended for the discussion of the total expenditure connected with every part of Ireland. It is a perfect absurdity to suppose that that is sufficient. With regard to the resolution generally, I do not say it is a bad thing in principle that Supply should be to some extent evenly distributed through the session; my objection is that the number of days given is not sufficient. Distribute Supply by all means, but do not make an arrangement by which at the end of the session some of the most important Votes are carried through without a single word of discussion. However, as I am anxious that a Bill of great importance to a large proportion of the working people of this country should be discussed to-day, I will content myself by asking the right hon. Gentleman to accept the Amendment.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I have always been in favour of this rule, and I think Supply is infinitely better treated under it than under the old plan, but I rise for the purpose of pressing on the attention of the Leader of the House one fact, and it is because of that fact that I shall certainly support the Amendment. My right hon. friend must be aware that the conditions in Ireland are very different this session to what they have been at any previous time. A great system of local government has been brought into play, and as might be expected a good deal has happened between the Local Government Board and the local authorities in different parts of Ireland. A good deal of friction has been caused, and the result of the decision of the Court of Appeal the other day is a matter of the gravest importance both to the Local Government Board and to the country. I would point out that the mere fact that that great system of local government has been brought into play will necessitate discussion in this House, and the Estimates will be the only occasion upon which it can be discussed. If we are to be allowed only three days for Irish Supply, as a matter of fact nothing but local government and the administration of the land will be or can be discussed, and the——

*MR. SPEAKER: I would point out to the hon. Member that there is a notice of Amendment on the Paper dealing especially with the number of days that should be allotted to Irish Supply. Perhaps his observations would come rather upon that.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I felt bound to speak upon this point, because if the resolution is carried as it stands it will be very difficult for English Members to consent to Ireland getting six days—if the period is not extended by this Amendment. I rose merely for the purpose of pointing out the difficulty which will arise in regard to Irish Supply unless the time is extended and greater facilities are given for discussions which are absolutely necessary.

*MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): I rise simply to say I shall support this Amendment as an Irish Member. Throughout the whole of the last Parliament I found that the most important questions affecting Ireland were guillotined, closured, or whatever you like to call it, under the operation of this rule. There is no doubt that in the present session the rule will press more inconveniently on Ireland than ever, because a great proportion of the allotted time must necessarily be taken up by the Army and Navy Estimates this year, as they will be much heavier than before, and besides which an entire day will be necessary to discuss the Irish Local Government Board. There is one question, for example, which will require ample discussion in reference to the conduct of the Local Government Board—namely, with regard to the medical officer of the North Dublin Union. Nor will Ireland be satisfied without the question of university education for

Catholics in that county being adequately discussed. What are we taking up the public time with by debating? Mainly, whether or not two days should be curtailed from the long holiday of this House. If five days are inserted instead of three it merely means that the House may not be prorogued until two days later than it otherwise would be. Surely a question of that sort cannot be put in competition with the great interests of the Empire in general and of the small and insignificant portion of the Empire called Ireland in particular. Therefore I hope this Amendment will be pressed to a division, and that everyone really interested in seeing that the country is not unduly taxed, and that abuses do not exist in the numerous Departments connected with Irish administration, will support the hon. Member in the lobby.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) was understood to say that he felt very strongly that with the rule as it now stood there was very great reason for the Amendment. Since the rule was passed five or six years ago the opportunities of private Members for criticising the Government had been very seriously curtailed, and on that ground, which he thought was a very strong one, he should support the Amendment. On Fridays, under the rule, the House did get very proper and satisfactory opportunities for criticising the Government, and as there were so many important matters to be discussed, the period might very well be extended for twenty-five days, especially as it would still be in the option of the Government whether or not they allotted the extra five days.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman who has just spoken has thrown the weight of his authority, in the main, in favour of the rule as it stands at present, but he thinks there ought to be an addition to the number of days allotted to Supply, on the ground that there has been a greater invasion of the rights of private Members during the last five years than during previous sessions. I think the memory of the hon. Gentleman has misled him. No doubt it has been my unhappy lot to come down from time to time and ask the House to surrender, either for the work of Supply or for the work of Government legislation, some of the days commonly given to abstract resolutions, but I do not think that that duty has fallen upon me with greater weight than upon my predecessors. They have done it, no doubt, with great reluctance, as I do, but nevertheless they have done it quite as frequently. It is very easy for Gentlemen to say, "What harm can two days more do?" It is really a question of what proportion of the normal and reasonable session ought to be given to the work of criticism, and how much to the work of constructive legislation. I have endeavoured to make very hastily and roughly a calculation of the number of working days we have in the session, and the proportion which, under the existing system and under the rules which now stand, we give to the work of criticism. A session, roughly, is six months—say, 180 days. Subtract from that twenty-eight days for the two holidays; that leaves 152 days, or, roughly speaking, twenty-two weeks. I take a week as consisting of four and a half days of Parliamentary work. That gives 100 working days in the six months session. How, under the existing rules, do we allocate these 100 days? In the first place, we can put down eight days as the minimum amount during recent years for the Address to the Throne—we have spent rather more than eight days during the present session; there are at least ten non-counting days of Supply before Easter, and twenty-three days after Easter; there are two days before Easter on the Second and Third Readings of the Appropriation Bill, and there are two days in August on the corresponding stages of the second Appropriation Bill. Add all these together, and you will find that the number of days, quite exclusive of motions for the adjournment of the House and other incidental matters of that kind avowedly and openly given to criticism of and attacks upon the Government—criticism as distinguished from legislation—is forty-five out of a hundred. That leaves fifty-five days for private Members' time and Government time devoted to legislation. Can any human being say that that is an excessive amount? I am astonished at the way hon. Members blow hot and cold in this matter. If we propose to take Tuesdays for Supply before Easter they say, "How can you do such a thing as that, and deprive private Members of this or that privilege?" These days are given to Supply. Then when we come to the number of days to be given to Supply they say, "Oh, these are far too few; can we not increase the number?"—always of course out of the time available for Government legislation. This number of twenty-three days was not rashly started in the first instance, nor has it been rashly continued during the five years in which this resolution has been in force. If hon. Gentlemen will look back to the speech I made when originally proposing the rule,* they will find that I based the number of days not upon any arbitrary idea of my own as to the time that should be given for the discussion of Supply, but upon the amount that had actually been given in recent years. Why is this demand made? It is because under the rule now being attacked the days come at so convenient a time of the year that hon. Gentlemen wish the number increased. Under the old system—which is absolutely unknown to many Gentlemen here and is perhaps fading somewhat from the Parliamentary recollection of those who suffered under it—many of the days given to criticism were spent late in August in an empty and tired House, to the utmost inconvenience of the Members who had the courage to stay, and in the absence of a large number who had not the courage and endurance, but who, if they had stayed, would no doubt have added very valuable elements to the discussion.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman overlooks the fact that we spend now £100,000,000 more than we did.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not see what that really has to do with it. Everybody admits that Committee of Supply does not exist now for the purpose of diminishing Government expenditure, nor have I ever heard a reduction moved except for the purpose of either attacking a Minister, criticising his policy, or urging the Government to further expenditure.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. I have myself moved half-a-dozen motions for the purpose of reducing the expenditure.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not doubt the hon. Member has moved reductions in the Constabulary Vote, and so on, and he may have put them on the ground of economy, but everybody knows that his reason is not that less public money should be spent in Ireland, but something very different, which it would not be in order now to go into. The amount of money now spent is not relevant to this discussion. The only thing that is relevant is the proportion of our total time which ought to be given to criticism, and which by being given to criticism is necessarily abstracted from other work. If the House seriously think that forty-five days is an insufficient proportion of a hundred days, by all means let them support the Amendment.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): That is not forty-five days in Committee?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, it is what I said it was—forty-five days out of a hundred given to criticism as distinguished from private Members' resolutions, private Members' legislation, and the general legislative work of the Government. I am rather exaggerating, because in the legislative work of the Government is included that which is commonly called legislation—namely, Budget work. If the House follow me in taking that broad view of the general working session, they will not think the number of days allotted under the rule too limited in quantity. Under these circumstances I feel bound, in the interests of the House, to oppose the Amendment. Hon. Gentlemen opposite have attacked this rule as though it was a new and untried proposal which had to go through the fire of criticism, as if it had never been employed by the House before. I venture to say that ever since the rule was first introduced it has been growing in favour. The more it has been studied the more it has made converts even among those who originally opposed it. Although I have been and still am most unwilling to put this rule outside our ordinary discussions by making it a Standing Order of the House, if every time it is brought forward as a Sessional Order we are to spend a great amount of time in reviewing the matter, I shall have no alternative but on some future occasion to make this part of our fixed and permanent Standing Orders. I hope the Amendment will be withdrawn and the resolution permitted to go through unanimously, as I am sure the rule has secured the general confidence of Members in all parts of the House.

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* For discussion on Mr. Balfour's proposals of 1896, see *The Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. xxxvii., commencing at page 723.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 179; Noes, 141. (Division List No. 15.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Allhusen Augustus Henry Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Maj K. R. (Christchch.
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King'sLynn
Brassey, Albert
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Bull, William James
Cavendish, V. C. W (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, J. A. (Worc'r.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dewar, T. R. (T'rH'mlets S. Geo.
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin&Nairn
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wdnsbry.
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hain, Edward
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G. (Mid'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Rbt. Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Shef'ld, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt J (Kent, Faversh.
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Knowles, Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee, Capt. A H (Hants. Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fred. G.
Milton, Viscount
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
Morgan, Hn. F. (Monm'thsh.)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas Thomson
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall

Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason,JohnCathcart(Orkney
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.CE(Taunton
Williams,Rt.HnJPowell(Birm
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson,A.Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh.N.
Wilson-Todd,Wm.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young,Commander (Berks,E.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham,William (Cork,N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen,CharlesP.(Glouc.,Stroud
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cogan, Denis J.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm.
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt.Hon.Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. CharlesH.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans(Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,SirJosephF.(Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Lough, Thomas
Lowther,Rt.Hn. James(Kent)
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mellor, Rt. Hn. John Wm.
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Rt. Hn. J. (Montrose)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon,N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease,Sir Joseph W.(Durham)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Reid,SirR.Threshie (Dumfries
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.CR(Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas,F.Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas, J. A. (Glam. Gower)
Thomson, F. W. (York,W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner,Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,Eugene (Clackmannan
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White,Patrick (Meath,North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York,W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Dalziel and Mr. William Redmond.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): My hon. friend the Member for East Mayo has asked me to move the Amendment which stands in his name. It is with very great regret that we are standing in the way of the discussion of the Miners Eight Hours Bill, which is a measure in which I take personally a great deal of interest. The blame, however, in this matter does not lie with the Irish Members, but with the Government, who have taken the most extraordinary course of springing this proposal upon the House. Like every other Irish Member, I feel very strongly in this matter. Year after year we have been coming to this House to ventilate various Irish grievances and to lay before this House and the country the feelings and wishes of our constituencies in regard to Irish administration, and we find, by the way in which the proceedings are conducted, it is impossible for us to discuss these questions properly. The hon.

Member for South Tyrone has drawn attention to one matter of very great importance, which unquestionably ought to be largely discussed in the House during the present session, and that is the administration of the Irish Local Government Act. There are many other questions of Irish administration which are similarly circumstanced, and which for years past we have never been able to discuss at all. For these and other reasons I hope this Amendment will be carried, and I simply rise for the purpose of entering my protest against this proposal. I beg to move the Amendment standing in my hon. friend's name.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg leave to second the Amendment. I wish to point out that during the operation of the Local Government Act in Ireland the representatives of the people have been dealt with in the most autocratic manner by the Irish Local Government Board. In many cases in Ireland the local bodies have not been allowed to exercise the rights and privileges which they are entitled to exercise by the Act.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member will not be in order in discussing the conduct of the Local Government Board upon this Amendment.

MR. CULLINAN: Then I will formally second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words—'Provided also that not less than six nights shall be allocated for the discussion of Irish Estimates.'"—(*Sir Thomas Esmonde.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. DILLON: I beg to enter my protest against the practice of the Government, for it is without parallel in the House of Commons to introduce an important Sessional Order at the tail end of a long sitting of the House. I have never known a Sessional Order or a complicated Standing Order dealing with the procedure of the House which was not put down at the beginning of the sitting under circumstances which would give hon. Members of the House a fair opportunity of discussing it. On the present occasion the House of Commons has been treated in the most contemptuous manner, for the First Lord of the Treasury has not only selected a time which renders it impossible to give it fair and reasonable consideration, but he introduced it *sub silentio.* Whatever his motive may have been, I notice that the right hon. Gentleman has abandoned the project of carrying this Order without an explanation, for he gave us to-day a long explanation, during which he was frequently interrupted by the Whip of his party.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: He never said a word about it.

MR. DILLON: We have always taken a very considerable interest in the working of this rule, and I thought we were entitled to lay before the House the result of our observations. This Amendment proposes to safeguard the rights of Irish Members by securing that a minimum number of six days shall be given to Irish Supply. I am anxious, like other hon. Members who have already spoken on these benches, not to place any barrier in the way of the discussion of the Miners Bill, but I shall be exceedingly brief. I wish to enter my protest against the rather sharp practice of the First Lord of the Treasury in depriving us of our right to discuss his proposal fully and reasonably. Under the present rule, what is the position of Irish Supply? With the rule as it stands, the Minister can give exactly as much time to Irish Supply as he thinks fit. He may give four days, as he did when this rule was introduced, and he may reduce it to three days, as he did in subsequent years. He may reduce it to two days or to one day, or to no days at all, and we have absolutely no remedy. Is that a fair position in which to place any section of the Members of this House? This is not a question of Irish Members only, for the same discretion applies to every other subject in Supply, and this rule will allow the Minister to become an absolute despot. No Minister ought to have the power to do such a thing, and under this rule a Minister can absolutely abolish discussion upon any branch or section of Supply which he thinks is troublesome, or which he chooses to decide it is not in the public interest to discuss. We heard the other day in the House of Commons with some amazement a Secretary of State deliberately state to the House of Commons as a reason for depriving Members of this House of one of their most cherished privileges that foreign Ambassadors strongly approved of this action. Is there a Member in this House who does not know perfectly well that all foreign Ambassadors would strongly approve of the abolition of discussion on all foreign matters? Is there a single hon. Member who does not know that Irish officials would strongly approve of a similar course being taken? We were told by the present Secretary of State for War—and he used it as an argument in favour and in justification of the abolition of our right to ask supplementary questions—that foreign Ambassadors thought it a good innovation. We shall be having the Chief Secretary for Ireland standing up in this House and saying, "I have consulted all the Irish officials, and they agree with me that the reduction of the number of days for discussing Irish Supply has very much facilitated the working of the machinery for governing Ireland." Why, the only thorn in the bed of roses upon which Irish officials lie is that they suffer from criticism in this House, and the less criticism there is here the more the Dublin officials are pleased. What I contend is, that no matter how good the intentions of the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chief Secretary for Ireland may be, once you place in the power of Ministers the right to curtail and finally do away with the discussion of Irish Estimates, the pressure from behind of the permanent officials in Dublin will drive the Ministers inch by inch until we shall probably be reduced to one day only upon which to discuss the whole of the Irish Estimates. In the discussion which has already taken place we have had various proposals put forward. Several hon. Members have said that this rule gives too much power to the Executive Government, and they propose that in each session so many days should be allotted to each branch of Supply. I remember the First Lord of the Treasury himself in a previous session said he would have no objection to this course being taken. If you ask the House to measure out the time of the session to each Department of Supply without any elasticity, I am afraid the discussion of certain matters will suffer in consequence. What happened in the last session? Owing to the hard and fast rule which is in operation, when we got nearly to the end of the session it was found impossible for the Government themselves to give a day to the discussion of the Colonial Office Vote, and we spent a considerable amount of time discussing by what trick or dodge such a discussion could be allowed. The Government executed a flank movement with this rule, and they took a Wednesday. They set down some bogus Bill in front of Supply, and it was only by that device that we were able to get a discussion upon the Colonial Office at all.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is discussing the general working of the rule. I would remind him that the question before the House is that not less than six nights shall be allocated for the discussion of Irish Estimates.

MR. DILLON: I was trying to defend my position, inasmuch as this Amendment proposes to do what I opposed as a general principle on the main question, namely, to measure out a certain number of days to Supply, which I believe to be a bad thing. It was only for the purpose of illustrating that point that I alluded to the general working of the rule. I have only this to say in conclusion, for I really desire to be as brief as I possibly can—the First Lord of the Treasury to-day has laid down a principle which is enough to make the old economists of this House turn in their graves, for he has stated that for the future the Committee of Supply of this House has nothing to do with checking the expenditure of Ministers.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member is mistaken. What I said was that that is the practice of Parliament.

MR. DILLON: The practice of Parliament?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, the accepted practice of Parliament.

MR. DILLON: If it is the accepted practice of Parliament, all I have to say is that it is one which may lead to the most awful jobbery and waste of public funds, because once you proclaim that no criticism is to take place in Committee of Supply with regard to any expenditure or waste of money, then you open the flood-gates to every form of jobbery, and a more ruinous rule it would be impossible to lay down. The right hon. Gentleman stated that no hon. Members in recent years ever moved a reduction of the Estimates with the honest desire of putting a stop to extravagance of any kind. That is not true so far as my own experience goes. I believe that in recent years, unhappily for the House of Commons, this practice of moving reductions has fallen off, with the result that the whole country is now contemplating with alarm and consternation the frightful swelling of the taxation of the country. Fortunately for the taxpayers of this country, this practice has not entirely passed away, for if it was once admitted that this practice was a thing of the past, and the Committee of Supply was never to be used again to check public expenditure, then I say the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be a very unhappy man, and the taxpayers of this country would have to prepare for an absolutely intolerable burden of taxation. We spend most of the time in Committee of Supply in criticising the conduct of Irish Ministers, and we have endeavoured to use our opportunities in Committee of Supply for criticising and condemning the scandalous waste of public money in Ireland, and we have tried to reduce some of the outrageous Irish Estimates. We desire to get fair treatment as regards the financial relations of the two countries, but we do not desire to see money spent in Ireland in a wasteful fashion. I desire to protest on behalf of the Irish Members—and I think there are many Radicals who would like to join in that protest—against this novel doctrine, which I have never heard before announced from the Ministerial Front Bench.

Mr. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): It seems quite impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to pacify hon. Members opposite. I am sorry I shall not be able to vote for this Amendment; I intend to vote against it. I will, however, say that, at all events, Members sitting on the Ministerial side of the House have a grievance with regard to an appointment which took place last year in connection with the Irish Agricultural Department, which is deeply resented by Members on the Ministerial benches; yet that matter could only be discussed on a Vote which was one of the Votes closured. That may be an argument that more time ought to be given for Supply. I think the first business of the House ought to be Supply, and we ought to spend more time on it. The First Lord of the Treasury seems to think that we ought to give nearly the whole of our time to legislation, especially Irish land legislation, which is as bad as it can be. The Order has one fatal defect, and that is the large number of divisions which take place on the last night of Supply. That alone is sufficient for me to take every opportunity of recording my vote against the rule. I confess that in the past I have voted both for the rule and against it. But after what took place last session, and after studying the working of the rule, I feel convinced that hon. Members do not get such a full opportunity of discussing Supply as they did at the time when I first entered the House in 1886. If nothing else can be said against the rule, the fact that we have to have the extraordinary proceeding of walking through the lobbies at the end of the session is sufficient justification for ending the rule. I do not think, however, that the Amendment is quite fair to England, and I must vote against it.

Mr. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I desire to remind the House for a moment or two what the area is which we are expected to travel over in the six days we are asking for. Take, for instance, the Irish Constabulary Vote, which is a very large sum. Then there is the law expenses. Now I think that either of these two Votes might reasonably be given a full day of the time of the House for their discussion. Then there is the Vote which has been mentioned by my hon. friend in regard to the new Agricultural Department. In regard to this there is a widespread idea that the money has not been properly spent, and, as this is a new and important matter for Irish Members, I think it might have had devoted to it at least one day of the time of the House. With regard to education, I think the Irish Members ought at least to have a full day to discuss the different branches of education in Ireland. In the new programme of national education there is a very wide subject for discussion, in which vast changes have been introduced, and it is only reasonable that Irish Members should expect to get suitable opportunities for discussing this immense question. In regard to university education, upon which we have the sympathy of many hon. Members on the opposite side of the House, I do not think it is unreasonable that we should ask for ample time to discuss this subject in view of the strong view held in Ireland as to its great importance. Then there is the question of the Congested Districts, which the Chief Secretary for Ireland himself has admitted to be a pressing subject. We have had no promise in the King's Speech in reference to this. There is also the conduct of the Local Government Board in regard to their dealings with Irish local bodies, the question of the salaries of the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, all of which are very important subjects. If you are proposing to devote the bulk of the time of this session to Army and Navy reform and to Supplementary Votes for the war, how can you expect Irish Members to be satisfied with six days only for the discussion of all those important subjects to which I have alluded? I think we ought to have at least sixteen days, and I enter my protest against the carrying of this resolution. I heartily support the Amendment of my hon. friend.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): May I ask you, Mr. Speaker, if it is in order to move an Amendment to an Amendment?

*MR. SPEAKER: Yes; that would be quite in order.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I can readily understand why the First Lord of the Treasury, with only twenty-three days allotted to Supply, is unable to give six of those days to Ireland; but I would suggest to my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury that a compromise might be made between six days and three. I appeal to the Government to look the facts fairly in the face. I know that many hon. Gentlemen would be very glad to get rid of Irish Supply and Irish affairs altogether, but I do ask the House to bear in mind that the Government undertake to govern Ireland, and that they must, having undertaken that responsibility, face what it involves. It is quite impossible that this question can be brushed aside as a matter of no importance. This year has presented in Ireland elements for discussion in Supply such as no previous year has ever presented. The Local Government Board Vote alone must take a day. It is quite impossible to discuss that question, with all the friction which has arisen, and which could not well have been avoided. All that must come up and be faced. Again, there is the administration of the Land Act. Nothing could well be worse; and for the Government to say that that cannot be discussed in the House of Commons is to abrogate their functions wholly and entirely. Then the Government have brought a new system of national education into operation, and also a new system of intermediate education into operation, and there are at least a dozen things to be discussed this year in a form in which we have never discussed them before. How can we go back to our constituents at the end of the session—those of us who do go at all—and say that when we asked for an additional day or days to discuss those subjects we were not given this opportunity, and were all closured in the House? I appeal to the Government to come to some reasonable arrangement, and give not six days—we cannot expect six days out of twenty-three—but to give us some reasonable, workable arrangement that will enable us to go back to Ireland and say to the people, "We at all events have been able to perform our duty in this Unionist House of Commons."

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I beg leave to move an Amendment to the hon. Member's Amendment on the Paper, which he may possibly see his way to accept, and if he does accept it he may get some support on this side of the

House—at all events he will get my support. My proposal is that not less than five nights shall be allocated to Irish Estimates, and not less than three nights to Foreign Office Estimates.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot add the last words relating to the Foreign Office, for his Amendment must be relevant to the Amendment before the House.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: But the Amendment comes at the end of the new rules.

*MR. SPEAKER: An Amendment to an Amendment must be relevant to the Amendment itself. I do not say that the latter part cannot be moved afterwards.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Then I will move the second part of my Amendment afterwards.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It has been stated that the Government have taken a course which has prevented this rule being discussed fully and reasonably. I do not know whether the House considers that it has been reasonably discussed, but I am sure that the hon. Gentleman opposite has discussed it fully. He made very long speech on it to-day. He has risen on this occasion to discuss the wrongs of Ireland, and he says, among other things, that every Irish official would, of course, like to see the discussion on Irish Supply limited or even abolished, and that the result of that would be the smooth working of government in Ireland. But that is not my experience. I think, from the point of view of the Irish Chief Secretary, and those whom he has got to defend, discussions in this House are a most valuable antidote to the mendacious calumnies which are so constantly spread in Ireland against the Irish officials, and certainly it is not on their behalf that I wish to see the discussion of Irish Estimates curtailed. Let us consider this argument more closely. The hon. Member says it rests with the First Lord of the Treasury not only to determine what Department of Supply shall be discussed, but also to determine the amount of time that shall be allocated to it, and he says that it rests with the First Lord of the Treasury to decide this, and that it is also within our power to squeeze out any particular subject of Supply and prevent it being discussed in this House. That was, shortly, the argument of the hon. Member, although he was good enough to say that the present occupants of the Front Bench might not be prepared to take so violent a course. I desire to have the fullest discussion of Irish or any other affairs, and I believe the danger alluded to is perfectly illusory. During the five years in which this rule has been in operation I have done my best to consult the wishes of the House as to the allocation of the twenty-three days. Any lead given by the right hon. Gentleman or any of his colleagues on the Front Opposition Bench is immediately followed by the Government, and any expression of opinion from any large section of the House has always received the fullest consideration from the Government. If the House thinks that any danger exists it could be avoided by having a Committee, not to settle at the beginning of the session how the twenty-three days should be allocated, but a Committee which week by week would exercise discretion in this matter. That Committee, as I myself once suggested, might have upon it, contrary to the ordinary practice of this House, a majority of the Opposition, so that they might be sure of obtaining the opportunity they desired of criticising the Government. I myself suggested that plan—not in any formal shape—and it is a plan which would relieve me of a most onerous and laborious task, which brings me many kicks and no halfpence. I do not think, however, that the proposal has ever met with any favour in any part of the House, and I therefore do not think it desirable to press it further. The hon. Gentleman complained to-day that during the last two or three sessions only three days have been occupied with Irish Supply. It has always been left to the Irish Members themselves to determine the order of Irish Supply to be followed. It is perfectly true that the time at their disposal is not unlimited, but so far as the allocation of the time is concerned they have absolute discretion. I hope they will not think I am saying anything in the least offensive when I say, judging the matter with all the impartiality I can command, that if they were really to economise that time, compress their remarks, and select their ablest representatives to put their views forward, they could in these three days have perfectly adequate discussion year after year. In addition they have opportunities which they feel compelled to take in moving the adjournment of the House, and also on the debates in reply to the King's Speech—opportunities which they have always availed themselves of, and which they have a perfect right to avail themselves of. I myself think that the three days is an adequate amount, but four days have at times been given to Irish Supply, and nothing makes it impossible that four days should in the future, if necessary, be also given to the same subject. We are not now discussing the adequacy of the twenty-three days. We are discussing the propriety of fixing the time as between different subjects by the terms of our Sessional Order. I do not agree with my hon. friend below the gangway in the Amendment he foreshadowed, but I agree with him that if we fix the time to be given to Irish Supply we must also fix the time to be given to other classes of Supply—the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, and the other great Departments of the State. In that case, as my hon. friend says, the life blood of this Order would be destroyed. Under these circumstances I would suggest to the House that we should come to a decision on the matter and allow hon. Members deeply interested in another question to proceed with its consideration.

MR. H. J. WILSON (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth): I wish to move an Amendment to the Amendment. It is to substitute "five" for "six." There is a feeling that six nights is too much, and that five nights would better meet the views of hon. Members.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.) seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the Amendment—

"To leave out 'six,' in order to insert 'five.'"—(*Mr. H. J. Wilson.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have nothing to say in disagreement with this suggestion.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie): I hope my right hon. friend will have regard to the weighty argument he has just addressed——

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. friend misunderstands me. I have only accepted "five" in order to vote against it.

Amendment to the Amendment put and agreed to.

Question put, "That the words 'Provided also that not less than five nights shall be allocated for the discussion of Irish Estimates' be there added."

The House divided:—Ayes, 141; Noes, 213. (Division List No. 16.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P (Glouc., Stroud
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barrey, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Boyle James
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carew, James Laurence
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Cogan, Denis J.
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Delany, James Henry
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Edwards, Frank
Ellis, John Edward
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Finch, George H.
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert Jn.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir William
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick J.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jordan, Jeremiah

Joyce, Michael
Kitson, Sir James
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,SirJosephF.(Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
Morley,Rt.Hn.John(Montrose
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipper'ryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor,James(Wicklow,W.
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, JohnE.(Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, SirR.Threshie(Dumfries
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair,CaptJohn(Forfarshire
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.CR(Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas,F.Freeman-(Hastings
Thomas, J. A. (Glam.,Gower)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason,Eugene (Clackmannan
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick(Meath,North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, HenryJ.(York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Thomas Esmonde and Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arroll, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt.JoscelineFitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour,Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour,RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour,Maj. K. R. (Christch.
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir FrancisT.(Windsor)
Beach,Rt.Hn.SirM.H.(Bristol
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles,Capt.H.F.(Middlesex)
Bowles,T.Gibson(King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hn. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
BrownAlexander,H.(Shropsh.
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Buxton, Sidney Charles
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish,V.C.W.(Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hon.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain,J.Austen(Worc'r
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb,SirJohnCharlesReady
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, A.Cameron(Glasgow)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar,TR(T'rH'mlets, S.Geo.
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford,SirWilliam Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. RalphDouglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes,Hon.Ailwyn Edward
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Godson,SirAugustusFrederick
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. SirJohnEldon
Goschen,Hon. GeorgeJoachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green,Walford D.(Wednesday
Greene,SirEW(B'rySEdm'nds
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton,RtHnLordG(Midl'x
Hanbury,Rt.Hn. Robert Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,FLeverton(Tynemouth
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath,ArthurHoward(Hanley
Helder, Augustus
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hope,J.F(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard,Capt.J(Kent,Faversh
Howard,J.(Midd.,Tottenham)
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon,Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
Knowles, Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee,Capt.AH(Hants,Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S
Long,Col.CharlesW.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Calmont,Col.J.(Antrim,E.)
M'Iver,SirLewis(Edinb'rghW
M'Killop,James(Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Maxwell,WJH(Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine

Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G
Milton, Viscount
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire
Morgan, Hn. Fred (Monm'thsh.
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford
Murray, Rt Hn A Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Parkes, Ebenezer
Paulton, James Mellor
Peel, Hon. Wm. Robert W.
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pilkington, Richard
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. F. (Bethnal Green)
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T.
Rolleston Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, James P. (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Tennant, Harold John
Thornton, Percy M
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm. E. Murray
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sh'f'ld
Walker, Col. William Hall
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney
Welby, Lt-Col. A. C. E. (Tauntn
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-u-Lyne
Williams, Rt Hn J Powell-(Bi'm
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed.

SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I must confess I have been converted by the argument of my right hon. friend the Leader of the House, in which he said it would not do to allocate days to one portion of the Estimates and not to all. Although I am greatly in favour of the appointment of some Committee to meet occasionally to consider the allocation of the Estimates, I do not propose to move the Amendment I mentioned a few minutes ago. I am quite aware the House is anxious to get to the discussion of another subject, and I do not propose to detain it, but I sincerely hope that the Government will allocate more time to the Foreign Office Estimates this session than they did in recent sessions. I do not agree with my right hon. friend the Leader of the House that full time has always been given to the Foreign Office Estimates. I think very important questions such as the question of China have been put on one side, if not burked. They demand greater attention, and I hope my appeal will not fall on deaf ears.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Although the House is already aware, from the views which have been expressed by hon. Members on these benches, that we have not had sufficient notice or opportunity for the discussion of this motion, we are exceedingly anxious not to stand in the way of the discussion of the Bill which is coming on, and we are therefore not disposed to continue the discussion. We feel that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House has, to some extent, succeeded in the object he had in view yesterday, which was to bring pressure to bear on us to curtail the discussion on this motion for fear it might be said we were standing in the way of the Mines Bill. Notwithstanding that, I hope my hon. friends will now allow a division to be taken on the main question.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must inform the hon. Gentleman that there is no sort of ground for his allegation, and that the motive he imputes to me has no foundation.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I will not attempt to argue the question, and, of course, if he says he had no such motive I accept, as I am bound to accept, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. But the evidence on which I made my accusation is before the House, and it can judge for itself. I hope my hon. friends will now allow a division to be taken on the main question, and that an opportunity—although, no doubt, not the full opportunity they ought to have had—will be given to hon. Members to bring under the consideration of the House an important question affecting many hundreds of thousands of the working classes of this country.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 257; Noes, 104. (Division List No. 17).

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allsopp, Hon. George
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r.
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Maj. K R (Christchurch
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hn. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Colville, John
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter
Cranborne, Viscount
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dewar, T R (T'r Hmlets, St. Geo.
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott

Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duncan, James H.
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hon Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, Hn. J. E (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hon. F. S. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E W. B'ry S Edm'nds
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G. (Mid'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Rbt. Wm.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'uth
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D.
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hogg, Lindsay
Holland, William Henry
Hope, J. F. (Shef'ld, Brightside
Horniman, Frederick John
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt J (Kent, Faversh.
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)

Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Kitson, Sir James
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick W.
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lee, Capt A H (Hants, Fareham
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leng, Sir John
Leveson-Gower, Fred. N. S.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsm'uth
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Calmont, Col H. L. B. (Cambs
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
M'Crae, George
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
M'Killop, Jas. (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milton, Viscount
Mitchell, William
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, R. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, Hn. F. (Monmouthsh.)
Morley, Rt. Hn. J. (Montrose)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morris, Hn. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Peel, Hon. Wm. Robert W.
Pemberton, John S. G.
Philipps, John Wynford
Pilkington, Richard
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rea, Russell
Reid, James (Greenock)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Remnant, James Farquharson

Renshaw, Charles Bine
Ridley,Hn.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley,S.Forde(BethnalGreen
Ritchie,Rt.Hn.Chas Thomson
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Saunderson,Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J
Seely, Charles Hilton(Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shaw-Stewart, M.H.(Renfrew
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith,AbelH.(Hertford, East)
Smith,James Parker(Lanarks.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stewart,SirMarkJ.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Wm.Edw.Murray
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tufnell, Col. Edward
Ure, Alexander
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,ColSirCEH(Sheffield)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, Eugene(Clackmannan
Wason,JohnCathcart(Orkney
Welby,Lt.-Col.ACE(Taunton)
Whiteley,H(Ashtonund.Lyne
Williams,Rt.HnJPowell-(Bir.
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson,A.Stanley(York,E.R.
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcester.N.)
Wilson-Todd,Wm.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath
Wortley,Rt.Hon.C.B.Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir William Walrond and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham,William (Cork,N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen,CharlesP.(Glouc.Stroud
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Boyle, James
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Caine, William Sproston
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carew, James Laurence
Cawley, Frederick
Cogan, Denis J.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain. A
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Ellis, John Edward
Farrell James Patrick
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col.JohnP(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipper'ryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor,James(Wicklow,W.
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond,JohnE. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Shipman, Dr. John
Soares, Ernest J.
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas,Alfred(Glamorgan,E.
Thomas,J A(GlamorganGower
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thos. Courtenay T.
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath,North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Thomas Esmonde and Mr. Henry J. Wilson.

Resolved, That, so soon as the Committee of Supply has been appointed and Estimates have been presented, the Business of Supply shall (until it be disposed of) be the first Order of the Day on Friday, unless the House otherwise order on the Motion of a Minister of the Crown moved at the commencement of Public Business to be decided without Amendment or debate; and the provisions of Standing Order No, 56 shall be extended to Friday.

Not more than twenty days, being days before the 5th of August, on which the Speaker leaves the Chair for the Committee of Supply without Question put, counting from the first day on which the Speaker so left the Chair under Standing Order No. 56, shall be allotted for the consideration of the Annual Estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, including Votes on Account, the Business of Supply standing first Order on every such day.

Provided always, that on Motion, made after Notice by a Minister of the Crown to be decided without Amendment or Debate, additional time, not exceeding three days, may be allotted for the Business of Supply, either before or after the 5th of August.

On the last but one of the allotted days, at Ten o'clock p.m., the Chairman shall proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to dispose of the outstanding Votes in Committee of Supply; and on the last, not being earlier than the twentieth of the allotted days, the Speaker shall, at Ten o'clock p.m., proceed to put forthwith every Question necessary to complete the outstanding Reports of Supply.

On the days appointed for concluding the Business of Supply, the consideration of such business shall not be anticipated by a Motion of Adjournment under Standing Order No. 17; nor may any dilatory Motion be moved on such proceedings; nor shall they be interrupted under the provisions of any Standing Order relating to the Sittings of the House.

Provided always that any Additional Estimate for any new service or matter, not included in the original Estimates for the year, shall be submitted for consideration in the Committee of Supply on any day not later than two days before the Committee is closed.

Provided also that the days occupied by the consideration of Estimates supplementary to those of a previous Session, or of any Vote of Credit, or of Votes for Supplementary or Additional Estimates presented by the Government for War Expenditure, shall not be included in the computation of the twenty days. Provided also that two Morning Sittings shall be deemed equivalent to one Three o'clock Sitting.

MINERS (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

*MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): I desire at the outset to say that if, by the chances of the procedure of this House, an opportunity is now afforded us of discussing this Bill, it is largely due to the kindness of Members on both sides who supported the protest I made yesterday, and to the opposition which has kept a debate that might very properly have occupied the whole of this afternoon within very narrow limits indeed. I have to acknowledge also the concession made by the First Lord of the Treasury in taking from the Paper today two of the three Sessional Orders which it was intended to submit for the acceptance of the House. I am, therefore, in the happy position of being able to give thanks all round.

The Bill, of which I have the honour of moving the Second Reading, proposes to ènact that a person shall not in any one day of twenty-four hours be employed underground in any mine for a period exceeding eight hours from the time of leaving the surface until the ascent hereto, except in the case of breakage of machinery or explosion from fire-damp or any accident involving the stoppage of the working of the mine. The proposal has the disadvantage of being a more than twice told tale.* It is not a new one to this Chamber, even if it be to the present House of Commons, and if there is difficulty in finding new arguments in favour of it, it is, happily, equally difficult to find new pretexts against it. Nevertheless I recognise that at the present time I have to deal with a certain attitude of the public mind as regards the price of coal—the high price which has ruled in the coal market for the past twelve months—and that attitude renders my task this afternoon a little more difficult than it would otherwise have been. One hon. Member has told me that the view of his constituents is, that so long as the price of coal is kept up at its present level it is absurd for miners to desire to have their hours of labour reduced. I have observed, too, in the press a suggestion that if I were to include in the Bill a clause preventing miners taking too long holidays, then my proposal would be received with more sympathy than it is likely to meet with now. I say, however, without fear of contradiction, that the high price of coal and the peculiar conditions of the coal market during the past twelve or eighteen months have not been in any respect whatever due to the hours of labour or the wages earned by the miners, and therefore I think this debate can well proceed without prejudice from that point of view. Coal has been rendered somewhat scarce and very dear by a series of causes entirely outside the condition of things which would be set up by the operation of this Bill. In the first place there was a boom in the iron trade in this country, and coincident with it there was a partial failure of the coal supply abroad together with a greater demand for coal for export. There was also a panic among the public. The demand for coal for home use was concentrated within a few weeks, and consumers laid in large stocks in a hurry, with the result that prices went up rapidly. Indeed, I have not the slightest doubt that many Members of this House not only filled their coal-cellars to overflowing, but also utilised part of the accommodation afforded by their wine-cellars, in order to secure a sufficient store of black diamonds. The panic was not confined to the well-to-do. In the East End of London I have been told there were cases in which the very poor, who were not the fortunate possessors of coal-cellars, actually stocked the commodity under their beds, because they feared that in the winter time prices would reach such a pitch that they would be unable to buy. Mine-owners and coal merchants were naturally not slow to take advantage of this state of things, and they realised enormous profits. But I want to make it clear at the outset that this panic and this congestion of the trade were not caused in any way by a restriction of the hours of labour of miners or by any increase of their wages. The men were, in fact, working practically full time in that period. They were working eleven days in the fortnight, and so far from their wages having caused the increase in the price of coal, I think I am well within the mark when I say that for every shilling added to the selling price of coal per ton the miner has not received more than one farthing. If it is the desire of the public to bring the price of coal within reasonable limits they should do so not by refusing to pass this Bill, but by considering whether coal should not be treated in the same way as gas and water, and a limit put by law upon the profits earned in its production.

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* For the Debate on the Second Reading of this Bill in the year 1900, see *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Vol. lxxix., page 1303. The footnote references there given furnish the complete Parliamentary history of the movement.

It has been suggested that if this Bill becomes law the output of coal would be restricted, and that that would send up the price. But I have already pointed out that prices have gone up without the operation of an Eight Hours Bill, and I am now going to argue that the adoption of this measure would not cause any great increase in the cost of obtaining coal, and would not, for a long period at any rate, produce any restriction of the output. The temporary inflation of prices to which I have referred is already passing away, and I am told that, within the past fortnight, contracts for steam coal have been entered into at nine shillings per ton. The miners' wages remain practically steady under the agreement maintained by the beneficient operation of the Conciliation Board, the principle underlying that agreement being that there shall be a living wage with an irreducible minimum, that there shall be no unreasonable demand for a rise of wages above that minimum, and that there shall also be no unreasonable demand on the part of the employers to reduce them. I think it is for the general public to recognise that during the recent critical period not only have employers shown themselves reasonable in the matter of wages, but that the men, acting under the guidance of respectable and responsible leaders, have made no attempt to get an increase of wages contrary to the spirit of the agreement. I am told by my hon. friend the Member for Mansfield that it is agreed by mine-owners and mining agents and engineers that if the Eight Hours Bill is applied to the coal trade it will not add very much to the normal price of coal, and one estimate is that the increased charge for all purposes will not exceed sixpence per ton.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): It would not amount to anything like that.

*MR. YOXALL: That, I believe, is the case, but for the purpose of argument I have adopted an extreme limit, and I do ask the House to bear in mind how small will be the economic disturbance caused by the change embodied in this Bill. Then there is the question of the restriction of the output. There have been experiments—certainly not very many—in the direction of working mines on the eight hours a day principle, and they enable us to draw a conclusion as to the result. The hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division tells me that he has for a considerable period experimented in his own coal mines in this direction, and he assures me that, although there may have been some slight reduction in the output, he considers that on the whole the limitation to eight hours has worked advantageously, and that he has gained by the adoption of the eight-hour day. I should like the House to consider some further arguments on this point. The statement is that if you reduce the hours of labour you necessarily reduce the output. On the face of it that would seem to be a logical result, but I wish to point out that the restriction would be merely temporary, and by the play of economic forces and by intenser effort on the part of the miners the output would, after a short period, be brought back to what it was before the reduced hours came into force. Simultaneously there would be a reduction in the price. There would be more pits opened for working, and pits now abandoned when partially exhausted would in the future be completely exhausted, in order to bring more coal on the market, so that within a short period the normal condition of things existing before the reduction of the hours of labour would be regained. Therefore I am entitled to argue, with some show of reason, that the restriction of the individual output and the general output would be only temporary, that output would very quickly get back to equilibrium, and to the normal condition of the trade, with this great advantage, that you would have reduced the hours of labour of a great class in the community from ten to eight, and that you would have produced a great humanitarian reform which would give satisfaction to myriads of highly respectable, industrious, hard-working artisans in this country. You would also take a long step along the road, on which of late steps have been rather infrequent, of factory and mining legislation generally, and set up another milestone on the path of progress towards comfort and human conditions surrounding the work of all the people in this country. You would do this also at the cost of a temporary disturbance, which, financially, could not measure more than 6d. per ton, and perhaps not more than 1d. per ton—a disturbance which has existed again and again for the profits of mine owners and coal agents during the period to which I have referred. As to output, there is no fear of the supply of coal not being adequate to meet the demand for manufacturing and household purposes, for I have endeavoured to show that a disturbance of general output would be compensated for by the greater number of pits and workings coming into play.

It will not be contended, I suppose, that miners working under ten hours a day, at this date, do not get practically as much coal out of the mines as they did a hundred years ago, when they worked fifteen or sixteen hours a day. The intensity of the labour accounts for some of it, but there are other reasons—improved mechanical appliances, better winding, closer and more enlightened organisation, and railways; and it is from these means that equilibrium would be reached after a brief disturbance. This House, apart from the difficulties of rules of procedure, does consist of men who are earnestly desirous of taking every opportunity they can of producing for the labouring population of the country improvements and reforms in every possible way in the conditions of labour. Who are the men who make this request from the House? If one studies the condition of the country a little more than a century ago he will discover that the miners of that day were a discredited class, ignorant, ill-mannered, and rather brutal. These were the days before Factory Acts, Mining Regulation Acts, improved education, and higher wages, which purchase more in the market than of old time.

But different conditions have begun to exist in the class whose claims I am advocating this afternoon. I speak from eight years personal knowledge of miners in the Nottingham district, and I venture to say that, all class prejudices and misunderstandings apart, the miners of to-day are as respectable and respect-worthy a class as you will find in the whole community. The miner is a taciturn man, who does not wear his heart upon his sleeve. He conceals his thoughts and emotions; but when you get below the surface you find a hard-headed, shrewd, frugal, industrious, respectable man, who deserves the consideration of this House. He is not a casual day-labourer, but a skilled artisan, who must serve, after his boyhood, a two years apprenticeship; and when men of that stamp come before this House to the number of 500,000, and express a wish for the passing of this Bill, I submit that the House will do well to give that wish every consideration. Think what work they have to perform! Their labour is in the bowels of the earth. They know the upward rush of the earth, as they descend into the pit. They know the damp and the wet, the extremes of temperature, the risks of an inrush of water, the dangers of fire-damp and of falling rock. These are not the conditions in which we would like to labour; but they are conditions which bring about a great number of accidents every year. It has been estimated that 100,000 casualties occur every year underground in coal mines. The greater part of these are slight; but 850 men are killed and 3,650 are seriously injured. I am told that the percentage of killed to wounded in a battle is ten, but it is much higher in coal mining. If the membership of this House was so dangerous an occupation that every fifteen months a Member was killed by accident, that forty-two were seriously and ninety slightly injured every twelve months by the fall of Blue-books or the explosion of oratorical gas, we should rapidly adopt for ourselves an eight-hours day. Boys under sixteen and over thirteen years of age can be compelled by law to work in the mines fifty-four hours per week. Of 700,000 persons employed in coal mines there are 45,000 under sixteen years of age; and my Bill applies to them as well as to the adults. When you consider the death-roll, the mutilations, and the maiming of the persons employed in mines, the House will not wonder that the miners, through their great organisations, come to this House and ask for the passing of this Bill.

I submit, in spite of the contradictions made before, and which will probably be made again, that something like five-sixths of the miners outside Northumberland and Durham ask for this Bill, and that a large proportion of the miners inside Northumberland and Durham would see the passing of this Bill with pleasure. I acknowledge with sorrow that a discordant note comes from Northumberland and Durham, and that that is the weak point in the prospects of this Bill passing. The hon. Member for Morpeth last year stated to the House that comparatively few of the men in Durham, and also I think in Northumberland, worked more than eight hours per day, that some of the boys only worked eight hours per day, and that the coal-hewers and other classes of adult labour worked less than eight hours per day. If that be so, these miners have secured what I propose by this Bill to apply to all the boys and adults throughout the country. I hope the House will not be led away by the plausible statement that the men are not united on this point into condemning the whole Bill. An hon. Member opposite stated on the last occasion that on a poll ninety per cent. of the miners voted in favour of the Bill. A poll was taken of the Durham miners, when 28,000 voted against eight hours, but 12,000 voted in favour, and 20,000 did not vote at all. Therefore I think I have some reason and justice for submitting to the House that there is not inside the area of Northumberland and Durham an unanimous opposition to the Bill. A cry has come year after year from the miners throughout the country for the passing of this Bill. It began in 1886, and attained its first expression in this House in 1892, when the Second Reading was lost by 112 votes. In 1893 the Second Reading was carried by seventy-eight votes, and in 1894 by eighty-seven votes. It came before the House again in 1897, when the Second Reading was lost by forty-one votes, and last year by twenty-four votes only.

I hope that in this first session of a new Parliament the Second Reading will be carried by a number which will show that whatever the last Parliament may have said on the point, we are determined to do what we can to help forward the humanitarian movement which I advocate. Sometimes in this House we hear Black Rod knocking at the door, and the summons, which is that of the Crown, or of the deputies of the Crown, is listened to by us respectfully. These miners are knocking at the door of the House this afternoon. It is not a summons of the Crown or of the deputies of the Crown, but a summons of men banded together, knowing what they want—of men upon whose labour the very foundations of the prosperity of this country are built, and upon whose labour depends our comfort and our trade. We listen with respect to the summons of the man with the Black Rod; I ask the House to listen with respect to the knocking of men with black faces. What shall we answer? Shall we tell them that they are strong enough to obtain their desire without the help of the Legislature, by means of strikes or agreements? That is the argument which is put forward, as a rule, on occasions like these. But is that an argument that ought to be put forward from a temple of legislation, from this House of Law, where all laws are made? Agreements are but temporary things. There have been agreements on this point, but they have broken down again and again. In one case in Wales the men were locked out nine weeks for demanding the fulfilment of an agreement for an eight-hours day. The trade unions of the country are turning more and more against strikes, and demand the regulation of these things, wherever possible, by law. I ask the House to intervene, and to remember that in regard to almost every other point but this the working of coal pits is already regulated in the closest and most minute manner by law. I ask the House to apply law to the question of the maximum hours to be spent in labour in the coal mines. There are some Members in this House, coal-owners, who are opposed to the proposal, but there are others who are equally in favour of it. Other Members there are who have been miners, who support it, and others who oppose it. I appeal to the impartial sense of the House to settle the dispute. We are told that accidents will increase, and that mining is an exceptionally healthy occupation; but all that is special pleading. I beg the House to forget the weakness of the advocate in the strength of his cause, and to carry the Second Reading of this Bill which I now move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.): I congratulate the hon. Member on the courage which, in introducing this Bill, he has shown in facing what appears to me to be an impossible position. He has admitted, with great candour, that the effect of the Bill would be to reduce the hours of labour by two hours a day. At present the miner works only six and a half to seven and a half hours a day. That is to say, if you reduce the hours of labour by two, you reduce the time of work by something like 30 per cent. The statement that that will not reduce output seems to me to require no answer whatever. The hon. Member very courageously grappled with the point by suggesting that a man could do really as much work in eight hours as in ten. But at present miners are not working eight hours, but only six and a half or seven and a half, and to argue that to reduce these by two would not reduce the output is, I think, a monstrous proposition. The hon. Member said it would reduce the cost of getting the coal by, at most, 6d. per ton. Now, I have some knowledge of the cost of getting coal——

MR. YOXALL: I said the selling price of coal, not the getting it.

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN: I think the hon. Member is very much further astray in making that statement. He may make some calculation as to what is the cost of getting coal, but to calculate what would be added to the selling price is beyond the hon. Member's ingenuity. Let me deal with the question of cost. The best opinion I have been able to form or to obtain is that the addition to the cost would be at the very least 2s., and in many cases as much as 3s. per ton. But the effect of diminishing the output would add enormously more than that to the selling price. The hon. Member attributed the late advances in the price of coal to the fact that consumers had become alarmed and had filled their coal cellars; it is obvious that reducing the output 30 per cent. would add much more to the price than this. The output of coal would be reduced by from 20 to 40 million tons a year, and the effect of that would be not only to enable, but to compel coal-owners to double or treble the price of coal. [Laughter from the Opposition benches.] Hon. Members may laugh, but I assure them I am perfectly serious in the statement I am now making, and I have been engaged in the coal trade from my youth upwards.

I must say I was surprised that this Bill should be brought forward this session, for we have just had an object lesson as to the effect of the high price of coal. But if this Bill passed, what we have seen would be but a drop in the ocean as compared with what the effect would then be. There is not a Member in the House who has not felt in some form or another in his pocket the effect of the recent additional price of coal. Every man who holds shares in railway or gas companies has had his dividends diminished, and if he employs labour he will find that his poor workmen have had to pay 2s. or 3s. per week more for their coals. The British Government are buying bridges from America for Uganda, Egypt, South Africa, and Burma. We are buying American rails, and even coal is being imported into this country from Australia and America. Take one trade, with which I am best acquainted, the iron trade. The imports of pig iron in January, 1901, were 85,000 tons compared with 40,000 tons in the same month of 1900. The increase of imports of puddled iron is no less than 1,200 per cent., and of steel unwrought nearly 400 per cent. What is more serious is that while our imports have been increasing our exports have been diminishing. In January, 1901, the exports of pig iron were 177,000 tons compared with 528,000 tons in January, 1900, a reduction of no less than 66 per cent.; while the exports of steel unwrought were reduced 39 per cent. We have also seventy-four furnaces fewer at work, or a reduction of 20 per cent. I claim that the main cause—I would be scarcely exaggerating if I said the one cause—of all this has been the price of coal. Look, again, at how soon the price of coal begins to re-act on the workmen themselves. Only forty-six per cent. of the miners worked in the month of January this year for twenty days; whereas last year 68 per cent. worked twenty days. So that it is evident if this proposal of working two hours a day less were accepted and acted upon, retribution would follow on the workmen with very quick steps.

But look at the effect on the general community! Coal is as much a necessary of life in winter as food; if women and poor children do not get warm in their houses they die as readily as if they were cut short of food. Intolerable suffering has been caused by the recent high price of coal, and many lives have been lost. Is the miner so oppressed, is he in such a bad position that the whole community must suffer, that all the manufacturing interests of the country are to be sacrificed or destroyed in order that people may be made to pay double or triple for a first necessary of life? The miner is so protected by the splendid organisation of his trade that on the very same day in which the newspapers announced a reduction in the price of coal of 3s. per ton, there was likewise announced an addition of 5 per cent. to the miners' wages. What is the position of the coal hewers at the present time? Suppose they are working by the day—I speak of my own district—they earn 5s. 8d., to which must be added 4d. for the coal supplied free, or 6s. a day in all. But if they work by piecework they earn from 6s. to 10s. a day.

MR. PICKARD (Yorkshire, W.R., Normanton): They do not earn that wage.

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN: They earn on piecework from 6s. to 10s. a day of six and a half hours in the Warwickshire district. I can only give what happens in my own colliery with my own workmen, and I challenge any hon. Member to deny the truth and accuracy of the statement I have made.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE(Merthyr Tydvil): How many hours winding ?

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN: Nine.

MR. PICKARD: Was it in the month of January ?

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN: The figures I have quoted have all been for the month of January. I have had a careful examination made of my accounts, and I find that on an average the individual miner works only four and a half days a week—although some work five and a half or six days. That is to say, the average miner works twenty-nine and a quarter hours per week. Is that so big a hardship that the Legislature should interfere and compel those miners to work fewer hours, who are willing to work more ? The hon. Member who moved this Bill said that, owing to improved mechanical appliances and the greater skill and industry of the British miner, there had been a larger production of coal of late years than had ever been made before. I can give the hon. Member some figures on the point. In Great Britain in 1883 the average production per miner was 347 tons; in 1890 it dropped to 308 tons, and in 1897 it was still further reduced to 297 tons. That is to say, there had been a reduction in the average production per miner of about 20 per cent., instead of an increase, with improved mechanical appliances. That is not the worst of the case. If all the miners throughout the world were in the same condition, we might be able to hold our own. But while we are diminishing the output, miners elsewhere are increasing it. In the United States the production per miner was 443 tons in 1890 and 450 tons in 1897; that is to say, the American miner gets 50 per cent. more coal than the British miner.

MR. PICKARD: What part of the United States ?

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN: I am taking the United States as a whole.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: They use machines.

*SIR ALFRED HICKMAN: I beg the hon. Member's pardon; I will deal with that point presently. I say that the production of the United States miner is no less than 50 per cent. more than that of the miner in the United Kingdom. That is not because the miner there is more skilful than the miner here, but because he works more; instead of working six and a half hours, he works ten hours. The consequence is that in the United States coal is less than half the price that it is in this country. I must admit that there is a natural sympathy with a man who works underground—a sympathy which I fully share. He is exposed to very difficult conditions, and the labour which he has to undergo is very arduous. But I was so struck with the smaller cost of American coal that I sent out to America to inquire what was the reason for the difference, and I was told that the principal reason was that the American miner used mechanical appliances for coal-getting. I accordingly sent for these machines and introduced them into my pits; but I am sorry to say they were a complete failure. Every other day they would keep breaking down; something happened and they would not work. But I put to each machine an under-manager, and while the under-manager was with the machine, watching it, it was a complete and perfect success, and the output where the machine worked was doubled, and the men earned more money and had less hard work. I am sorry to say, however, that the moment the supervision of the under-manager was withdrawn the machines broke down again; and as I could not keep under-managers for all the machines, I was obliged to part with them. Now, it was said that a very large proportion of the miners—90 per cent., I think—are in favour of the Bill; but the hon. Member who quoted the figures did not explain how the percentage was arrived at. Meetings are called at the pit-head to discuss the question, and I am told that those who are in favour of the eight-hour day attend the meeting and vote for it, and that those who are not in favour of it keep away. It is a fact that in my own district not more than 10 per cent. of the miners attended these meetings, and of course it is very easy to arrive at unanimity when that is the case.

Well, we must come to the conclusion, beyond any possibility of doubt, that the effect of this Bill would enormously reduce the output of coal. Some authorities put it at as much as forty million tons; but supposing it were only twenty or thirty million tons per annum, the effect would be to run up the price to famine rate. First of all there would be a great rise in the price of coal, and the masters would gain much more than the miners. But when the manufactures of this country had been destroyed by the effect of high prices of coal, the whole thing would come tumbling down and we should have ruin all round. The hon. Gentleman spoke very feelingly about the dangers to which miners are exposed, and this is the very greatest and the strongest objection I have to this Bill—it would lead to an increase of accidents. We all know that the miner's life is placed in a very precarious position unless the props, etc., are carefully watched. But if he is working at high pressure, if he has got to do in five and a half hours what he ought to take six and a half hours to complete, then the proportion of accidents would be enormously increased. I have endeavoured to condense my observations on this Bill as much as possible, although there is a great deal more to be said about it. I think, as this is a new Parliament, there ought to be a very full discussion upon it, and I trust that there will be no attempt to burke that full discussion.

The Bill introduces a new principle, that of regulating the hours of labour of adult miners. The hon. Gentleman who proposed the Bill said that everything in a pit was regulated. Yes, there are a great many regulations, but all these are framed with the idea of preserving life and limb, not of limiting the adult labour of men who are in the full possession of their faculties. I have never heard of anyone being compelled to work in a pit, unless it might be a boy who was constrained to do so by his father. The effect of this Bill would be to prevent an industrious man, anxious to better his position in life, from deriving the full benefit of the fruits of his industry; and I venture to say that some of the most respected coalmasters, who were originally working miners themselves, would not have attained their present position if this Bill had been law. The effect of the Bill would be to reduce all to a dead level, and to prevent any man working more than six hours a day. Moreover, it is a Bill which would upset all the relations between the employers and employed. I believe it would be disastrous, first of all to the manufacturers of this country, second to the workmen, and last of all to the employers.

I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Sir Alfred Hickman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I regret that, as this is a new Parliament, the time at our disposal is so short for fully debating the merits of this question, or at least of debating it in such a way as to justify us in taking a division on the Second Reading of the Bill. I must say that, so far as the mover of the Bill was concerned, none of us who are opposed to this measure, and will have to vote against it if we go to a division, can complain, in the slightest degree, either of the language or of the spirit of the speech in which my hon. friend moved the Second Reading. And that at all events is an improvement upon what has happened in past Parliaments when this Bill has come up for discussion in the House. My hon. friend the Member for West Nottingham has said, and said very truly, that this measure is by no means new to the House of Commons. This is the sixth time during the last nine years that the Bill has been brought before the House, and all those who have been so long in the House are no doubt familiar with the arguments for and against, and, as my hon. friend truly said, looking at the number of times this Bill has been before the House, it is difficult to find new arguments either in its support or its opposition; but as this is a new Parliament, it is only fair that we should state the ground upon which the question was first of all advocated by the Miners' Federation and those who are outside the scope of the Federation. My hon. friend has said it is not the object of this measure to limit the output of coal; but that was really the object with which the agitation in favour of this measure was originally begun. That agitation commenced in 1887, but it only arrived at an acute stage in 1888, and at the Bradford Trades Union Congress, when this question was debated, in a speech delivered by Mr. Samuel Woods, it was distinctly stated among other matters that it was to restrict the output of coal, which was about 20,000,000 tons per annum more than necessary. That was the distinct object with which the agitation was begun, but when it was found that the British consumer would have something to say in respect to any limitation of the output, then the promoters of the Bill took up another line of defence, as their second line of defence, and said that if the hours of labour were reduced employment would be found for a greater number. But the weakness of that line was at once pointed out, which was that if it was intended to keep up the limit of output of coal by the increased intensity of labour during shorter hours, how were you going to find room for more labour? Then when they find their position on these lines untenable, the promoters of this measure take up the third line of defence, that this Bill is calculated to increase the safety of the miners. If they convince me that this Bill conduces to the safety of the miners they have gone a great way towards disarming my opposition and the opposition of those whom I represent in this House. They intend to keep up the production of coal by increasing the intensity of labour, but is the rush and hurry which will thus be created not calculated to increase the risk of the miner rather than diminish the risk which he at present has to contend with? The increased intensity of labour is the very thing which causes in a number of cases the accidents which unfortunately arise from time to time.

Now, my hon. friend touched on the question of increased cost, if this Bill were to become law, and he treated that aspect of the question with a light heart; he practically disposed of it with a wave of the hand as being a matter of such small importance that it was not for a moment to occupy the attention of the House of Commons; but I think I shall show before I have finished that, so far as we are concerned in Northumberland, this question of increased expense is of great importance. It is not only calculated to disorganise our industry, but to injure the men employed in that industry. The hon. Member referred to a statement made to him by the hon. Member for the Mansfield Division of Nottingham, who speaks with great authority upon this subject, and upon his authority alleges that this Bill would only increase the price of coal about sixpence a ton, and in answer to the hon. Member for West Wolverhampton he said it would not affect the cost of getting the coal, but the price of coal to the consumer; but if the cost of production be increased by only half that sum it would do much to drive us out of the market in which we have for generations been accustomed to trade. During the debate upon the Workmen's Compensation Act I stated that we in Northumberland had lost a contract with Russia that we had been in the habit of fulfilling for years and years on a margin of threepence a ton. Let hon. Gentlemen bear in mind that Russia was the chief foreign market for Northumberland, and threepence a ton increase would be a very large increase so far as we are concerned. Excellent as was my hon. friend's speech, it did not carry us any further forward. He treated this subject altogether from an academic point of view, and gave no practical suggestion to get us out of the difficulty that confronts us.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Forest of Dean told the House last year, when this question was before us, that this was not an academic but a practical question of how we were to regulate the system of working our mines. From what takes place both in this House and outside, it would seem that the remedy for the present state of things rests with those who have had least experience of mines; and those who, like myself, have been closely connected with the industry for many years, are the only persons who are utterly at a loss for a remedy which would not inflict greater hardship upon those engaged in this industry. My hon. friend has also stated that there is no other industry where the conditions of labour are so varied, and yet it is for such an industry as this that they attempt to make cast-iron rules of uniformity. You cannot carry on such a business on such rigid lines of uniformity. If you are to carry on the industry satisfactorily you must have some elasticity; but those in favour of this Bill would tie us down to a hard and fast rule—a thing they are not prepared to ask for in other industries. My hon. friend said that this was the demand of labour; but is there any industry in the country which is prepared to adopt such lines as are attempted to be forced upon us by this Bill? The very furthest that the Trade Union Congress has ever gone is to pass a resolution for forty-eight hours per week. The whole thing seems to me to be ridiculous in the extreme. The right hon. Gentleman has told us that the real difficulty in dealing with this question is the system which prevails in Northumberland and Durham—a system that has existed for more than two generations, a system by which one set of boys, working ten hours a day from bank to bank—— [Cries of "Shame."] I shall have something to say in reply to that. These boys have to take away the produce of two sets of coal-getters working fifteen hours a day, calculated from bank to bank. To upset that arrangement would completely revolutionise the system of working our mines in the north of England. You would reduce us to one of two alternatives. You would compel us to adopt the single-shift system, much as we dislike it. In Wales they had thirteen months experience of the double-shift system, working eight hours a day; and at the end of that time a deputation waited upon the mine-owner and requested that he would allow them to return to the old system and work more hours. We have, therefore, either to adopt the single-shift system and dismiss a considerable number of our hewers, or we have to adopt the double-shift system with two sets of boys. Now, that we have fairly and fully considered, and we find it is utterly impossible to get the boys for a double shift. We should want additional boy labour, but we should not have any additional labour for men, and a man would not come into a neighbourhood merely to find occupation for his family if he could find none for himself. As I said before, our boys work ten hours a day. Somebody cried out "Shame," but we in the north are no more wanting in natural affection and parental instinct than you are in other counties, where, in many cases, your boys are employed for longer hours than we employ them in the north. ["No, no!"] I say, Yes, yes! because it is only two years ago that a charge was made that we worked our boys like little galley slaves; and what could be a more shameful charge? We are not more wanting in parental instincts than other men, but even if we were, that would not justify you in working your boys longer hours. When this question was before the House in 1894 we gave to the miners of all outside districts an opportunity of reducing the hours of the boys by agreeing to the passing of the Bill subject to a local option clause—the widest that has ever been suggested in this country by labour—by the exercise of the vote of a simple majority. But they were not prepared to take it for themselves unless they were allowed at the same time to inflict a positive injustice on the people of the north.

What is the case so far as foreign competition is concerned? In 1899 the output of coal in Northumberland amounted to 11,000,000 odd tons; out of that 11,000,000 odd tons we exported direct to foreign countries no less than 8,547,000 tons, leaving us for home consumption 2,693,933 tons. So that we in the north have no home market; we depend entirely upon the markets abroad, and the slightest increase in the cost of production would affect us very severely. To Russia alone we in Northumberland send only 708,000 tons less than the combined districts of Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Scotland, and although we have no home market, those who support this Bill desire to strike at these markets in which we have a so much larger interest. I protest against a measure of this kind being passed without due respect being paid to the difficulties which confront us in various directions, and I protest against this attempt to cast upon us this cast-iron uniformity. In conclusion I will say that, so long as we are unable to find for ourselves any practical solution for all these difficulties, so long as our friends who support this measure are unable to suggest a solution for them, it will be our duty to vote against this Bill, which, if it becomes law, is calculated to inflict considerable hardships on a great industry. I beg to support the rejection of the Bill.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley): I represent in this House more than 10,000 men and boys who are employed in coal mines, and I desire to enter my strongest protest against the way in which His Majesty's Government have curtailed the opportunity for discussing this most important Bill that we have now under consideration. Trades like that of coal mining—an exceptional trade, dangerous and arduous in its character—need exceptional treatment, and the 10,000 men of the Barnsley Division of Yorkshire whom I represent are unanimously in favour of this Bill now under the consideration of the House. I believe it cannot be denied that the great majority of those employed in coal mines throughout Great Britain also support this Bill.

What is the object of this Bill? It is that no one shall be employed underground for more than eight hours out of the twenty-four. Now there is one thing upon which I think we are all agreed, and that is that it is indefensible that growing lads of from thirteen to sixteen years of age should be employed underground in a vitiated atmosphere, deprived of daylight and sunshine, for ten hours a day, whilst their fathers and other men are underground for not more than seven hours. These boys are kept underground at a time when it is essential for their proper growth and development that they should have a sufficiency of daylight and sunshine in order that their development may go on rapidly. In the rules of the Northumberland Miners Association in 1863, one of their objects was to shorten the hours of labour of boys in mines to eight hours per day. Then at the National Conference of Miners in 1893 the hon. Member for Mid Durham proposed this resolution—

> "That in the opinion of this Conference the hours of labour in the mines are in the majority of cases excessively long, and can and should be materially shortened."

So that we are practically all agreed as to the propriety of shortening the hours of boys employed in coal mines, because it cannot be denied that for a young lad to rise at five in the morning, go underground at six, and come out at four leaves him unfit for technical education or continuation schools. To such facts as these is also owing that alarming increase of physical deterioration in the British race which the enormous number of men who volunteered for service in South Africa, and who had been rejected as physically unfit, showed. Hon. Members of the House ought to make it one of their most important duties to safeguard the dangers of such work as this, so that the health of these lads should be protected to the greatest possible extent.

I regret that the short time at our disposal to debate this question entirely deprives me of the pleasure of showing to my hon. friend the Member for Wansbeck how the Eight Hours Bill might be applied to Northumberland. The only difference between us is that some of us are seeking to obtain this reform by trades union effort, whilst others think the shortest way is by legislative enactment. What was the result of voluntary effort? It was only by the passing of the Factories Act that boys under sixteen years of age were prevented from working underground for more than ten hours a day, and it was by passing the Coal Mines Regulation Act that the mines of the United Kingdom are to-day working under more satisfactory conditions than before.

The time at my disposal prevents my going into detail as to how I should apply this Eight Hours Bill. I am somewhat interested in Durham and Northumberland myself, and if I thought this measure was going to be disastrous to the iron, coal, and steel industries, I should not say a word in support of it. I do not deny that it may add to the cost of production of coal if this Bill is passed. I am to some extent a coal-owner myself, but I am willing that this

Bill should be applied compulsorily at the collieries in which I am interested so long as it is applied to all competing collieries. So far as I am advised, the increased cost of production is not quite so serious as that quoted by the hon. Member who moved the motion for the Second Reading of this Bill. Two shifts of men and one shift of boys increased in number would not result in an increase of more than 2d. to 3d. a ton on the average, and with regard to the working of collieries you can only take the average. On both sides we are agreed on the desirability of shortening the hours of labour, especially of boys, and we ought to approach this question in that spirit. It would not be difficult for the masters to find a solution for the difficulties which confront them, and benefit the boys working underground. The issue before us does not affect coal hewers and underground datale men, but only a number of boys, and when we have improved the mechanical appliances for getting the coal from the working face to the surface, this concession can be given to the lads.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.): I rise with considerable diffidence to express my sympathy with the mover of this Bill. What has moved me in this matter is my solicitude on behalf of the boys who work so many hours in the mines, and, although I readily recognise the force of the argument adduced by my friend the Member for Wansbeck, I have not found it so affect my mind as to counterbalance my views as to the condition of these lads in the pits. These lads, many of them only fifteen or sixteen, go to work at six in the morning, and they remain in the pits till four in the afternoon—ten hours—and during the bulk of the year, with the exception of four days a fortnight, they never see the light of day. Now, I know that it is said that if you look at them you find them sturdy, healthy lads, and I remember that some years ago those who represented the mining interests of Durham and Northumberland then, as the hon. Member for West Wolverhampton does now, urged that there was no necessity on the part of Parliament to reduce the hours, that these children were so happy, and bright, and brisk and enjoyed life to such an extent that when they came out of the pits they gambolled about like lambs. We know from the Reports of the Government Commission that the health of the children materially suffered, and my observation has convinced me that morally, mentally, and physically these boys in Durham do suffer from their long confinement in the mines. Therefore it is not so much on behalf of the miners of Yorkshire and Derbyshire that I support the Bill, but what has moved me to come into conflict with some of my constituents has been my solicitude for the pit lads of my county. On that point I am not at all certain whether the hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division really represents the majority among the miners. I know that he honestly claims that he does, but I have never hesitated, during the time I have been a Member of this House, now some fifteen years, to express without any fear or qualification my approval of the principle of a measure which will limit the hours of miners' work, and so protect the children from what I believe is an evil that exists under present circumstances.

May I refer very briefly to some of the arguments which have been used to-day? An hon. Member who opposed the measure used the stale argument that you have no right to legislate for adults. This is no innovation. Legislation for adults commenced in 1847 by the passing of the Factory Act. It is true that it was not eight hours, but ten hours, then; and by a series of legislative enactments, passed in spite of similar arguments to those used to-day, and passed through the kindly interest of the Conservative party at the time, in 1850, 1870, and 1874 Parliament has directly or indirectly legislated upon the hours during which adults should be employed, and therefore it seems to me there is no force whatever in the argument which says that people should be allowed to work out their own destiny by voluntary effort. Upon that point of voluntary effort may I make this observation? It seems to me—and it was aptly put by a former speaker—that it is very much better that the public through their representatives should legislate upon matters which affect the public at large than that a section of the population belonging to one particular trade, without conferring with others and without obeying what is the obvious desire of the public, should assert by voluntary effort what might be opposed to the interests of the others. In other words, this is a legislative machine for the purpose of giving effect to what is believed to be not merely for the interest of any particular class, but what is believed to be for the interest of the community at large. I agree that that is an academic argument, and I do not want to press it. What does the hon Member for the Wansbeck Division mean when he contends that you are going to attain this by voluntary effort?

Mr. FENWICK protested against the statement just made by the hon. Member. He never contended that this limitation should be brought about by voluntary effort. His position had been clearly stated throughout the whole debate.

Mr. ATHERLEY-JONES: I willingly accept my friend's renunciation of my suggestion. What I do know is that the argument is used in this House. Let me ask this question—How is it to be effected? It certainly can not be effected by voluntary effort on the part of the miners. [An Hon. Member: Why not?] Because the employers have laid down a *non possumus*. I heard from the mouth of the hon. Baronet opposite that it means ruin to the trade of this country, and we have heard over and over again that the great bulk of the employers will not support the Eight Hours Bill. How can an eight-hour day be obtained except by legislation? It can only be obtained from costly, disastrous, and deplorable strikes, and I am not sure that it can be obtained by strikes. Anyone who takes the trouble to look through the records of strikes will find that almost every strike—or, at all events, a very large percentage of the strikes, for the reduction of the hours of labour—has been abortive.

It comes to this, then, if you are going to get an eight-hour day you must get it by legislation, or you will not get it at all. I admit freely that the economic difficulty is undoubtedly a serious one. I am not able myself to appreciate it. I am not able myself to thoroughly grasp what the consequences will be, but why is that? Because the Gentlemen who oppose this measure on the grounds of the economic difficulty do not condescend to give us any particulars. I should like to ask them this question—What is the rate of wages in relation to the cost of output? What, on the average output, do wages represent? I should like to know the amount paid in wages in reference to the question of profit. The very same arguments which are used to-day about the destruction of trade were used as far back as the year 1847, and if anyone will take up *Hansard* for that year he will find that practically he might be reading the very debate which is taking place in the House now.

There are one or two points to which my hon. friend the Member for Wansbeck referred to which I wish to refer very briefly. We were told there would be a decrease in the output and an increase in the price. We were told by the hon. Baronet the Member for West Wolverhampton that certain mines worked only twenty days in January, that the average time of the men's work was three, four, and five days a week, and that very often they did not work more than three days a week. Now, what do we propose to do? The Bill proposes, where a reduction would be necessary, to reduce the hours of labour by some hour, hour and a half, or two hours a day. Might I not fairly suggest to the hon. Baronet and to my hon. friend the Member for the Wansbeck Division that it is not an unreasonable argument that instead of working spasmodically, as you are doing now, three or four days a week for ten hours, you should work steadily for five or six days a week seven or eight hours a day? Therefore, it appears to me that, so far from tending to reduce the output and increase the price, you would simply have a regular and more persistent output and more regular and persistent employment. Let me say to those who are going to vote on this question, whether they be representatives of workmen or employers, that a large number of men of experience, aye, and some of them men who have risen from the position of working miners, will be found, not voting with the hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division, but voting with those who oppose him.

*MR. HIGGINBOTTOM (Liverpool, West Derby): I rise to oppose the Bill. I do so on the following grounds. The hon. Member opposite asked—What is the rate of wages? I am in a position to give him the rate of wages that has been paid at my own colliery in three mines during the seven weeks of this year. I hope this will be an answer to his inquiry. The rate of wages has been 12s. per day in one mine, 9s. per day in the second mine, and 12s. per day in the third mine.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: Are these average figures, or do they refer to individual cases?

*MR. HIGGINBOTTOM: These figures have only been sent to me by this morning's post, but I can vouch for their accuracy.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE (rising again amid cries of "Order!"): I was only asking, Mr. Speaker, whether they were averages, or applied to individual cases.

*MR. HIGGINBOTTOM: They are averages of the whole wages of each man for each week. The hon. Member would like the weekly averages. I can give them to him. I have worked them out for the seven weeks of this year, and they are as follows: 9s. 11d. per day for the first week; 11s. 7d. for the second; 13s. 5d. for the third; 11s. 1d. for the fourth; 12s. for the fifth; 12s. 1d. for the sixth; and 13s. 9d. for the seventh. These miners are supposed to work fifty-two hours per week. During this year they have worked forty hours per week, and the mines have been open every day from the 1st of January until to-day. The workmen might have been employed every day, but instead they have only worked an average of forty hours per week.

I am sent here by a very large constituency to oppose this measure, as I am sure it is against their interests. I represent one of the divisions of Liverpool, and if this Bill passes I look upon it as a most serious matter for the shipping industry of Liverpool. I look upon it as a most serious matter for the various trades in the county of Lancaster, particularly the cotton, chemical, and iron industries. I calculate that if this Bill is carried we shall have to lose in output something like 30,000,000 tons per annum. If the men had been at work, as they might have been, we should have had 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 tons more coal produced during the past year. I hope this House will not attempt to legislate at the present time. I believe that some of the leaders are anxious on the subject, but I do not think that the workmen, if they had their own way, are anxious for legislation.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: I desire in the first place to call attention to the actual conditions of the coal trade. I shall do so very briefly, considering the limited time at my disposal. In the last issued Report by the Home Office the following sentence occurs—

> "The most striking fact recorded in these mineral statistics for 1899 is the enormous output of coal, namely, 220,000,000 tons, showing an increase of 18,000,000 tons compared with the previous year. This country is now producing twice as much coal as it did in 1870, and probably nearly four times as much as it was in 1850. Durham and Yorkshire together are now yielding about as much coal as the whole of the United Kingdom half a century ago."

That refers to the country as a whole. I thought from what has been stated that the coal industry in Durham and Northumberland must be in a very delicate position, but I find that the figures for these counties show an increase of 882,000 in the output for the year 1899. Much has been made of the statement that this Bill means a restriction of the output. There is no practical miner in this House, with all respect to my hon. friend the Member for the Wansbeck Division, who will seriously make that statement.

MR. FENWICK: I did not make that statement.

*MR. KEIR HARDIE: I know you did not, but the House thought you did. This Bill does not mean restriction of the output. The figures given by the different inspectors in the various districts go to attest the fact that where the hours of labour are shortest the output per individual, other conditions being equal, is highest. That accords with all the experience we have had of the eight hours system. One way of stimulating the industries of Durham and Northumberland is to give the lads there a shorter working day. It is absurd to say that this would impose a burden on the people of these two counties. My hon. friend says that boys could not be found to equip a second shift if this Bill came into operation. A second shift would mean an increased output, and an increased output would require additional colliers to produce the coal, and this would naturally bring into the counties a sufficient number of boys to equip the two shifts if this Bill became law. I am told, *sotto voce*, that they are working two shifts in Durham and Northumberland—yes, two shifts of men and one shift of boys. We ask that the boys in these counties shall have their hours reduced to not more than eight per day. That would involve two shifts being worked of all hands instead of two shifts of coal-getters and one shift of boys. In regard to the cost of production, the hon. Baronet the Member for West Wolverhampton alarmed the House by speaking of an increase of 2s. or 3s. per ton as the result of the operation of this Bill. I was sorry to hear my hon. friend who introduced the measure speaking of even 6d. per ton as the probable increase. We have heard these figures years before. The Workmen's Compensation Act was going to ruin industry by adding 1s. or 1s. 6d. per ton to the cost of coal. The experience of the working of the Act has proved that the actual cost is a little over 1d. per ton, and in some districts not so much; but I speak as a practical collier who has worked eleven hours and eight hours per day, and I can testify in this House that coal is produced in greater quantity, at less cost, and with more safety—a very important point—in the shorter working day than in the longer working day. I prove my point with regard to safety in this manner. A collier in a pit, when kept constantly at work, and when his hours are short, has all his faculties alert and active, he sees danger and makes provision against it; but when his hours are long inertia overtakes him, and he is not so alive to danger and so alert to protect himself against it. If it be true that the eight-hours day is going to add to the danger of the collier at work, why, I ask, do they adhere to the short working day in Durham and Northumberland of six and three-quarter hours? It has not increased the number of accidents; and if it has not done so in Durham, why dare any hon. Member say to this House that it would do so in other parts of the country?

I trust the House will not be misled by this fallacious argument. I use the word with all respect for my hon. friend. If the angels in heaven do weep, it must be when a representative of working men, paid by workmen to come to this House to protect the interests of workmen, draws forth the enthusiastic cheers of employers of labour in opposing a measure which is introduced for the benefit of working men. I trust that the House will remember that this matter in regard to the Durham miners does not affect the principle of the Bill. It is a fair subject for discussion in Committee. It is a matter that could possibly be arranged in Committee, and I confidently express the hope that no Member who otherwise would vote for this Bill will vote against it because of the opposition from the north of England. Whatever that opposition may be worth, is a question entirely and exclusively for Committee.

I trust the Second Reading of this Bill will be agreed to by this House, so that we may get rid of one large social question which excites more interest and arouses more support among people of all classes in the community than any other question. My hon. friend said that we only proposed to apply this rigid cast-iron rule to mining. He must have forgotten the Factory Acts. Under the Factory Acts we have the hours of labour rigidly regulated. No harm has come to the cotton trade on that account, and it is absurd to say that what was applied to the cotton trade with such marked benefit will not also be for the advantage of the mining industry.

SIR JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street): There has not been one solid argument brought forward by the promoters of the Bill to induce us to come to any different decision on this question from what the previous House of Commons came to. I have listened with very great interest indeed to the various speeches on this question to-day, and I must congratulate my hon. friend the Member for the Wansbeck Division, who happens to be my own representative, on the very clear statement he made of our case. I think the House will agree that not one solid argument which he advanced has been dealt with satisfactorily by those who have supported the Bill. Before the House should be induced to make a change on a great question of this kind, it is for the promoters of the Bill to show that that change is justified. I maintain that in the debate to-day, certainly, there has been no such justification given.

I confess I am very much surprised to find that workmen representing the mining industry of certain parts of the country are proposing legislation of this kind. The only thing which a workman has to sell is his labour, and here are those hon. Gentlemen coming forward and asking this House to tie his hands in dealing with the only thing he is at liberty to sell. Notwithstanding the sneers given at employers in this House to-day, I maintain that I am here as a representative of the working classes as much as any man in this House. The working class of the Division I represent sent me here specially to oppose this measure. I cannot help thinking that the feeling in favour of this sort of legislation is not gaining ground in the country. I have observed that although a certain number of gentlemen have been returned to promote this Bill from mining-class constituencies, yet there are a number of mining-class constituencies which persistently send gentlemen who hold opposite views to represent them in this House, and when hon. Members who have supported this measure state to me that the bulk of the working miners in the federation districts support their action in supporting this Bill, I reply they have not yet proved to my satisfaction that that is the case. They have taken no general ballot in the constituencies, so far as I am aware. I feel sure that if such a ballot were taken it would be found that a very large number of the miners were opposed to this legislation. I put alongside this that certain districts in the mining federation persistently return gentlemen to this House pledged to oppose the Bill. I think the House will agree with me that there is grave reason to doubt that the federation districts are practically unanimous on this question.

I admit that it is a most difficult thing to get the House of Commons to understand this question. Whilst I have been present in the House and heard the movers of the different Bills on this question, it is very seldom indeed that there has been a Member moving the Bill who has understood the question. There has been a great deal said with regard to the effect of this measure. I am not one of those who give estimates, because I know you cannot depend upon them. The hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil said it was an accepted statement when the Compensation Bill was before the House that it would raise the price of coal 1s. 6d. per ton. I challenge any Member of the House to point out to me where any such statement was made. I was present during the whole of the discussion, and, while I never pledged myself to any estimate, the sum stated was threepence per ton. I am happy to say that, so far as that estimate is concerned, the cost has been even less than that up to the present time. With regard to the effect of this measure, I am not going to say whether it would increase or decrease the output, because estimates dealing with a question of that kind are very unreliable. A colliery proprietor informed me that he put three pits on the eight-hours system, with the result, as regards output, that there was in one 22 per cent., in the second 22½ per cent., and in the third 23½ per cent. reduction. I am not prepared to say whether that would occur over the whole area of this country or not, but I am prepared to say, as one who has had considerable experience in the working of mines and the selling of minerals, that there are times when a shortage of five per cent. production as against consumption is sufficient to force up the price five shillings per ton, and there are occasions when an overplus of five per cent. as against consumption is a sufficient reason to bring the price down shillings per ton. The forming of estimates is quite unreasonable and unsatisfactory, so far as my experience goes. I can speak so far as the districts of Durham and Northumberland are concerned. While speaking of them I may say that I associate myself with almost the whole of the speech of the hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division. We are certainly in a peculiar position, as eighty per cent. of the production is exported. I can give a striking instance of what effect foreign competition has on the prices in these two counties from my experience during the last week or two. We have seen in Durham and Northumberland prices fall quickly—at a much quicker ratio than in other parts of the country. Coals which sold twelve months ago for exportation at 16s. to 17s. are to-day 9s. to 9s. 6d. That reduction is much greater than in other parts of the country. It is because we have the competition of Westphalia, Belgium, and France to contend with, and wherever we send our coals these countries have reduced their prices so enormously that we have been forced to follow suit, and any decrease in the production would limit the area we now supply and would give an increased area to our competitors—the Westphalian and Belgian coal-owners.

I listened to the speech of my hon. friend the Member for the North-West Division of Durham with great interest. When he speaks in this House I am never quite sure which side he is going to take, and when he sat down I failed to hear whether he was in favour of the Bill or opposed to it. I think every employer of labour is extremely anxious, if he can see his way, to give the boys and workmen he employs the best conditions both as regards hours and wages. When the hon. Member says that no great benefit has resulted from conciliation boards of workmen and employers in the north of England, he does not know the facts. In 1870 or 1871 there was an important measure passed in this House dealing with the regulation of mines. I may say that a representative meeting discussed that question, and it was decided then to reduce the working hours of boys from eleven to ten. That is one instance where a practical result has come from voluntary effort. If I had opportunity I could give a great many instances of that kind to show where it has been possible to arrange a reduction without interfering with the successful working of the industry. Many people act in dealing with a question of this kind with a light heart. In the north of England we have a system of conciliation boards and committees to deal with wages and all the conditions of employment in our mines. These boards have taken thirty years to build up. They consist of representatives of the men and masters, and if you pass this measure you completely upset the whole of this organisation. [Cries of "Divide."] I have a great deal more to say on the subject. ["Divide."] It has been stated again and again—["Divide."]—I do not think that the House has yet realised the fact that in Durham and Northumberland the boys are working exactly the same number of hours as in other parts of the country. ["Divide."]

MR. YOXALL: I beg to move that the question be now put.

*MR. SPEAKER: The motion of the hon. Member places me in a position of considerable difficulty, having regard on the one hand to the shortness of the debate and the importance of the question, and on the other hand to the length of time the measure has been before the country, and the extent to which it has been discussed inside and outside the House. On the whole, I have come to the conclusion that the proper course for me to adopt is to leave the House to decide the question.

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 231; Noes, 184. (Division List, No. 18.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Aird, Sir John
Allen, Chas. P. (Glouc., Stroud
Ambrose, Robert
Arrol, Sir William
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Bell, Richard
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Boulnois, Edmund
Boyle, James
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burdett-Coutts, W.

Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carew, James Laurence
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cawley, Frederick
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cogan, Denis J.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dewar, J. A. (Inverness-shire)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, James H.
Dunn, Sir William
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T.
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Green, Walford D. (Wednesb'ry
Gretton, John
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm.
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D.
Helder, Augustus
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Henderson, Alexander
Holland, William Henry
Hope, J F (Sheffield, Brightside)
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Howard, Capt. J (Kent, Faversh
Hozier, Hon. James Henry C.
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hughes, Colonel Edwin
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kinloch, Sir John George S.
Labouchere, Henry
Law, Andrew Bonar
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lecky, Rt. Hn. Wm. E. H.
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Lough, Thomas
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, Wm. (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin
Malcolm, Ian
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mellor, Rt. Hon. John William
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milton, Viscount
Mitchell, William
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Philipps, John Wynford
Pickard, Benjamin
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Remnant, James Farquharson
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt John (Forfarshire
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C R (Northants
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromwich
Stanley, Hon Arthur (Ormskirk
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alf. (Merthyr)
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan Gower
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Webb, Colonel William George
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Woodhouse, Sir J T (Hudd'rsfi'd
Wylie, Alexander
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Yoxall and Mr. Jacoby.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anstruther, H. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord

Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Maj. K. R. (Christchch
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. Gibson (King'sLynn
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alexander H. (Shropsh.
Burt, Thomas
Butcher, John George
Cavendish, V C W (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gibbs, Hn A. G. H. (City of Lond.
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred

Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S. Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton, Rt Hon Ld. G (Midd'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent Ashford
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynemouth
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Ed. Brodie (Hampstead
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Joicey, Sir James
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Kitson, Sir James
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lawson, John Grant
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, Rt. Hn. James (Kent)
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
Macartney, Rt. Hn. W G Ellison
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, W J H (Dumfriesshire
Milward, Colonel Victor
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire
Morgan, Hn. Fred. (Monm'thsh
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)

Muntz, Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Parkes, Ebenezer
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, Sir Joseph W. (Durham)
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Purvis, Robert
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Rentoul, James Alexander
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Round, James
Rutherford, John
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, James P. (Lanarks.)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Wm. E. Murray
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Welby, Lt.-Col. A C E (Taunton)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R (Bath)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander (Berks, E.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alfred Hickman and Mr. Fenwick.

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes, 212; Noes, 199. (Division List, No. 19.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, C. P. (Glouc., Stroud)
Ambrose, Robert
Arrol, Sir William
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H.
Austin, Sir John

Bain, Colonel James Robert
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Blake, Edward

Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Boyle, James
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John

Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caine, William Sproston
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carew, James Laurence
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cogan, Denis J.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Dunn, Sir William
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T.
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fison, Frederick William
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Green, Walford D (Wednesbury
Gretton, John
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir William
Hardie, J Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helder, Augustus
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Alexander
Holland, William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hughes, Colonel Edwin
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jones, David Brynmor (Swans'a
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kenyon, James (Lancs., Bury)
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
Labouchere, Henry
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Lough, Thomas
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Lundon, W.
MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Govern, T.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Charles Benjamin
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mellor, Rt. Hn. John William
Milton, Viscount
Mitchell, William
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muntz, Philip A.
Murphy, J.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. Jn. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipper'ry Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, Jas (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Philipps, John Wynford
Pickard, Benjamin
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rutherford, John
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Seton-Karr, Henry
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfarsh.)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C R (N'rthants
Spencer, Ernest (W. Bromwich
Stanley, Hon Arthur (Ormskirk
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore Cooke
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas, J A (Glamorg'n, Gower
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Webb, Colonel William George
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, Fred W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
Wilson, Henry J. (Yorks, W. R.
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wodehouse, Hn. Armine (Essex
Woodhouse, Sir J T (Hudd'rsfi'd
Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Yoxall and Mr. Jacoby.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anstruther, H. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Maj K. R (Christchurch
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, Arthur

Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brookfield, Colonel Montagu
Brown, Alex. H. (Shropshire)
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butt, Thomas
Butcher, John George
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph Cockfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duncan, James H.
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, George Denison
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, Hn A. G. H (City of Lond.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E (Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Thomas Frederick
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Ld G (Midd'x
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashfd.
Harris, F Leverton (Tynemouth
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Higginbottom, S. W.
Hoare, Edw. Brodie (Hampstd.
Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, E.
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Capt J. (Kent, Faversh
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnston, Heywood (Sussex)
Joicey, Sir James
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Kitson, Sir James
Knowles, Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar
Lawson, John Grant
Lecky, Rt. Hon. William Ed. H.
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N S.
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, Rt. Hon James (Kent)
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reganild J. (Portsmouth
Lyttleton, Hon. Alfred
Macartney, Rt. Hon. W. G. E.
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, W J H (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milward, Colonel Victor
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire
Morgan, Hn. Fred. (Monm'thsh
Morris, Hon. Martin Henry F.
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford
Murray, Rt Hn A Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Parkes, Ebenezer
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, Sir Joseph W. (Durham)
Penn, John
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Purvis, Robert
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Charles Bine
Rentoul, James Alexander
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ritchie, Rt. Hon Chas Thomson
Ropner, Colonel Robert
Round, James
Russell, T. W.
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J
Sharpe, W. E. T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, James P. (Lanarks.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, W. Edw. Murray
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir W. H.
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Welby, Lt.-Col. A C E (Taunton)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Commander (Berks. E.)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alfred Hickman and Mr. Fenwick.

MR. YOXALL claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

NEW BILLS.

VACCINATION.

Bill to amend the Vaccination Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Sir John Rolleston, Mr. Channing, and Mr. Grant.

VACCINATION BILL.

"To amend the Vaccination Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 20th March, and to be printed. [Bill 71.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN (SCOTLAND).

Bill to prohibit the sale or supply of Liquors to Children in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cameron Corbett, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Andrew Agnew, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Baird, Mr. Law, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Hozier, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Orr-Ewing, and Mr. J. Wilson.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To prohibit the sale or supply of Liquors to Children in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 72.]

THE OGADEN SOMALIS.

On the motion for the Adjournment of the House,

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.) asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he had any further information to give the House in respect of the reported British check in Somaliland.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Viscount CRANBORNE, Rochester): I cannot give any details beyond those which have appeared in the press. It is quite true that the punitive expedition sent to avenge the death of Mr. Jenner were engaged with the enemy at a place about fifty miles northwest of Aff Madu; that they beat the enemy off; and that there was a loss of about forty killed and wounded on our side and an estimated loss of 250 on the enemy's side. After the engagement the commandant of the forces, Colonel Ternan, returned to Aff Madu, where he is at present.

Adjourned at Six of the clock.

In pursuance of Standing Order No. 1, "Sittings of the House," I hereby nominate—

The Right Honourable Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley,
Mr. John Edward Ellis,
Mr. Edward Blake,
Mr. Arthur Frederick Jeffreys, and
Mr. Henry Hobhouse,

to act during this Session as temporary Chairmen of Committees when requested by the Chairman of Ways and Means.

William Court Gully,
Speaker.

27th February, 1901.

[APPENDIX.

Appendix I.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME LXXXIX.

The figures in parentheses in the last column relate to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following the title indicates that the Bill originated in the Lords.

(A.) House of Lords.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Cremation [H.L.]	*Lord Monkswell*	Read 1^a 21 Feb (650)
Habitual Drunkards [H.L.]	*Bishop of Winchester*	Read 1^a 19 Feb. (436)
Intoxicating Liquor (Sale to Travellers) [H.L.]	*Bishop of Winchester*	Read 1^a 19 Feb. (436)
Licensing Sessions [H.L.]	*Bishop of Winchester*	Read 1^a 19 Feb. (436)
Light Load Line [H.L.]	*Lord Muskerry*	Read 1^a 19 Feb. (436)
Merchant Shipping 1894 Amendment [H.L.]	*Lord Muskerry*	Read 1^a 21 Feb. (650)
Select Vestries [H.L.]	———	Read 1^a 14 Feb. (30)
Trawlers' Certificates Suspension [H.L.]	*Earl of Camperdown*	Read 1^a 25 Feb. (978

(B.) House of Commons.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by.	Progress.
Beer	*Mr. Purvis*	Read 1^o 19 Feb. (450)
Benefices	*Major Rasch*	Read 1^o 22 Feb. (903)
Borough Funds Acts Amendment	*Sir Albert Rollit*	Read 1^o 19 Feb. (460)
Church Discipline	*Mr. Charles M'Arthur*	Read 1^o 22 Feb. (904)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Coal Mines (Employment)	*Sir Thomas Roe*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (451)
Coal Mines Regulation	*Sir Charles Dilke*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (461)
Colonial Marriages	*General Laurie*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (904)
Compensation for Damage to Crops, etc.	*Mr. Hudson*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (452)
Congested Districts (Ireland	*Mr. Flynn*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (450)
Constabulary (Ireland)	*Mr. Condon*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (459)
Contempt of Court	*Mr. P. A. M'Hugh*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (464)
Conveyance of Cycles	*Sir Howard Vincent*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (902)
Coroners' Inquests (Railway Fatalities) [48]	*Mr. Channing*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (463)
Crimes Act (Ireland) Repeal	*Mr. William Abraham (Cork)*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (456)
Education (Young Children) (School Attendance) (Scotland)	*Mr. Pirie*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (451)
Electoral Disabilities Removal	*Mr. O'Doherty*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (460)
Evicted Tenants (Ireland)	*Mr. T. P. O'Connor*	Read 1° 20 Feb. (645)
Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities	*Sir Charles Dilke*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (461)
Friendly Societies Disqualification Removal	*Mr. Strachey*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (464)
Irish Lights	*Mr. Patrick White*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (458)
Jurors' Expenses	*Mr. Lloyd Morgan*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (458)
Jurors (Ireland)	*Mr. William M'Killop*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (463)
Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment	*Mr. J. P. Farrell*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (453)
Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act (1854) Amendment	*Mr. M'Crae*	Read 1° 26 Feb. (1239)
Land Tenure	*Mr. Lambert*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (452)
Land Tenure (Wales)	*Mr. Osmond Williams*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (456)
Leasehold Enfranchisement (England and Wales)	*General Laurie*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (462)
Legal Procedure (Ireland)	*Mr. T. M. Healy*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (452)
Licences (Ireland)	*Mr. T. W. Russell*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (453)
Local Government (Ireland) Amendment	*Mr. Crean*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (455)
Local Government (Scotland) Act (1894) Amendment	*Mr. Cathcart Wason*	Read 1° 26 Feb. (1237)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by.	Progress.
Manhood Suffrage (Ireland)	*Mr. M'Fadden*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (457)
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister	*Sir Brampton Gurdon*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (452)
Medical Act (1858) Extension	*General Laurie*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (903)
Members of Parliament (Resignation of Seats)	*Mr. Loder*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (458)
Merchandise Marks Act (1887) Amendment	*Sir Howard Vincent*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (902)
Mines (Eight Hours)	*Mr. Yoxall*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (451)
Old Age Pensions	*Mr. Channing*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (455)
Old Age Pensions (No. 2)	*Mr. Bull*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (457)
Old Age Pensions (No. 3)	*Mr. J. W. Wilson*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (458)
Old Age Pensions (No. 4)	*Sir Fortescue Flannery*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (901)
Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies)	*Mr. Wingfield-Digby*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (454)
Outlawries	——	Read 1° 14 Feb. (67)
Police Superannuation (Scotland)	*Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk)*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (449)
Poor Law Officers' Superannuation (Scotland)	*Mr. Maxwell*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (453)
Poor Law Superannuation (Ireland)	*Mr. O'Malley*	Read 1° 26 Feb. 1238
Private Legislation Procedure (Ireland)	*Mr. Hemphill*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (455)
Public Trustee and Executor	*Sir Howard Vincent*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (903)
Public Worship Regulation Act (1874) Amendment	*Mr. H. D. Greene*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (463)
Re-afforesting (Ireland)	*Mr. Nolan*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (462)
Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal	*Mr. Tully*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (456)
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland)	*Mr. William Johnston*	Read 1° 20 Feb. (645)
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday	*Mr. Charles Wilson*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (462
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children	*Mr. Crombie*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (450
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children (Scotland)	*Mr. Cameron Corbett*	Read 1° 27 Feb. (1399)
Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts Amendment	*Mr. Seton-Karr*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (457)
Shops	*Sir Charles Dilke*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (461)
Small Dwellings Acquisition Act (1899) Amendment	*Mr. Horner*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (460)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge)	*Mr. Jacoby*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (454)
Teachers of Music (Registration	*Colonel Brookfield*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (903)
Tenants' Improvement (Ireland)	*Major Jameson*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (456) Withdrawn 26 Feb. (1178)
Tenants' Improvement (Ireland) (No. 2)	*Major Jameson*	Read 1° 26 Feb. (1178)
Tied Houses Abolition	*Mr. Broadhurst*	Read 1° 20 Feb. (646)
Trawlers' Certificates Suspension [17]	*Mr. Bignold*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (454)
Ulster Custom [55]	*Mr. William Moore*	Read 1° 20 Feb. (646)
Vaccination	*Mr. Broadhurst*	Read 1° 27 Feb. (1398)
Volunteers (Ireland)	*Mr. Thomas O'Donnell*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (459)
Wages Boards	*Sir Charles Dilke*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (462)
Water and Light Supply (Ireland)	*Mr. Conor O'Kelly*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (459)
Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment	*Mr. Sydney Buxton*	Read 1° 19 Feb. (460)
Workmen's Compensation Act 1897 Amendment (No. 2)	*Mr. M'Kenna*	Read 1° 20 Feb. (645)
Workmen's Houses Tenure	*Mr. Colville*	Read 1° 22 Feb. (904)

Appendix II.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. SESSION 1901.

List of Rules, Orders, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Intermediate Education (Ireland),—Copy of Time Table of Examinations for 1901 [41 and 42 Vic., c. 66, s. 6]	14 February	40 days
Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877,—Copy of Order in Council, dated 28th December, 1900, giving effect to Rules of Court [40 and 41 Vic., c. 57, s. 69]	14 February	100 sitting days
Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877,—Copy of Order in Council, dated 30th January, 1901, giving effect to a Rule of Court [40 and 41 Vic., c. 57, s. 69]	14 February	100 sitting days
Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 (Rules),—Copy of Rules made under the Act for the execution of the Judicial duties in the Fisheries (Ireland) Acts, 1842 to 1898 [62 and 63 Vic., c. 50, s. 28 (2)]	14 February	40 Days
Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 (Rules),—Copy of Amended Rules for the Administration of Loans under The Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act, 1884 [62 and 63 Vic., c. 50, s. 28 (2)].	14 February	40 days
Union of Benefices Act (All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge),—Copy of Scheme for effecting an union of the Benefices of All Saints, Knightsbridge, and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge [23 and 24 Vic., c. 142, s. 15]	15 February	Two calendar months
Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 (Ordinance),—Copy of University Court Ordinance No. III. (St. Andrews No. 1) (Foundation of the Bute Chair of Anatomy in the University of St. Andrews) [52 and 53 Vic., c. 55, s. 20]	15 February	12 weeks
Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 (Ordinance),—Copy of University Court Ordinance No. IV. (St. Andrews No. 2) (Foundation of the Chandos Chair of Physiology in the University of St. Andrews) (52 and 53 Vic., c. 55, s. 20]	15 February	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford)—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, on 20th June, 1900, altering Statutes III., V., XIII., and XVI., of the Statutes of that College [25 and 26 Vic., c. 26, s. 7]	15 February	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, under the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877, on 10th October, 1900, and sealed on the 23rd day of October, 1900, altering Statute III. of the Statutes of that College [25 and 26 Vic., c. 26, s. 7]	15 February	12 weeks

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Cambridge),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of the University of Cambridge, under the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877, on 13th October, 1900, altering Statute B of the University [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	15 February	12 weeks
Endowed Schools Act, 1869, and Amending Acts,—Copy of Scheme under The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, and Amending Acts, for the Management of the Charity of William Price, in the parish of Fareham, in the county of Southampton, founded by Will dated 24th August, 1721 [36 and 37 Vic., c. 87, s. 15]	15 February	2 months
Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899,—Copy of Additional and Amending General Orders for the Regulation of Proceedings under and in pursuance of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 [62 and 63 Vic., c. 47, s. 15]	19 February	One month
Board of Education,—Copy of Minute of the Board of Education, dated 31st July, 1900, modifying Article 101 (g) of the Day School, 1900 [33 and 34 Vic., c. 75, s. 97]	20 February	1 month
Public Records (Paymaster General's Department),—Copy of Second Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents which have been removed from the Office of His Majesty's Paymaster General, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	21 February	4 weeks
Public Records (Court of Common Pleas),—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents of Her late Majesty's Courc of Common Pleas at Westminster, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	21 February	4 weeks
Inebriate Retreats (Rules for Management),—Copy of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the Domestic Management of the Corngreaves Hall Retreat, licensed as a Retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899 [61 and 62 Vic., c. 60, s. 21 (1)]	25 February	4 weeks (whilst the House is sitting)

INDEX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

[AUTHORISED EDITION].

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1901.

JANUARY 23—FEBRUARY 27.

EXPLANATION OF ARRANGEMENT AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills: Read First, Second, or Third Time = 1R., 2R., 3R. [*c.*] = Commons. [*l.*] = Lords. *Amendt.* = Amendment. *Os.* = Observations. *Qs.* = Questions. *As.* = Answers. *Com.* = Committee. *Con.* = Consideration. Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that Stage of the Bill, or on that Vote. Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Members' Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee.

Aberdare

Military Aid to Civil Power, Local Liability—Agreements made for Catering by Local Justices, etc.
Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 22*, 856.

Aberdeen

Post Office Buildings, Date of Commencement of New Buildings
Q. Mr. Bryce; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 26*, 1198.

Volunteers—Stock of Ammunition
Q. Mr. Maconochie; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1188.

Aberdeen University

Annual Statistical Report Presented, *Feb. 27*, 1324.

Abraham, Mr. W. [Glamorganshire]

Business of the House, Precedence of Government Business—Mines (Eight Hours) Bill Discussion, *Feb. 26*, 1222.

Academy

see Royal Academy.

Accessions

Oaths and Declarations made by Heads of States on Accession — Address for Return, *Feb. 19*, 586.

Accidents

Railway Accidents, *see* Railways.

Address in Answer to the King's Speech

see King's Speech.

Aden

European General Hospital at—Arrangements between Admiralty and Indian Government for Nursing Staff, etc.
Q. Mr. Moon; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 25*, 1029.

Military Charges, *see* India—Finance.

Admiralty

First Lord—Rt. Hon. Earl of Selborne.
Secretary—Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.
Civil Lord of the Admiralty—Mr. E. G. Pretyman.

New Building—Delay in Erection of Colonnade
Q. Mr. Whitmore; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 22*, 854.

[*see also* Navy]

Adulteration of Food

Imported Food, Number of Samples Analysed in 1900
Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1041.

Africa

Congo Free State, *see* that title.

Africa, East

Uganda Railway, Supply of Bridges, Names of British and American Firms, who tendered, Amounts of Tenders, etc.—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 68.

Africa, South
Transvaal, Orange River Colony, etc., *see* those titles.
War, *see* South African War.

Africa, West
Waima Incident, *see* that title.

Aged and Deserving Poor
Old Age Pensions, *see* that title.

Agnew Sir A. [Edinburgh, S.]
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 77.

Agrarian Outrages, Ireland
Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 69.

Agricultural Rating Act
Rates, Amount levied in England and Wales 1896 and 1900—Return Proposed
Qs. Mr. H. Hobhouse, Mr. G. Whiteley, Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 25*, 1036; *Q.* Mr. Spear; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Feb. 26*, 1198.
Renewal
Qs. Mr. G. Whiteley; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 498; *Feb. 21*, 708.

Agricultural Seeds Standards
Departmental Committee—Report and Evidence with Appendices and Index Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 655.
Scheme for Improvement, etc.—Distribution of Seeds to Irish Farmers
Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 863.

Agriculture
Compensation for Damage to Crops Bill, *see* that title.
Irish Commissioner in England, Proposed Appointment of, to protect Irish interests, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.
Russia, Odessa District—Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Agriculture, Board of
President—Rt. Hon. R. W. Hanbury.

Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act
Rules under Section 3—Copy Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.
Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund Act, Administration of Loans under—Amended Rules Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.
see also Ireland—Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department.

Aire and Calder Navigation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

lbatross
Capture of, on Ocean-going Steamers—Alleged Cases of Cruelty
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 480.

Albion Steam Coal Company Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Aldeburgh Corporation (Water) Bill
c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 825.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 989.

Aldershot
Paget's Horse Recruits—Lack of Arrangements
Q. Mr. Bartley; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 847.
Yeomanry Recruits. Treatment of—Alleged want of proper Clothing and Accommodation, etc.
Q Mr. H. Lewis; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 670.

Aldershot Gas and Water Bill
c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 989.

Aldridge's Repository
Purchase of Army Horses—Inspection by Government Purchasers, Number purchased, etc.
Q. Mr. Philipps; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 847.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 989.

Alfreton Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Aliens
Immigration.
Legislative Prospects.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 178.
Number of Aliens arriving in United Kingdom in each month of 1901—Return Presented, *Feb. 18*, 290; *Feb. 19*, 441.
Naturalisation of—Proposed Reduction of Fees, etc.
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 21*, 683.

All Saints and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge
Scheme for Union of Benefices Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54; *Feb. 15*, 169.

Allan, Mr. W. [Gateshead]
Naval Ships and Watertube Boilers—Belleville Boilers, Royalties, *Feb. 22*, 852.
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Facilities for the Foreign Press, *Feb. 18*, 312.

Allen, Mr. C. [Gloucestershire, Stroud]
Maidstone Election Petition—Amendment of Law Relating to Corrupt Practices, *Feb. 25*, 1060.

Allotments
Scotland. *see* that title.

America
see United States.

America, South
Patagonia, *see* that title.

Anglo-German Agreement
see China—Anti-Foreign Rising.

Angola
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 19*, 435.

Animals
Contagious Diseases, *see* that title.
Vivisection — Petition for Prohibition, *Feb. 18*, 288.

Annally Estate
Tenant Purchasers' Applications—Delay in supplying Vesting Orders, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 485

Antwerp
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50.

Appeal Court
Court of Final Appeal
Qs. Sir A. Agnew, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *Feb. 14*, 81, 97.

Appropriation Accounts
Army—Account for 1899-1900 Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167.
Civil Services and Revenue Departments—Accounts for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 18*, 288.
Navy—Account for 1899-1900 Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167.

Ardagh
National School — Building Estimates, Proposed Supplemental Grant towards Excess claimed, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 870.

Argentine Horses
see Horses.

Arlesey Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Armagh
Commission of Peace for South Armagh—Return
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1206

Armagh and Kingscourt Railway Scheme
Great Northern Railway Company Monopoly
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 26*, 1202.
Johnson, Mr., Allegation against
Q. Mr. M'Fadden; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 25*, 1049.

Army
Secretary of State—Rt. Hon. St. John Brodrick.
Under-Secretary—Lord Raglan.
Financial Secretary—Lord Stanley.
Aldershot, *see* that title.
Australasia—Imperial Representative Contingent, *see* Australasia.

Army—*cont.*
Barracks
Act of 1890—Account Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1175.
Furnishing Quarters of Officers, etc., proposed
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 848.
Cavalry Establishments—Permanent Organisation at home, Three or four Squadrons
Q. Major Rasch; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1185.
Chaplains—Roman Catholic Chaplains, Discontinuing Payment out of Public Funds, proposed
Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 474.
Chelsea Hospital—Account for 1900 with Report of Comptroller and Auditor General Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167; *Feb. 19*, 438.
Civil Disturbances, Employment of Troops—Expenses, Billeting Rates, etc.
Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 473.
Aberdare Tradesmen's Losses, etc.
Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 22*, 856.
Colvile, Gen., *see* Colvile.
Committee of Defence—Joint Naval and Military Committee, Constitution and Terms of Reference, etc.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Foster, *Feb. 15*, 171.
Contracts
German Firms, Contracts given to
Saddles for South Africa
Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 848.
Vegetable Contract—Order given to Seidel & Co., Münsterberg
Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 850.
Horse-shoe Nails, Contract with United Horse Shoe and Nail Co.—Placing Contract elsewhere, etc.
Qs. Sir H. Vincent, Mr. P. O'Brien; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1028.
Irish Firms
Beer Contracts at the Curragh given to English Firm
Q. Mr. P. White; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 297; *Qs.* Mr. Daly, Mr. Nannetti; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 674; *Q.* Mr. Field; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 850.
Changes introduced in Contract System — Employment of Irish Local Merchants, etc.
Qs. Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Flynn; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 673.

Army—*cont.*

Contracts—*cont.*

Irish Firms—*cont.*

Depot for Receiving Tenders at Dublin, Establishing
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1187.

Dublin Barracks, *see* title Dublin.

Forage, Purchase of, in Ireland—local Contracts, etc.
Qs. Mr. Daly, Mr. Field; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 675.

Foreign Materials supplied to Troops—Complaints

Local Contractors—Decrease in Number, Returns, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 296.

Meat and Forage
Qs. Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. M'Fadden; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1023.
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 297.

Portland Cement—Inviting Tenders from Abroad, etc.
Q. Col., Tufnell; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25* 1026, 1029

Secrecy as to Prices—Horses purchased in Ireland, etc.
Q. Col. Nolan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1189.

War Office Reform Committee—Allocation of Contracts, etc., Proposed Reforms
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 671.

Defence of the Empire, *see* that title.

Discipline and Training of the Army, Lessons of the South African War—Inquiry proposed
O. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 25*, 1100.

Engineers, Royal—Building Work, Comparative Cost of Civil and Military Work
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 850.

Forage, *see* sub-heading Contracts—Irish Firms, etc.

Guns

German Guns—Number imported, Calibre, Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 848.

Mountain Batteries, Design of Gun
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1184.

Horses, *see* that title.

India, *see* that title.

Inventions, *see* title War Office.

Meat—Foreign Produce supplied to Troops in Ireland, *see* sub-heading Contracts—Irish Firms.

Army—*cont.*

Medical Corps, Royal

Military Rank
Os. Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 520; Dr. Farquharson, 552.

Report of the South African Hospitals Commission — Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 228; *Feb. 18*, 389; *Feb. 19*, 552.

Medical Department Reforms, Report of Hospitals Commission—Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 219, 264; *Feb. 18*, 389; *Feb. 19*, 519, 552.

Military Forces in South Africa, 1899-1901—Return Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648; *Feb. 22*, 837.

Military Inquiries—Question of the Publication of Proceedings, etc.
Os. Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1091; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 1095; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1097.

Military Savings Banks, *see* that title.

Militia, *see* that title.

Mountain Batteries, Armament of
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1184.

Officers

Failure of Officers at the Front, Re employment in Great Britain
O. Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1092.

Rates of Pay and Expenses of Living
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 670.

Retired Officers serving in the Militia, *see* title Militia.

Ordnance Factories

Appropriation Account Presented, *Feb. 25*, 1011.

Expenses, Sums required for—Copy Presented, *Feb. 25*, 1012.

Patriotic Volunteers *v.* Trained Men
O. Mr. Lambert, *Feb. 25*, 1074.

Paymaster-General's Department—Documents of not Sufficient Value to Justify Preservation, Schedule, *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.

Pensions

Officers and Men Permanently Disabled while on Active Service
Q. Mr. Levy; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 472.

Outdoor Relief, Applications for—Case of W. Miller
Q. Mr. Delany; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1027.

Widows and Orphans of Soldiers killed in War—Government Scheme, *see* title War Relief Funds.

Recruits—Under Age Recruits, Case of Edward Moore
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 474.

Reform—Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 228; *Feb. 19*, 541; *Feb. 26*, 33, 36, 37, 41, 77, 79, 97, 116, 140.

Reinforcements for South Africa, *see* South African War.

Army—*cont.*

Reserve Regiments, Royal—Re-engagement, Delay in Communicating Terms, etc.
Q. Mr. Warner; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 18*, 294.

Reserve — Section D, Men Serving in South Africa and Detained with the Colours Contrary to Terms of Engagement
Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1185.

Reservists — Guildford Corporation Refusing to allow Employment of Reservists in Borough Fire Brigade Department
Q. General Laurie; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 467.

Rifle Clubs and Rifle Ranges, *see* those titles.

Saddles, *see* sub-heading Contracts—German Firms.

Separation Allowance, *see* South African War.

South African Constabulary, Soldiers joining with less than six years' Service —Purchasing Discharge, etc.
Q. Mr. T. L. Corbett; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 663.

South African War, *see* that title.

Staff of the Army—Reorganisation
O. Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 117.

Training, Defects of—Insufficient Field Training
O. Mr. Lambert, *Feb. 25*, 1072.

Under Secretary for War — Permanent Under Secretary Appointment
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 474.

Veterinary Department—Proposed Abolition of Prefix to Titles of Officers
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 18*, 299.

Volunteers, *see* that title, also South African War.

War Office, *see* that title.

Yeomanry, *see* that title, also South African War.

Army Estimates

Appropriation Account for 1899-1900 Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167.

Effective and Non-Effective Services, *Feb. 25*, 1012.

Supplementary Estimates Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1176.

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O., *Secretary to the Admiralty* [Belfast, W.]

Aden—European General Hospital, Nursing Staff, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1030.

Boilers—Water-tube Boilers
Belleville Boilers
Fitting Ships with, pending Report of Committee, *Feb. 18*, 301.
Number supplied to Navy, Royalties, etc., *Feb. 22*, 852, 853.

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O.—*cont.*

Boilers—Water-tube Boilers—*cont.*
Committee of Inquiry
Ocean Trial proposed, *Feb. 18*, 302; *Feb. 22*, 851.
Report, *Feb. 19*, 475.

Cadets' Overcoats — Illness on H.M.S. Britannia, *Feb. 21*, 677; *Feb. 25*, 1030.

Chaplains—Roman Catholic Chaplains for the Fleet, *Feb. 22*, 853; *Feb. 26*, 1189.

China—Loot from Peking, *Feb. 21*, 680, 681.

Committee of Defence, Joint Naval and Military Committee—Constitution and Functions, *Feb. 15*, 172.

Reynolds, T., Case of—Pension, *Feb. 21*, 677.

South African War
Boer Prisoners, Escape of from British Ships, *Feb. 21*, 661.
Naval Brigade—Honours for Warrant Officers, *Feb. 21*, 675.

Submarine Boats—Action of the Admiralty, etc., *Feb. 21*, 676.

Warrant Officers' Widows' Annuities—Case of Mrs. Ball, *Feb. 21*, 676.

Arsenic in Beer
see Beer.

Arterial Drainage
see Drainage.

Ash Wednesday

Sittings of the House
Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *Feb. 19*, 498.

Ashanti Rising

Expedition Commanded by Sir J. Willcocks, Success of, etc.—Reference to in the King's Speech, *Feb. 14*, 28.

References to in Debate on the Address, 33, 41, 76, 96.

Ashmead - Bartlett, Sir E. [Sheffield, Ecclesall]

China—Anti-Foreign Rising
Allied Forces, Charges against Troops, etc., *Feb. 14*, 136.
Manchuria — Russo - Chinese Agreement, *Feb. 25*, 1032.

Gibraltar Dock and Harbour Works—Safety, Adequacy and Defensibility of Scheme, *Feb. 25*, 1068.

Horses for the Army
Purchase of, in Argentina, etc., *Feb. 18*, 295.
Purchase of, in England, Ireland, and other Countries, *Feb. 22*, 845.

King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 125; *Feb. 25*, 1079.

Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Members' Stand, *Feb. 19*, 497.

[*cont.*

Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir E.—*cont.*
Questions to Ministers—Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from answering Supplemental Questions, *Feb. 18*, 323, 339; *Feb. 22*, 872.
South African Conciliation Committee and Lieut. Morrison's Letter, *Feb. 26*, 1181.
South African Settlement, *Feb. 14*, 129.
South African War—
  Charges against British Troops—Peace Negotiations between Sir R. Buller and General Botha, etc., *Feb. 14*, 126.
  Horses, Supply of, *Feb. 15*, 263.
  Nooitgedacht Reverse—Number killed and wounded, etc., *Feb. 15*, 170.
  Reinforcements—Imperial Yeomanry, Insufficient Supply of Horses, etc., *Feb. 14*, 129.
  Reinforcements of Mounted Troops, *Feb. 19*, 468.
  Surrender of British Troops—Inquiry, *Feb. 25*, 1079.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1309; *Feb. 27* 1343, 1344, 1351.

Asia Minor
British Consular Establishments, Extension of, to Baku, Tiflis, etc.
  Q. Mr. Norman; *A.* Viscount Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 305.

Aspatria, Silloth and District Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H. [Fife, East]
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 503.
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 882.
South African War.
  Inquiry—General Inquiry, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1102.
  Surrender of Arms — Pro-Boer Speeches, Termination of the War, Settlement after the War, etc., *Feb. 19*, 503.

Assizes
Circuit System, *see* that title.

Assurance Companies
Statements of Account and Abstracts of Actuarial Reports, Presented, *Feb. 27*, 1324.

Asylums
see Lunatic Asylums.

Atherley Jones, Mr. L. [Durham, N.W.]
Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R., *Feb. 27*, 1379.
South African War—Strength of Boer Forces, Number of Prisoners, etc., *Feb. 22*, 844.

Atherstone, Mr.
Clerk to Bloemfontein Provost Marshal—Conviction for murder of Native in 1894, etc.
  Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1022.

Atkinson, Rt. Hon. J.—*Attorney-General for Ireland* [Londonderry, N.]
Armagh and Kingscourt Railway Scheme - Great Northern Company Monopoly, *Feb. 26*, 1203.
Cork Coroner summoning Executioner Billington to attend Inquest, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1056, 1057.
Enniscorthy Asylum, Auditing Accounts—Charge, etc., *Feb. 21*, 706.
Irish Grievances—Charges against the Executive, Jury Packing, etc., *Feb. 22*, 940.
Johnston, Mr., Armagh Magistrate, allegations against, *Feb. 25*, 1050.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 22*, 940.
Sligo County Council—Court House Flag Incident, *Feb. 26*, 1204.
United Irish League, Boycotting and Intimidation by—Question of the Legality of Organisation, etc., *Feb. 22*, 940.

Automatic Couplings
Substitution of, on Railways, proposed
  Q. Mr. Bell; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 309.

Australasia
Cornwall and York's, Duke of, Visit, *see* Cornwall and York.
Imperial Representative Contingent Expenses
  Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1188.
Old Age Pensions Systems — Laying Returns on the Table, etc.
  Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 682.
South African Constabulary, Recruiting for, *see* South African Constabulary.
[For particular Colonies, *see* their Names.]

Austria-Hungary
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Avebury, Lord
Shops, Early Closing—Select Committee of Inquiry, *Feb. 26*, 1168, 1171.

Baku
British Consular Establishment Proposed
  Q. Mr. Norman; *A.* Visct. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 305.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*First Lord of the Treasury* [Manchester, E.]
Aged and Deserving Poor—Legislative Prospects, 1901, *Feb. 22*, 874.
Agricultural Land Rating Act and Tithe Rent Charge (Rates) Act—Renewal, *Feb. 19*, 498; *Feb. 21*, 709.
Alien Immigration—Legislative Prospects, *Feb. 15*, 178.
Ballot for Bills and Motions—Standing Order Proposed, Motion, *Feb. 15*, 179, 180.
China—Charges against Allied Troops, *Feb. 14*, 102.
Civil List—Following Precedent of 1837, *Feb. 21*, 710.

[*cont.*

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*cont.*
- Coronation, Cost of, *Feb. 21*, 710; *Feb. 22*, 874.
- Coronation Oath—Proposed Alteration, *Feb. 15*, 178.
- Domestic Legislation, Prospects of the Session 1901, *Feb. 14*, 100.
- Education, Scotland—Legislative Prospects, 1901, *Feb. 19*, 496.
- Financial Business—Precedence of Government Business, Motion, *Feb. 26*, 1209, 1217, 1227.
- Gibraltar Dock and Harbour Works—Safety, Adequacy and Defensibility of Scheme, *Feb. 25*, 1064.
- Irish Land Acts Maladministration, Compulsory Purchase of Land, proposed etc., *Feb. 21*, 746.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 99; *Feb. 21*, 746; *Feb. 25*, 1097.
- Licensing Reform, *Feb. 14*, 101.
- Maidstone Election Petition
  - Corrupt Practices — Amendment of Law Proposed, *Feb. 25*, 1060
  - Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 886.
- Municipal Trading—Appointment of Joint Committee, Affording Opportunity for Debate, *Feb. 21*, 710.
- Parliament, State Opening of—Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 15*, 176, 177; *Feb. 19*, 495.
  - Joint Committee of Inquiry—Press Accommodation Inquiry, *Feb. 26*, 1208.
- Queen Victoria, Death of—Reply to the King's Message, *Jan. 25*, 19.
- Questions—Under-Secretary of State prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 329, 334; *Feb. 22*, 872.
- Roman Catholic Chaplains for the Army and Navy, *Feb. 19*, 475.
- Roman Catholic University, Ireland, Question, *Feb. 21*, 798.
- Roman Catholicism, King's Declaration against
  - Abolition of, proposed, *Feb. 18*, 320.
  - Bill of Rights, Declaration prescribed by—Effect of Act of 1866, etc., *Feb. 22*, 872.
- Royal Academy—Sculptors, Architects, etc., increase in number of Members, proposed, *Feb. 21*, 709.
- South African Emigration Settlement Commission, Report—Date of Issue, *Feb. 21*, 658.
- South African War
  - Conclusion of the War—Policy of the Government, etc., *Feb. 14*, 109.
  - Conclusion of the War and the General Election Campaign—"The War is over," etc., *Feb. 14*, 103.
  - Grants to Generals, proposed, *Feb. 21*, 658.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*cont.*
- South African War—*cont.*
  - Inquiry—Management of the War, Surrender of British Troops, Publication of Proceedings, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1095, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100; *Feb. 26*, 1179.
  - Memorial — Proposed Imperial Memorial to British and Colonial Troops, etc., *Feb. 21*, 657.
  - Outrages by British Troops, alleged—Lieut. Morrison's Statement, *Feb. 21*, 657.
  - Peace Negotiations between Sir R. Buller and General Botha, Terms of Surrender, etc., *Feb. 14*, 105; *Feb. 18*, 291.
  - Pensions for Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors—Government Scheme, *Feb. 15*, 171.
  - Pro-Boers—Encouragement and Inspiration to the Enemies, *Feb. 14*, 108.
- Supply
  - Motions for Reductions not moved for the purpose of diminishing Government Expenditure, *Feb. 27*, 1332.
  - Sessional Order, *Feb. 25*, 1060; *Feb. 26*, 1291; *Feb. 27*, 1329, 1332, 1340 1345, 1348, 1352.
  - Tuesdays, substituting for Fridays, *Feb. 25*, 1061.
- Teachers, Dismissal of—Legislation proposed, *Feb. 19*, 495.
- Ways and Means—Amendments to Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, etc., Notice of Motion, *Feb. 25*, 1060.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.—*President of the Board of Trade* [Leeds, Central]
- Birds, Song Birds and Albatross—Cruelty in Capturing, *Feb. 19*, 481.
- Chelsea Electricity Supply Company, giving Preferential Rate to Users of 200 Volts, *Feb. 18*, 309.
- Electric Trams—Standard Gauge Proposed, *Feb. 21*, 685.
- Holyhead Mail Pier, Erection of—Sale of Property to London and N.W. Railway Company, Abandonment of, etc., *Feb. 21*, 686.
- Irish Questions.
  - Dredger, Loss of, in Cork Harbour—Inspection, etc., *Feb. 18*, 310; *Feb 25*, 1054.
  - Lights Board—Number of Members, Salaries, etc., *Feb. 19*, 491.
  - Lightships — Repairs, Placing Contracts with English Firms, etc., *Feb. 19*, 492.
  - Railway Extension—Monopoly Prevailing, *Feb. 25*, 1058.
- Live Stock—Transport from Ireland to Great Britain, Consignment Notes, etc., *Feb. 18*, 311.
- Merchant Shipping
  - "Bohemian"—Prosecution of Firemen, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1038.

[*cont.*

Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.—*cont.*
- Merchant Shipping—*cont.*
  - Collisions at Sea—Number in 1900, Board of Trade Inquiries, etc., *Feb. 21*, 684.
  - "Goonlaze," Wreck of—Coastguard Service at Peppercombe, etc., *Feb. 15*, 173.
  - Harbour Dues — Tonnage Measurement, *Feb. 19*, 480.
  - "Primrose Hill," Difficulty of obtaining Crew—Inquiry in Wreck, etc., *Feb. 21*, 685.
  - Wrecks—Cornwall, Number since 1880, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1037.
- Railways
  - Accidents
    - Chiswick Level-Crossing — Enforcing Penalties, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1039.
    - Prevention of Accidents Act, 1900—Rules, *Feb. 18*, 308.
    - Swanley Junction—Report, *Feb. 25*, 1039.
  - Automatic Couplings, *Feb. 18*, 309.
  - Corridor Trains, Adoption of—Prevention of Murders in Trains, *Feb. 21*, 686.
  - Foreign Fruit, Preferential Rates for, *Feb. 18*, 310.
- Tin Plate Industry—American Competition, *Feb. 26*, 1194.
- Trade
  - British Trade Statistics for 1900, *Feb. 26*, 1193.
  - Foreign Manufactures—Total value of Imports for 1900, *Feb. 26*, 1193.

Ball, Mrs.
- Warrant Officers' Widows' Annuities
  - *Q.* Mr. Kearley; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 676.

Ballot for Bills and Motions
- Standing Order Proposed
  - Motion [Mr. A. J. Balfour], *Feb. 15*, 179; Motion withdrawn, 180.

Ballybofey
- Sub-Postmastership — Delay in filling Vacancy
  - *Q.* Mr. Boyle; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 708.

Bank of England
- Advances to Government—Report, *Feb. 26*, 1167, 1176.
- Exchequer Bills and other Government Securities, Payment of Dividends, etc.—Annual Accounts Presented, *Feb. 15*, 169; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Barra, Island of
- Crofters and Cottars—Arrangements for Purchase of Land from Lady Gordon Cathcart, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 18*, 312.

Barracks
- Act of 1890—Account Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1175.
- Furnishing Quarters of Officers and Married Non-Commissioned Officers and Men
  - *Q.* Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 848.

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Barry, Mr. E. [Cork Co., S.]
- Skibbereen Land Sub-Commission Sitting—Postponement until after Cork Assizes, *Feb. 21*, 701.

Bartley, Mr. G. C. T. [Islington, N.]
- Army Horses—Purchase in Ireland, Prices, Purchasing from Dealers, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1187.
- Business of the House — Government Business Precedence, *Feb. 26*, 1226.
- Gibraltar Dock and Harbour Works—Adequacy, Defensibility of Scheme, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1066.
- Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 896.
- Questions—Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 330, 360.
- Scottish Education Bill, *Feb. 19*, 496.
- Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899—Number of Localities adopting, etc., *Feb. 21*, 686.
- South African Settlement—Disarming the Boers, *Feb. 14*, 155.
- South African War—
  - Paget's Horse Recruits at Aldershot—Want of Accommodation, etc., *Feb. 22*, 847.
  - Reinforcements of Mounted Troops, *Feb. 19*, 468.

Basutoland
- Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Bath Gas Light and Coke Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Bayley, Mr. T. [Derbyshire, Chesterfield]
- Vaccination Returns, *Feb. 26*, 1197.

Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H.—*Chancellor of the Exchequer* [Bristol, W.]
- Budget, Date of Introduction, *Feb. 19*, 477
- Cigarette Smoking by Boys—Proposed Special Tax on Cigarette Tobacco, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1042.
- Coinage—New Coinage, Representing Welsh Arms in Quarterings, etc., *Feb. 21*, 682.
- Customs House Clearance—Anticipatory Withdrawal, etc., *Feb. 19*, 477.
- Incorporated Law Society, Discipline Committee—Case of B. G. Lake, late Chairman, etc., *Feb. 19*, 478.

[cont.

Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H.—*cont.*
- Irish Questions
  - Estate Duty—Amount Collected on Devolution of Tenancies, etc., *Feb. 19*, 493.
  - Harbour Construction — Treasury Grants, *Feb. 19*, 494.
- Publicans' Licences—Valuations Return, *Feb. 22*, 855.
- Revenue Returns and Exchequer Issues—Distribution to Members, *Feb. 19*, 478.
- Rifle Clubs and Gun Licences, Exemption from Duty, *Feb. 25*, 1026.
- South African War—Cost of the War
  - Total Cost—Average Weekly Cost, *Feb. 22*, 844.
  - Transvaal Mines Contribution, *Feb. 19*, 466.

Beaumont, Mr. W. C. B. [Northumberland, Hexham]
- South African War—Hungarian Horses, alleged Purchase of unsuitable Horses, *Feb. 21*, 669.

Beer
- Army Contracts, *see* Army—Irish Firms.
- Arsenic in—Poisoning Epidemic
  - Crumpsall Workhouse Hospital, Deaths in
    - *Q.* Mr. Chaplin; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Feb. 18*, 311.
  - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 157; *Feb. 15*, 181, 197.
  - Ireland—Number of Deaths, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 699.
  - Local Government Board Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 69.
  - Number of Cases—Number of Deaths, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. Flavin; A. Mr. Long, *Feb. 21*, 687.
- Definition of
  - *O.* Mr. Strachey, *Feb. 15*, 218.
- Pure Beer Movement
  - Petitions for Legislation, *Feb. 18*, 287; *Feb. 19*, 448.
  - References to in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 198, 211.

Beer Bill
- *c.* 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 450.
- Petitions, *Feb. 20*, 587; *Feb. 22*, 836; *Feb. 25*, 1010.

Beet Sugar
- United States Industry — Report Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648.

Belfast
- Mail Trains between Dublin and Belfast—Exemption of 3rd class carriages
  - *Q.* Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.
- Night Mail to London—Hours of Closing Head Office
  - *Q.* Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1051.

Belfast—*cont.*
- Valuation—Returns
  - *Q.* Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1055.

Belfast Harbour Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Belgium
- Congo Free State, *see* that title.
- Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50.

Bell, Mr. R. [Derby]
- Automatic Couplings on Railways, *Feb. 18*, 309.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 20*, 636.
- Liquor Licensing Laws Reform, *Feb. 20*, 636.
- Railways (Prevention of Accidents) Act, 1900—Rules, *Feb. 18*, 308.
- Swanley Junction Railway Accident—Report, *Feb. 25*, 1038.

Belleville Boilers
- *see* Navy—Boilers.

Benefices
- Union of Benefices Act—All Saints and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge—Scheme for effecting Union Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54; *Feb. 15*, 169.

Benefices Bill
- *c.* 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 903.

Berwick, Lord
- Sat First in Parliament after the death of his Uncle, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Berwickshire County Town Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 21*, 649.

Bethlem Hospital Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Bhownaggree, Sir M. M. [Bethnal Green, N.E.]
- Indian Expenditure, Recommendations of Commission, Grant in Relief of Famine, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1123.

Bideford and Clovelly Railway (Abandonment) Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Bill, Mr. C. [Staffordshire, Leek]
- Militia Embodiment — Relieving Battalions Stationed Abroad, *Feb. 21*, 671.

Bill of Rights
- Royal Declaration against Roman Catholicism prescribed by—Effect of Act of 1866, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 22*, 872.

Bills
Ballot for—Standing Order Proposal, *see* Ballot.
Bringing in Bills, "absurd" Custom of first asking Permission and then being called from the balloting Table
O. Mr. T. M. Healy, *Feb. 15*, 180.
Private Bills, *see* that title.

Bingley Urban District Council Bill
c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 989.

Birds.
Song birds and Albatross—Cruelty in capturing
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 480; *Q.* Mr. A. Cross; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 22*, 856.

Birmingham (City) Tramways Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Bishops Waltham Light Railway
Orders Presented *Feb. 14*, 53, 71,

Black, Mr. A. W. [Banffshire].
South African War—Termination of the War and Lord Roberts' Despatches, *Feb. 19*, 467.

Blackbeck
Gunpowder Factory Explosion—Report of Inspector, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Blackburn Corporation Bill
c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 990.

Blackpool
New Member Sworn, *Jan. 23*, 3.

Blackpool Improvement Bill
c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 990.

Blake, Mr. E. [Longford, S.]
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb, 22*, 892.
Questions — Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 328.

Bloemfontein
Provost Marshal's Office—Mr. Atherstone as Clerk, Conviction for Murder of Native in 1894, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1022.

Board of Works, Ireland
Resignation of Chairman
Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1206.

Boer War
see South African War.

"Bohemian"
Discipline on—Prosecution of Firemen, Shipowners acting as Magistrates
Qs. Mr. Keir-Hardie; *As.* Mr. Ritchie, Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1037.

Boilers
Inspection of—Proposed Legislation
Q. Mr. Fenwick; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 15*, 174.
Navy, *see* that title.
Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge) Bill, *see* that title.

Boland, Mr. J. [Kerry, S.]
Coonaloughey Landing Stage, *Feb. 25*, 1047.
Jermyn's Castlecove Estate—Fixing Judicial Rents, *Feb. 26*, 1202.

Bolton Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Borough Councils
Triennial Elections—Decision of Local Government Board
Q. Capt. Jessel; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Feb. 19*, 481.

Borough Funds Acts (Amendment) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 460.

Bosnia
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Botanical Gardens
Dublin and Kew—Acreage, Annual Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 858.

Botha, Gen.
see South African War—Peace Negotiations, etc.

Bourne Valley Light Railway
Order Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 71.

Bournemouth Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Bowles, Mr. T. G. [Lynn Regis]
Congo Free State—Alleged Seizure of Territory by German Force, etc., *Feb. 15*, 172.
Gibraltar
  Dock and Harbour Works—Safety, Adequacy, and Defensibility of Scheme, *Feb. 25*, 1062, 1065, 1066, 1069.
  Sanitary Condition, etc., *Feb. 19*, 479.
Harbour Dues—Tonnage Measurement *Feb. 19*, 480.
Incorporated Law Society, Discipline Committee—Case of B. G. Lake, late Chairman, etc., *Feb. 19*, 478.
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 894.

[*cont.*

Bowles, Mr. T. G.—*cont.*
Naval and Military Committee of Defence—Constitution and Functions, *Feb. 15*, 171.
Naval Ships and Water-tube Boilers
Fitting Ships with Belleville Boilers pending Report of Committee, etc., *Feb. 18*, 302.
Number obtained from other Sources than Belleville, *Feb. 22*, 853.
Parliament, State Opening—Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 15*, 177.
Questions—Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 332, 345.
Revenue Returns and Exchequer Issues—Distribution to Members, *Feb. 19*, 477.
South African War—Cost of the War, Transvaal Mines Contribution, *Feb. 19*, 466.
Ways and Means — Amendments to Motions that the Speaker leave the Chair, Abolition of, *Feb. 25*, 1061.

Boyle
Board of Guardians and the Erection of Labourers' Cottages, Distribution of unexpended Balance of Grant, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 318.
Workmen's Dwellings, Erection of under Housing of the Working Classes Acts
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 706.

Boyle, Mr. J. [Donegal, W.]
Ballybofey Sub-postmastership—Delay in filling Vacancy, *Feb. 21*, 708.
Donegal Co.—Number of Roman Catholic and Protestant Magistrates, *Feb. 25*, 1051.
South African War—Protest against the War, *Feb. 26*, 1279.

Brabant's Horse
see South African War.

Bradford Corporation Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 990.

Brakes
Continuous Brakes, Progress in Use of—Railway Companies' Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Brasenose College, Oxford
Statutes Presented, *Feb. 15*, 168; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Braye, Lord
Roman Catholicism, King's Declaration against, *Feb. 22*, 816, 820.

Brazil
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Bribery and Corruption at Elections
see Parliamentary Election Petition, also names of Divisions.

Bridewell Hospital Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Brighton Corporation Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 990.

Bristol, Clifton and West of England Zoological Society Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Bristol Corporation Cemetery Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Bristol Corporation (Docks and Railways, etc.) Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Bristol Grand Jury
Child Insurance, Protests Against—Legislation Proposed.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1034.

Britannia, H.M.S.
Cadets' Overcoats, *see* Navy—Cadets.

"British Garrison" in Ireland
Term of Reproach against Irish Landlords.
O. Colonel Saunderson, *Feb. 21*, 778.

British Gas Light Company Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 990.

British Honduras
Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

British South African Company
Jameson Raid Indemnity, *see* title Jameson Raid.

British Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 826.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 991.

Broadhurst, Mr. H. [Leicester]
Justices of the Peace and the Oath of Allegiance, *Feb. 21*, 683.
Mines (Eight Hours) Bill—Government Business Precedence, *Feb. 26*, 1216.

Broadstairs and St. Peter's Water and Improvement Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Brodrick, Mr.
Army Contractor, *see* Dublin—Barrack Contract.

Brodrick, Right Hon. St. John—*Secretary of State for War* [Surrey, Guildford]
Barracks—Furnishing Officers' Quarters etc., *Feb. 22*, 849.
Bloemfontein Provost Marshal Clerk—Case of Atherstone, *Feb. 25*, 1023.
Cavalry Establishments—Permanent Organisation at home, Three or Four Squadrons, *Feb. 26*, 1186.

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John—*cont.*
- Guildford Corporation and the Employment of Reservists as Firemen, *Feb. 19*, 467.
- Horses—Irish Horses, Purchase of, for the Army, *Feb. 21*, 669.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 510; *Feb. 26*, 1266.
- Militia
  - Embodiment — Relieving Battalions stationed abroad, *Feb. 21*, 671.
  - Re-embodiment, *Feb. 18*, 294.
- Mountain Batteries, Armament of, *Feb. 26*, 1185.
- Officers—Rates of Pay and Expenses of Living, *Feb. 21*, 670.
- Prussian Knights of St. John—Report on Organisation, etc., Laying on the Table, *Feb. 25*, 1027.
- Questions—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 346, 352.
- Rifle Ranges
  - Lichfield—Progress of Works, *Feb. 25*, 1028.
  - New Ranges, Construction of, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1028.
- Royal Reserve Regiments, Re-engagement —Delay in Communicating Terms, etc., *Feb. 18*, 294.
- South African Constabulary — Soldiers joining, Purchasing Discharge, etc., *Feb. 21*, 663.
- South African Republics—Military Notes, Copies for Members, *Feb. 26*, 1184.
- South African War
  - Boer Forces, Strength of—Number of Boer Prisoners, *Feb. 22*, 844.
  - Boers dressed in Khaki—Orders to Shoot, alleged, etc., *Feb. 19*, 467.
  - Brabant's Horse—Terms of Engagement, *Feb. 21*, 667.
  - Cape Colony, Boer Invasion of—Placing Map in the Library, etc., *Feb. 15*, 170.
  - Colonial Troops
    - Insubordination, Case of, *Feb. 25*, 1015.
    - Terms of Engagement, etc., *Feb. 18*, 293.
  - Colvile, General, Recall of—Tried twice for same offence, etc., *Feb. 22*, 840.
  - Dillon's, Mr., Attack on Lord Roberts—Farm Burning, Terms of Settlement, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1266.
  - Enteric Fever, Number of Cases and Deaths, etc., *Feb. 18*, 293.
  - Esau, Murder of, by the Boers, *Feb. 21*, 664; *Feb. 22*, 839.
    - Milner's, Sir A., Telegram, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
  - Farm Burning by Boer Forces in Cape Colony, *Feb. 22*, 843.

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John—*cont.*
- South African War—*cont.*
  - Farm Burning by British Troops, *Feb. 19*, 470; *Feb. 21*, 666.
  - Hamilton's, Gen. Bruce, Operations—Proclamation at Ventersburg, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1020.
  - Horses
    - De Wet, Gen., Pursuit of—Abandoned Horses, *Feb. 21*, 667.
    - Overweighting of Horses—Selection of Light Weight Men, etc., *Feb. 19*, 469.
    - Saddles—Proposed Reduction of Weight, *Feb. 19*, 469.
  - Hospitals Commission — Charges against Capt. Skipwith, *Feb. 22*, 843.
  - Hospitals Commission Report—Members' Attack on the Army Medical Department — Army Medical Reform, etc., *Feb. 19*, 519.
  - Newspapers, Suppression of, in Cape Colony, *Feb. 21*, 666; *Feb. 22*, 841.
  - Nooitgedacht Reverse — Number killed and wounded, etc., *Feb. 15*, 170.
  - Officers, Failure of, at the Front—Re-employment in Great Britain, *Feb. 25*, 1092.
  - Paardeburg Operations
    - Colvile's, Gen., Report, *Feb. 26*, 1181.
    - Publication of Despatches, *Feb. 15*, 170; *Feb. 21*, 663.
  - Pay, Rates of, for Recruits, *Feb. 21*, 668.
    - Yeomanry, etc., Pay of—Giving same Rates to Regular Troops proposed, *Feb. 22*, 842.
  - Prisoners
    - Boer Prisoners at Graspan, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1013.
    - British Prisoners captured at Magersfontein, Pay, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1016.
  - Refuge Camps
    - Number of, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1021.
    - Ration Allowances — Surrender Conditions, etc., *Feb. 18*, 405; *Feb. 26*, 1180.
  - Reinforcements of Mounted Troops, *Feb. 19*, 468.
  - Rewards for Distinguished Service—Delay in announcing, *Feb. 21*, 662.
  - Stores and Supplies — Mismanagement, alleged, *Feb. 25*, 1077.
  - Surrender of British Troops—Inquiry *Feb. 25*, 1086.
    - Publication of Proceedings of Courts of Inquiry, *Feb. 25*, 1089.
  - Termination of the War — Lord Roberts' Despatches, *Feb. 19*, 468.
  - Termination of the War, Terms of Settlement, Boer Treatment of Peace Envoys, Re-inforcements, etc., *Feb. 19*, 510.

[*cont.*

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John—*cont.*
- South African War—*cont.*
  - Transport Service — Treatment of Wounded Volunteers, *Feb. 25*, 1017.
  - Victoria Cross, Number awarded, etc., *Feb. 21*, 661.
- Under Secretary for War—Permanent Under Secretary Appointment, *Feb. 19*, 474.
- Veterinary Department—Proposed Abolition of Prefix to Titles of Officers, *Feb. 18*, 299.
- Volunteers—Easter Training, Camp Allowances, etc., *Feb. 18*, 300.
- War Office Reform Committee — Army Contracts, etc., *Feb. 21*, 672.
- Yeomanry
  - Committee of Inquiry as to Constitution and Training—Report, *Feb. 22*, 849.
  - Recruits
    - Aldershot, Treatment of Recruits, etc., *Feb. 21*, 670.
    - Physical Standard, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1018.
    - Untrained Men, accepting as Volunteers for South Africa, *Feb 18*, 294.

Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Brunner, Sir J. T. [Cheshire, Northwich]
- British Patent Rights in South Africa—Extension to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, *Feb. 26*, 1179.

Bryce, Rt. Hon. J. [Aberdeen, S.]
- Aberdeen Post Office—Date of Commencement of New Building, *Feb. 26*, 1198.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 149.
- South African Settlement, Terms of—Form of Government, etc. *Feb. 14*, 154.
- South African War
  - Mildmay's, Capt., Attack on the Boers, *Feb. 14*, 149.
  - Pro-Boer Speeches, Encouragement to the Boers—Miscalculation by the Government, Policy of Farm Burning, Terms of Surrender, etc., *Feb. 14*, 151 ; *Feb. 19*, 514.

Budget
- Customs House—Anticipatory Clearance, Regulations to preclude Excessive Clearances, etc.
  - *Q.* Sir J. Leng ; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 477.
- Date of Introduction
  - *Qs.* Mr. P. O'Brien, Mr. Channing ; *As.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 477.

Building Societies
- Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 18*, 290 ; *Feb. 19*, 439.

Burdett-Coutts, Mr. W. L. A. B. [Westminster]
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 264.
- South African War—Hospitals Commission
  - Report, Attack on, *Feb. 15*, 264.
  - Skipwith, Capt., Charges against, *Feb. 22*, 844.
- South African War—Hospitals and Medical Arrangements, Mr. Burdett-Coutts' Charge, *Feb. 15*, 264.

Burgess Hill Water Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 826.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 991.

Burial Laws
- Consolidation—Recommendations of Select Committee, Legislation proposed
  - *Q.* Mr. Goddard ; *A.* Mr. Grant-Lawson, *Feb. 22*, 857.

Burke, Mr. E. H. [King's County, Tullamore]
- Irish Grievance — Charges against the Executive, United Irish League, Jury Packing, etc., *Feb. 22*, 922.

Burma
- Judical Service—Establishment of separate Judicial Service, Proposals
  - *Q.* Mr. Caine ; *A.* Lord George Hamilton, *Feb. 26*, 1192.

Burton Brewery Company
- Contract for Beer for Troops in Dublin
  - *Q.* Mr. Field ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 850.

Burton-upon-Trent Corporation Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 826.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 991.

Bury Corporation Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 826.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 991.

Bury Corporation Tramways Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
- 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 991.

Business of the House
- Financial Business—Precedence of Government Business
  - Motion [Mr. A. J. Balfour], *Feb. 26*, 1209.
  - Amendment [Mr. Yoxall], 1214.
- Supply Sessional Order, *see* Supply.

Buxton, Mr. S. C. [Tower Hamlets, Poplar]
- Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 27*, 1329.

Cabinet Committee of Defence
- Gibraltar Dock Works
  - *O.* Sir J. Colomb, *Feb. 25*, 1069.

Cadets
Navy, *see* that title.

Caine, Mr. W. S. [Cornwall, Camborne]
Burma Judicial Service—Establishment of separate Judicial Service, proposal, *Feb. 26*, 1192.
India
Army
Strength in Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, *Feb. 18*, 303.
Troops employed beyond the Frontiers, *Feb. 18*, 303.
Expenditure, Royal Commission on —Proposed Imperial Grant, etc., *Feb. 18*, 304, 305; *Feb. 25*, 1105, 1133, 1135.
Famine—Number of persons in receipt of Relief, *Feb. 18*, 302.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 20*, 595.
Liquor Licensing Laws—Reform, *Feb. 20*, 595.
Maidstone Election Petition
Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 875, 882.
Prosecution of Offenders — Persons receiving Bribes debarred from Voting at next Election, *Feb. 26*, 1200.
South African Republics, Military Notes —Copies for Members, *Feb. 26*, 1184.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1309.
Teachers—Arbitrary Dismissal, *Feb. 25*, 1042.
Wrecks, North Cornwall—Number since 1880, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1037.

Caldwell, Mr. J. [Lanark, Mid]
Parliament, State Opening—Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 15*, 175.
Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act—Petitions in favour or against Provisional Orders, *Feb. 15*, 164.

Caledonian Electric Power Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R*. *Feb. 25*, 991.

Caledonian Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 992.

Cambrian Railways
Petition for Bill referred to Select Committee on Standing Orders, *Feb. 22*, 836.

Cambridge, Duke of
Took the Oath, *Jan. 24*, 5.

Cambridge University
Statutes Presented, *Feb. 15*, 168; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Campbell, Mr. J. [Armagh, S.]
Armagh — Commission of the Peace for South Armagh, Return, *Feb. 26*, 1206.
Army
German Guns — Number imported, Cost, etc., *Feb. 22*, 848.
Officers—Rates of Pay and Expenses of Living, *Feb. 21*, 670.
Capetown, Plague at, *Feb. 25*, 1033.
Child Insurance—Bristol Grand Jury Protest, *Feb. 25*, 1034.
China—British Property at Peking Annexed by Italian Legation, etc., *Feb. 21*, 680.
Circuit System, Reform of, *Feb. 21*, 691.
Cooper's Hill College, Dismissal of Professors—Inquiry proposed, *Feb. 19*, 476.
Coronation, Cost of, *Feb. 21*, 710; *Feb. 22*, 874.
Cory-Thomas *v.* Spink — Suppression of Witnesses' Names, *Feb. 21*, 691, 692.
Demise of the Crown—Effect of on Representation of Irish and Scotch Constituencies, *Feb. 19*, 483.
Glasgow Small pox Epidemic, Number of deaths, *Feb. 25*, 1046.
India
Frontier Province—Creation of New Province, etc., *Feb. 21*, 677.
Opium Trade with China—Proposed Abandonment, etc., *Feb. 19*, 475.
Palmistry—Police Prosecutions, *Feb. 21*, 683.
Prisoners, Defence of Poor Prisoners—Payment by the Crown Proposed, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1034.
Small-pox, Precautions against, in London, *Feb. 21*, 687.
Song-Birds and Albatross, Cruelty in Capturing, *Feb. 19*, 480.
South African War
Newspapers—Suppression of English Newspapers in Cape Colony, *Feb. 22*, 841.
Victoria Cross, Number awarded, etc., *Feb. 21*, 661.
Sumner, Rose, Case of—Proposed Remission of Death Penalty, *Feb. 22*, 857.
Tobacco Cultivation in Ireland—Acreage under Cultivation, etc., *Feb. 22*, 869; *Feb. 25*, 1058.
Tradespeople exhibiting goods outside shops—Incentive to Theft, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1035.

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H. [Stirling Burghs]
Accession of King Edward VII., *Feb. 14*, 82.
Army Reform, *Feb. 14*, 97.
Business of the House—Financial Business, Government Business Precedence, *Feb. 26*, 1211.
China—Concert of the Powers, Charges against Allied Troops, etc., *Feb. 14*, 96, 97.

[*cont.*

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H.—*cont.*
- Housing of the Working Classes—Omissions in the King's Speech, *Feb. 14*, 99.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 82, 103; *Feb. 20*, 628; *Feb. 21*, 799; *Feb. 25*, 1094.
- Liquor Licensing Reform, *Feb. 20*, 616.
  - Government Method of dealing with Great Questions, *Feb. 14*, 98.
  - Whittaker's, Mr., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 20*, 628.
- Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 885.
- Queen Victoria, Death of—Reply to the King's Message, *Jan. 25*, 23.
- Questions—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 335.
- Roman Catholic University (Ireland) Question, *Feb. 21*, 799.
- South African Settlement, British Supremacy, etc., *Feb. 14*, 91; *Feb. 18*, 428.
- South African War
  - Reinforcements, *Feb. 14*, 88, 105.
  - Surrender of British Troops—Inquiry, *Feb. 25*, 1094.
  - Termination of the War—General Election Campaign, "The War is over," etc., *Feb. 14*, 84, 103.

Canada
- Crofters and Cottars' Colonisation Scheme—Report with Appendices Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 69.

Canals
- Railway and Canal Traffic Acts—Annual Report of Commission, with Appendix, Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 655.

Canterbury, Archbishop of
- Queen Victoria, Death of—Address of Sympathy to the King, *Jan. 25*, 15.

Cape Colony
- Cox, Captain—Murder of Native by Captain Cox's Orders, alleged, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Channing; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 660.
- Milner, Sir A., and Sir W. Hely Hutchinson, Position of, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 291.
- Plague at Capetown
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1033.
- Press Restrictions, *see* South African War—Newspapers.
- South African War, *see* that title.

Capital Punishment
- Amended Rules for regulating the Execution of Capital Sentences Presented, *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 439.
- Sumner, Rose—Proposed remission of Death Penalty
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 22*, 857

Cardiff Corporation Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*. 827.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 992.

Cardiff Railway Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Carew, Mr. J. L. (Meath, S.)
- Rating of Railways and other Lands in Ireland—Assessment on one-fourth of net annual value, etc., *Feb. 18*, 314.

Carmarthen
- Dog Muzzling—Omitting to make Inoculation Experiments, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. L. Morgan; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 19*, 482.
- Prison—Proposed Changes
  - *Q.* Mr. L. Morgan; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 18*, 308.

Carnew
- Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Shopkeepers compelled to close shops, etc., *see* Wicklow.

Cartwright, Mr. A.
- Prosecution of, for Libel, *see* "South African News."

Cathcart, Lady Gordon
- Estate on Island of Barra—Arrangement for Purchase of Land for Crofters and Cottars
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 18*, 312.

Cavalry
- *see* Army.

Cecil, Lord H. R. H. [Greenwich]
- Questions—Under-Secretary of State prohibited from Answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 363.

Central London Railway Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Chairman of Committees—*Rt. Hon. J. W. Lowther*
- Temporary Chairmen Nominated by the Speaker, *Feb. 27*, 1400.
- *see* Lowther.

Chamberlain, Mr. A.—*Financial Secretary to the Treasury* [Worcestershire, E.]
- Customs and Excise Assistants—Age Limit for Candidates, etc., *Feb. 22*, 859.
- Fish Culture—Experimental Establishment, Board of Trade Proposal, *Feb. 22*, 870.

amberlain, Mr. A.—*cont.*
- Food—Imported Food, Analysis of—Number of samples analysed, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1041.
- Irish Questions
  - Ardagh National School—Building Estimates, proposed Grant, etc., *Feb. 22*, 871.
  - Ballybofey Sub-Postmastership—Delay in Filling Vacancy, *Feb. 21*, 708.
  - Belfast
    - Night Mail to London—Hour of Closing Head Office. etc., *Feb. 25*, 1051.
    - Valuation—Return, *Feb. 25*, 1055.
  - Boyle, Erection of Workmen's Dwellings, *Feb. 21*, 707.
  - Coolarty, Proposed Sunday Delivery—Providing Letter Box at Spring Park, etc., *Feb. 18*, 319.
  - Curragh, North Tyrone—Want of Post Office, etc., *Feb. 22*, 870.
  - Dublin Post Office—Sorters' Grievances, *Feb. 19*, 490.
  - Dungarvan Postal Arrangements, *Feb. 19*, 491.
  - Estate Duty Office and Irish Solicitors—Examination of Irish Candidates in English Law, etc., *Feb. 21*, 708.
  - Granard Postal Arrangements—Increased Facilities, proposed, etc., *Feb. 22*, 870.
  - Londonderry Post Office Staff—Number of Clerks Appointed in 1900, Advertising Examinations, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1059.
  - Mail Trains between Dublin and Belfast, Exemption of Third Class Passenger Carriages, *Feb. 26*, 1201.
  - Mohill and Farnaught Postal Arrangements, *Feb. 18*, 320.
  - St. Mel Cathedral—Preservation of Ruins, *Feb. 18*, 319; *Feb. 21*, 707.
  - Spencer Dock, Dublin—Condition of Lock Gates, *Feb. 26*, 1208.
- London Government Telephone System—Date of Opening, *Feb. 19*, 484.
- National Gallery—Sunday Closing in Winter, *Feb. 25*, 1039.
- Parks, Royal, in Great Britain and Ireland—Acreage, Annual Cost, etc., *Feb. 22*, 858.
- Postmasters—Welsh-speaking Postmasters, Appointing for Districts in Wales, *Feb. 26*, 1201.
- Postmen—Candidates for Postmasterships, Telegraph Qualifications, *Feb. 21*, 688, 689.
- Sporting Rights on Government Lands in Wales—Advertising Sale of, etc., *Feb. 21*, 689.
- Sunday Publication of Telegrams from South Africa, Discontinuance of, *Feb. 18*, 299.

Chamberlain, Mr. A.—*cont.*
- Telegraph Forms—More durable quality of Paper, proposed, *Feb. 26*, 1200.
- Telegraph Service Employés—Overtime Return, *Feb. 21*, 689.
- West Indian Mails—Delay in delivery, *Feb. 25*, 1040.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J.—*Secretary of State for the Colonies* [Birmingham W.]
- Cape Colony
  - Cox, Capt., Murder of Native by Capt. Cox's Orders, alleged—Proposed Trial, etc., *Feb. 21*, 660.
  - Milner, Sir A.—Salary, *Feb. 21*, 660.
  - Milner, Sir A., and Sir W. Hely Hutchinson, Position of, etc., *Feb. 18*, 291.
  - Plague at Cape Town, *Feb. 25*, 1033.
- Cyprus Tribute.—Amount paid to Turkish Government, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1033.
- Gibraltar—Sanitary condition, Improvement of, Accommodation for Naval and Military Forces, etc., *Feb. 19*, 479.
- Jameson Raid Indemnity.—Set off against the British Government Claim, Communications since the Annexation of the Transvaal, *Feb 26*, 1179.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 18*, 421.
- Lloyd-George's, Mr., Attack on, *Feb. 18*, 398.—Mr. Chamberlain's Reply 421. *O.* Mr. Law, *Feb. 19*, 528.
- Old Age Pension Systems in the Colonies—Return, *Feb. 21*, 682.
- South African Constabulary
  - Embarkation on "Aurania"—Want of Training, Equipment, etc., *Feb. 18*, 292.
  - Recruiting in Australia—Refusal of Australian Governments, alleged, *Feb. 19*, 465; *Feb. 22*, 838.
  - Total Strength landed in South Africa, *Feb. 18*, 292.
- South African Emigration Settlement Commission Report—Date of Issue, *Feb. 19*, 466.
- South African Settlement
  - Civil Administration and Promise of Self-Government—Proclamation of British Intentions in English, Dutch, etc., *Feb. 19*, 466.
  - Maintaining Laws of the Transvaal as they were before the War, *Feb. 18*, 417.
  - Policy of the Government—Statement, *Feb. 18*, 421.
- South African War
  - Annexation Proclamations and Peace Negotiations, Responsibility for, etc., *Feb. 21*, 659.
  - Colonial Troops, Rate of Pay, *Feb. 25*, 1014.
  - Kaffirs, Shooting of, at Kimberley, alleged, *Feb. 25*, 1014.

[*cont.*

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J.—*cont.*
- South African War—*cont.*
  - Peace Negotiations
    - Buller, Sir R., and Gen. Botha—Lord Roberts' Terms, etc., *Feb. 18*, 422.
    - Hofmeyr, Rev. A., Sent to the Transvaal as Peace Commissioner, etc., *Feb. 21*, 660; *Feb. 25*, 1017.
  - Pro-Boer Speeches in the House, *Feb. 18*, 425.
  - "South African News"—Prosecution of Editor for Libel, *Feb. 26*, 1180.
- Transvaal
  - Appointments, Criticism on—Communicating to Sir A. Milner, *Feb. 22*, 839.
  - British Patent Rights, Extension to Transvaal and Orange River Colony, *Feb. 26*, 1179.
  - Netherlands Railway Company—Attitude of British Government towards, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1018.
- West Indian Prisons—Proposed Abolition of Penal Labour, etc., *Feb. 21*, 681.

Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster
- Lord James of Hereford.

Chancellor of the Exchequer
- Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. Beach.

Channel Islands
- Militia Regiments stationed in—Gratuities for Officers, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Edwards; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 670.

Channing, Mr. F. A. [Northampton E.]
- Budget, Date of Introduction, *Feb. 19*, 477.
- China—Anti-Foreign Rising, Looting at Peking, *Feb. 25*, 1031.
- Cooper's Hill College—Laying Reports, etc., on the Table, *Feb. 15*, 172.
- Cox, Capt.—Murder of Native by Capt. Cox's Orders, alleged, Proposed Trial, etc., *Feb. 21*, 660.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 26*, 1260.
- Local Taxation—Report of Royal Commission, Date of Issue, *Feb. 15*, 174.
- Maidstone Election Petition—Prosecution of Persons scheduled, etc., *Feb. 21*, 690.
- South African Constabulary, Recruiting in Australia — Refusal of Australian Governments, alleged, *Feb. 19*, 465.
- South African Lands Settlement Commission, Report—Date of Issue, *Feb. 19*, 466.
- South African Republics, Military Notes—Copies for Members, *Feb. 26*, 1184.

Channing, Mr. F. A.—*cont.*
- South African War
  - Kaffirs—Shooting of, at Kimberley, *Feb. 25*, 1013.
  - Termination of the War, Terms of Surrender, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1260.

Chaplains
- *see* titles Army and Navy.

Chaplin, Rt. Hon. H. [Lincolnshire, Sleaford]
- Beer, Arsenic in—Poisoning Epidemic, *Feb. 14*, 157.
  - Deaths in Crumpsall Workhouse Hospital, *Feb. 18*, 311.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 157.

Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead Railway (No. 1) Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead Railway (No. 2) Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Charing Cross, Hammersmith and District Electric Railway Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Chartered Company of South Africa
- Jameson Raid Indemnity, *see* title Jameson Raid.

Chelsea Electricity Supply Company
- Giving Preferential Rate to users of 200 volts.
  - *Q.* Mr. Strachey; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 309.

Chelsea Hospital
- Account for 1900, with Report of Comptroller and Auditor General Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167; *Feb. 19*, 438.

Chester Gas Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Chesterfield Improvement Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Chicago
- Cold Storage and Refrigeration—Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Chief Secretary for Ireland
- Rt. Hon. G. Wyndham.

Children
- Insurance, Bristol Grand Jury Protest—Legislation Proposed
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1034.
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill, *see* that title.

China
- Anti-Foreign Rising
  - Allied Forces
    - British Military Position, Harcourt, Sir W., on, *Feb. 18*, 378.
    - Charges against Allied Troops
      - *O.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 15*, 284.
      - Conduct of the Troops—References to in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 97, 102, 130.
    - Military Expedition into the Interior by one Power without the consent of the other Powers
      - *Os.* Sir W. Harcourt, *Feb. 18*, 379; Visc. Cranborne, 381—*see* also sub-heading Waldersee, Count von, Expedition.
  - Anglo-German Agreement
    - *Os.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 272; Mr. Moon, 282; Visc. Cranborne, 283.
    - Agreement presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 67.
  - British Commercial Interests—Reparation in increased Facilities rather than Indemnity
    - *Os.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 276; Visc. Cranborne, 283; *Feb. 18*, 370.
  - British Government Policy
    - *Os.* Mr. Harwood, *Feb. 19*, 542; Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 272.
    - Cranborne, Visc., on, *Feb. 15*, 283; Harcourt, Sir W., *Feb. 18*, 371, 377.
  - British Military Policy, Sir W. Harcourt on, *Feb. 18*, 378.
  - China for the Chinese Policy
    - *O.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 275.
  - Commercial Treaties, Revision of
    - *O.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 277.
  - Concert of the Powers
    - *O.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 371.
  - Correspondence Presented, *Feb. 15*, 168; *Feb. 19*, 436.
  - Indemnity—British Commercial Interests
    - *Os.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 276; Visc. Cranborne *Feb. 18*, 371.
  - Inland Waterways Navigation
    - *Os.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 277; Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 374.
  - Looting at Peking
    - Articles seized by British Troops
      - *Q.* Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 26*, 1192.
    - Restitution, proposed, etc.
      - *Q.* Mr. Channing; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 25*, 1031.
    - Transmission of Cases on H.M. Ships, etc.
      - *Q.* Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 680, 681.

China—*cont.*
- Anti-Foreign Rising—*cont.*
  - Manchuria — Russian Occupation, Russo-Chinese Agreement, etc.
    - *Os.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 376; Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse, 387.
    - Supplementary Provisions, Protection of British Treaty Rights, etc.
      - *Q.* Mr. Yerburgh; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 21*, 679.
    - Terms of Agreement, etc.
      - *Q.* Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 25*, 1032.
  - Niu-Chwang — Russian Occupation, etc.
    - *Os.* Mr. Moon, *Feb. 15*, 282; Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 374, 376.
  - Peking
    - Foreign Legations, Protection of—Proposed Defensive Measures.
      - *Q.* Mr. Dillon; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 19*, 476.
    - Looting, *see* that sub-heading.
    - Property occupied by Sir R. Hart and Staff—Annexation by Italian Legation
      - *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 21*, 680.
  - Punishment of Princes and Officials
    - *Os.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 275; Visc. Cranborne, 284; Mr. Wylie, *Feb. 18*, 382.
    - Suicide as Substitute for Death Penalty
      - *Q.* Mr. Dillon; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 322.
      - *Os.* Mr. Dillon; Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 370.
      - British Minister's Consent
        - *Q.* Mr. Dillon; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 21*, 680.
  - Railways—British Interests, Terms of Settlement of the Chinese Question
    - *Os.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 277; Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 374.
  - Russia
    - Great Britain's Relations with—Visc. Cranborne's Statement, *Feb. 18*, 374
      - *O.* Sir W. Harcourt, *Feb. 18*, 380.
    - Manchuria, *see* that sub-heading.
    - Russian Policy
      - *Os.* Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse, *Feb. 18*, 384; Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 280; Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 374.

[*cont.*

China—*cont*
Anti-Foreign Rising—*cont.*
Settlement, Terms of
British Government Policy, etc. *Os.* Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 272; Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse, *Feb. 18*, 385.
Joint Note of the Powers
O. Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 371.
Shan-hai-kwan Railway — Russian Occupation
O. Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse, *Feb. 18*, 384, 385.
Waldersee, Count Von — Proposed Expedition to the Interior, Consulting British Government, etc.
Qs. Mr. Lambert, Mr. Yerburgh, Mr. J. O'Kelly, Mr. J. Lowther; *As.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 21*, 678.
Great Britain and China
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 272; *Feb. 18*, 370.
Queen Victoria, Death of—Envoy selected to offer Condolence to the King,
O. Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse, *Feb. 18*, 385.
see also sub-heading Anti-Foreign Rising.
Opium Trade with Indian Government—proposed Abandonment, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 19*, 475.
Reforms
O. Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 372.
Fiscal
O. Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 373.
Government
O. Mr. J. Walton, *Feb. 15*, 276.
Likin, Abolition of
Os. Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 373; Mr. Wylie, 383.
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50.

Chiswick
Level-Crossing Accident — Enforcing Penalties, etc.
Q. Mr. T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1039.

Christchurch
Election Petition—Judges' Report, *Feb. 14*, 57.

Christ's Hospital (London) Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb 25*, 972.

Church Discipline
Petitions for Alteration of Law, *Feb. 15*, 164; *Feb. 19*, 447; *Feb. 20*, 587.

Church Discipline Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 904.

Church Temporalities, Ireland
Report Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1177.

Churchill, Mr. W. L. S. [Oldham]
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 18*, 407; *Feb. 25*, 1101.
South African War
Farm Burning—Cause of the War, Settlement after the War, Terms of Surrender, etc., *Feb. 18*, 407.
Inquiry—General Inquiry, etc. *Feb. 25*, 1101.

Cigarette Smoking
Boys Smoking—Proposed Special Tax on Cigarette Tobacco, etc.
Qs. Colonel Walker, Mr. G. Whiteley; *As.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 25*, 1042.

Circuit System
Reform of—Delays in Business of King's Bench Division, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 21*, 691.

City Imperial Volunteers
see South African War—Volunteers.

City of London (Spitalfields Market) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 992.

City and Brixton Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

City and North-East Suburban Electric Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

City and South London Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Civil Contingencies Fund
Accounts Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1177; *Feb. 27*, 1324.

Civil Disturbances
Employment of Troops, etc., *see* Army.

Civil List
Appointment of Committee of Inquiry, Following Precedent of 1837, etc.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 709.
References to in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 74, 81, 101.

Civil Service
Customs and Excise Assistants, Candidates for—Age Limit, Proposed Changes, etc.
Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 858.
Superannuation — Appointments without Certificates, Treasury Minutes Presented, *Feb. 15*, 166; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Civil Service Estimates
see Supply.

Clancy, Mr. J. J. [Dublin Co., N.]
Fair Rent Applications—Delays, *Feb. 22*, 868.
Fishermen, Loans to—Requiring Sureties, etc., *Feb. 22*, 866.

Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 992.

Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 992.

Coal
Export from United Kingdom, Coal shipped at Ports for ships used on Foreign Voyages, etc.—Return Ordered, *Feb. 18*, 290.

Coal Mines (Employment) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 451.

Coal Mines Regulation Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 461.

Coastguards
Peppercombe Coastguard Service—Wreck of "Goonlaze," proposed Inquiry, etc.
Q. Mr. Soares; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 173.

Cochrane, Mr. T. H. [Ayrshire, N.]
Business of the House, Precedence of Government Business—Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, Discussion, *Feb. 26*, 1224.
Indian Army—Time-expired Men, Number serving in India, *Feb. 21*, 677.
South African War—Enteric and Dysentery Statistics, Ages of men, and the comparative liability to Enteric, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
Submarine Boats—Action of the Admiralty, etc., *Feb. 21*, 676.

Cockerton Judgment
Continuing Grant to Schools affected pending Decision in Court of Appeal
Q. Mr. Kenyon; *A.* Sir J. Gorst, *Feb. 21*, 692.
Debate (Lords), *Feb. 25*, 978.

Coghill, Mr. D. H. [Stoke-upon-Trent]
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 25*, 1103.
Lead Poisoning—Number of Cases, etc., *Feb. 18*, 307.
Questions to Ministers—Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 323.

Coghill, Mr. D. H.—*cont.*
South African War—Surrender of British Troops, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1103, 1105.
Supply — Sessional Order, Increase in number of days for Irish Discussion proposed, *Feb. 27*, 1341.
Vaccination—Leicester and Gloucester, Number of Unvaccinated Persons, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1035.

Coinage
New Coinage—Representing Welsh Arms in Quarterings, etc.
Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 21*, 682.

Collisions at Sea
Number in 1900—Board of Trade Inquiries, etc.
Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 684.

Colomb, Sir J. C. [Great Yarmouth.]
Defence Committee of the Cabinet, *Feb. 25*, 1068.
Gibraltar Dock and Harbour Works—Safety, Adequacy and Defensibility of Scheme, *Feb. 25*, 1068.

Colonial Marriages Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 904.

Colonial Office
Secretary of State—Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain.
Parliamentary Secretary—Earl of Onslow.

Colonial Reports Presented
Annual Series, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Colonies
Cornwall and York's, Duke and Duchess of, Visit, *see* Cornwall and York.
Mines and Quarries—Statistics Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 68.
Old Age Pensions Systems — Laying Return on the Table
Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 682.
South African War, *see* that title—Colonial Contingents.
Statistical Tables Presented, *Feb. 25*, 976, 1011.
Trade and Commerce—Monthly Accounts Presented, *Feb. 20*, 588.

Colvile, Gen.
Paardeburg Operations Report
Q. The Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1180.
Tried twice for the same offence, etc.
Qs. Mr. Mansfield; Mr. W. Redmond; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 840.

Colwyn Bay and Colwyn Urban District Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 992.

Commissions of Inquiry
Reports—Obligation incumbent on the Government to adopt Policy, New Contention
O. Marquess of Salisbury, *Feb. 26*, 1171.
Shelving Important Questions
O. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *Feb. 14*, 98.

Committees
Public Accounts—Nomination of Members, *Feb. 26*, 1322.
Public Petitions Committee Appointed, *Feb. 26*, .322.
Select Committees on Standing Orders, Appointed *Feb. 22*, 836; *Feb. 25*, 1009.
Selection (Standing Committees), Appointed (Lords), *Feb. 25*, 977; *Feb. 26*, 1172.
Standing Orders Committee, Appointed (Lords), *Feb. 25*, 975.

Commons and Enclosures
Reports of the Board of Agriculture—Select Committee Appointed to consider Provisional Orders, *Feb. 25*, 1010.

Compensation for Damage to Crops, etc. Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 453.

Compensation for Injuries
see Workmen's Compensation.

Compton, Lord A. F. [Beds, Biggleswade]
Army Reform, *Feb. 19*, 541.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 536.
South African Settlement—Colonisation of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, *Feb. 19*, 541.
South African War—Boer Character, Criticism of the Government, Conduct of the War, Farm Burning, Pro-Boer Speeches, etc., *Feb. 19*, 536.

Concert of the Powers
China, *see* that title.

Conciliation Committee
Morrison's, Lieut., alleged Charges against British Troops, *see* South African War—Conduct of the Troops.

Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 450.

Congo Free State
Seizure of Territory by German Force and Ejection of Belgian Forces, alleged, etc.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Viscount Cranborne, *Feb. 15*, 172.

Connaught
Labourers' Cottages—Amount of unexpended Grant
Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 704.

Connaught, Duke of
Took the Oath, *Jan. 23*, 1.

Conscientious Objectors
see Vaccination.

Consolidated Fund
Abstract Account Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167.

Constabulary for South Africa
see South African Constabulary.

Constabulary (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 459.

Constabulary, Royal Irish
Constabulary Force Fund—Grant to Inspector-General on his retirement, Enforced Payments by unmarried Members, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 696.
Cork City Elections—Amount claimed from Borough Council for Extra Police Force, etc.
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 315.
Foxford, Suppressed League Meeting—Extra Police Force, Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 314.
Londonderry, Discharge of Firearms, etc., *see* Londonderry.
Newmarket (Cork) Petty Sessions Court, Oct. 12, 1900—Extra Police Force Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 315.
Pensions granted in 1900–1901—Return Presented *Feb. 15*, 166.
Queen Victoria's Funeral, Day of General Mourning, Shopkeepers and Publicans compelled to close, alleged, *see* Ireland.
Sick Regulations—Grievances
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 695.
Sligo, South, Agrarian Dispute in—Extra Police, Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Dowd; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 700.

Consular Service
see Diplomatic and Consular Service.

Contagious Diseases (Animals)
Diseases of Animals Acts—Order prohibiting conveyance of Animals to or from any port in Great Britain by certain vessels, *Feb. 15*, 168; *Feb. 19*, 439.
Swine Fever, *see* that title.

Contempt of Court Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 464.

Continuous Brakes
Progress in Use of—Railway Companies' Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Contracts
Army, *see* that title.

Controverted Elections
see Parliamentary Elections.

Conveyance of Cycles Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 903.

Convicts
Ireland, *see* Names of Convicts.
Penal Servitude Acts — Conditional Licences granted, *Feb. 15*, 168; *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 438.

Coolarty
Sunday Delivery of Letters proposed—Providing Wall Letter Box at Springpark, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 319.

Coonaloughey
Landing Stage—Proposed Improvements by Congested Districts Board, &c.
Qs. Mr. Boland, Mr. Flavin; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1047.

Cooper's Hill College
Appointments, etc., Decisions of India Council with reference to—Laying Papers on the Table
Q. Mr. Channing; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 15*, 172.
Dismissal of Professors and remodelling of Studies, etc.
Correspondence relating to Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 655.
Inquiry proposed
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 19*, 476.
Names of Board of Visitors recommending changes
Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 26*, 1190.

Corbett, Mr. T. L. [Down, N.]
South African Constabulary, Soldiers joining—Purchasing Discharge, etc., *Feb. 21*, 663.

Cork
City Election—Amount claimed from Borough Council for Extra Police Force, etc.
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 315.

Cork—*cont.*
Coroner summoning Executioner Billington to attend Inquest—Warrant for Arrest, etc.
Qs. Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. Flynn, Mr. P. O'Brien; *As.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 25*, 1055.
Dredger, Sinking of, in Harbour—Surveying Dredger before Departure, etc.
Qs. Capt. Donelan; *As.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 310; *Feb. 25*, 1054.

Cork, Blackrock and Passage Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Corngreaves Hall Inebriate Retreat
Regulation for Management of, Presented, *Feb. 25*, 976, 1011.

Cornwall, Duchy of
Receipts and Disbursements for 1900—Account Presented, *Feb. 15*, 166; *Feb. 19*, 438.

"Cornwall," H.M.S.
Belleville Boilers, Fitting with, pending Report of Committee of Inquiry, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Wilson, Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 18*, 301, 302.

Cornwall, North
Wrecks—Number of Wrecks and Number of Lives lost since 1880, Return
Q. Mr. Caine; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1037.

Cornwall and York, Duke of
Australia and other Colonies, Visit to
References to in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 32, 80, 96.

Coronations
Cost of
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 710.
King William IV. and Queen Victoria—Cost of Coronations, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 22*, 874.

Coronation Oath
Alteration proposed
Qs. Mr. Wingfield-Digby, Mr. W. Redmond; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 178.

Coroners' Inquests (Railway Fatalities) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 463.

Corridor Trains
Adopting — Prevention of Murders in Trains
Q. Mr. Taylor; *A.* Mr. G. W. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 686.

Cory-Thomas *v.* **Spink**
Suppression of Witnesses' Names
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Sir R Finlay, *Feb. 21*, 691

County Officials, Ireland
see Ireland.

County Courts
M‘Crea, Mr. F. B.—Order directing that he may not practise as a Solicitor, etc., *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Court of Common Pleas
Documents of not sufficient value to justify preservation—Schedule, *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.

Cowes Ferry Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Cox, Capt.
Murder of Native by Capt. Cox's Orders, alleged—Proposed Trial, etc.
Q. Mr. Channing; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 660.

Cranborne, Viscount—*Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs* [Rochester]
Asia Minor—British Consular Establishments, Extension of, to Baku, Tiflis, etc., *Feb. 18*, 306.
China—Anti-Foreign Rising
British Government Policy—Charges against Allied Troops, Anglo-German Agreement, etc., *Feb. 15*, 283; *Feb. 18*, 369, 381, 386, 387.
Peking
Foreign Legations, Protection of, *Feb. 19*, 476.
Property occupied by Sir R. Hart—Annexation by Italian Legation, *Feb. 21*, 680.
Punishment of Princes and Officials, Requiring Officials to commit suicide, etc., alleged, *Feb. 18*, 322; *Feb. 21*, 680.
Russo-Chinese Agreement regarding Manchuria, *Feb. 21*, 679; *Feb. 25*, 1032.
Congo Free State and Germany—Alleged, seizure of Territory by German Force, etc., *Feb. 15*, 173.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 283; *Feb. 18*, 369.
North Sea Fisheries, Destruction of—International Conventions, *Feb. 22*, 855.
Patagonia – Mr. Morley's Complaints against Cattle Thieves, etc., *Feb. 18*, 305.
Questions to Ministers—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from answering Supplemental Questions, *Feb. 18*, 322, 369.
Somaliland, Outbreak of Ogaden Somalis, Punitive Operations — Attack on British Expedition, *Feb. 27*, 1400.

Cranborne, Viscount—*cont.*
South African War—German Emperor as Arbitrator, *Feb. 22*, 845.
Sugar Bounties
British Government's right to impose Duty, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1031.
Conference, proposed, *Feb. 21*, 681.
Waima Incident—Arbitration, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Crawley Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 993.

Cream and Milk Standards
see Milk.

Cremation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 21*, 650.

Crimean Widows
see Patriotic Fund.

Crimes Act (Ireland) Repeal Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 456.

Crimes and Outrages, Ireland
Agrarian Offences—Returns Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 69.
Donegal—Absence of Crime, Removing Operation of Peace Preservation Act, Proposed
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 487.

Crofters and Cottars, Scotland
Barra Island—Arrangements for Purchase of Land from Lady Gordon Cathcart, &c.
Q. Mr. J. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 18*, 312.
Colonisation Scheme—Report with Appendices Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 69.

Crombie, Mr. J. W. [Kincardineshire]
Scottish Education Bill, *Feb. 19*, 495.
South African Emigration and Settlement Commission, Report—Date of Issue, *Feb. 21*, 658.
Teachers, Dismissal of — Legislation Proposed, *Feb. 19*, 495.

Cromer Water Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 993.

Crops
Compensation for Damage to Crops Bill, *see* that title.

Cross, Mr. A. [Glasgow, Camlachie]
Song-birds, Capture of by Fishing Hooks, *Feb. 22*, 856.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 27*, 1343.

Crown Colony Government
South African Settlement, *see* that title.

Crown Lands
Sporting Rights in Wales, *see* Wales.

Crumpsall Workhouse Hospital
Deaths from Arsenical Beer Poisoning
Q. Mr. Chaplin; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Feb. 18*, 311.

Cullinan, Mr. J. [Tipperary, S.]
Fair Rent Applications—Delays, *Feb. 19*, 490; *Feb. 22*, 868.
Horses—Purchase of Irish Horses for the Army, *Feb. 21*, 669.
Labourers' Acts—Delays in completing Schemes, *Feb. 22*, 865.
Land Judges' Court—Return, *Feb. 21*, 695.
Supply—Sessional Order, Increase in number of days for the discussion of Irish Votes, proposed, *Feb. 27*, 1337.

Curragh
Post Office — Inconvenience caused by want of, etc.
Q. Mr. Hemphill; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 870.

Customs Department
Assistants of Customs and Excise, Candidates for — Age Limit, Proposed Changes, etc.
Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 858.

Customs House
Anticipatory Clearance—Regulations proposed to prelude excessive Clearances, etc.
Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Sir M. H.-Beach, *Feb. 19*, 477.

Cycles
Conveyance of Cycles Bill, *see* that title.

Cyprus Tribute
Amount paid to Turkish Government, etc.
Q. Mr. A. Davies; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1033.

Dairy Industry
Ireland—Proposed Appointment of Irish Commissioner in England to protect Irish Interests, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.

ly, Mr. J. [Monaghan, S.]
Armagh and Kingscourt Railway Scheme—Great Northern Company Monopoly, *Feb. 26*, 1202.
Beer Contracts for Troops in Ireland placed with English Firms, etc., *Feb. 21*, 674.
County Officials, Ireland, Increase in Salaries, *Feb. 19*, 549.
Forage for Army Horses in Ireland—Local Contracts, *Feb. 21*, 675.

Daly, Mr. J.—*cont.*
Horse Breeding in Ireland—Distribution of Premiums for Stallions, Number given to Ulster, *Feb. 26*, 1203.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 548.
Mail Trains between Dublin and Belfast, Exemption of Third Class Passenger Carriages, *Feb. 26*, 1201.
Monaghan Co. Estates—Delay in Fixing Judicial Rents, etc., *Feb. 22*, 863.
South African War—Protest against the War, *Feb. 19*, 548.

Dalziel, Mr. J. H. [Kirkcaldy Burghs]
Business of the House, Precedence of Government Business — Mines (Eight Hours) Bill Discussion, *Feb. 26*, 1225.
South African War — Boer Women and Children in Refugee Camps, Rations Distinction, *Feb. 26*, 1180.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1310; *Feb. 27*, 1331.

Dangerous Trades
Lead Poisoning, *see* that title.

Davies, Mr. A. [Carmarthen Boroughs]
Cyprus Tribute—Amounts paid to Turkish Government, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1033.
Jameson Raid Indemnity—Set-off against the British Government Claim, Communications since the annexation of the Transvaal, *Feb. 26*, 1179.
Netherlands Railway Company, Attitude of British Government towards, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1018.
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Members' Stand, *Feb. 19*, 497.
Tin Plate Industry—American Competition, *Feb. 26*, 1194.

Death Duties
Estate Duty, *see* that title.

Death Sentences
see Capital Punishment.

Declarations
Religion—Declarations made by Heads of States on their Accession, Address for Return, *Feb. 19*, 586.
King's Declaration against Roman Catholicism, *see* Roman Catholicism

Defence of the Empire
Cabinet Committee of Defence—Gibraltar Dock Works
Q. Sir J. Colomb, *Feb. 25*, 1069.
Joint Naval and Military Committee of Defence — Constitution and Functions
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. Arnold Forster, *Feb. 15*, 171.

Delany, Mr. W. [Queen's Co., Ossory]
Army Pensioners and Outdoor Relief—Case of W. Miller, *Feb. 25*, 1027.

Demise of the Crown
- Justices renewing Oath of Allegiance, etc., *Q.* Mr. Broadhurst; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 21*, 683.
- Representation of Irish and Scotch Constituencies, Effect on, etc.
  - *Qs.* Mr. J. Campbell, Mr. J. Lowther; *As.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 19*, 483.

Denbigh
- Records—Documents of not sufficient value to justify Preservation, Schedule, *Feb. 14*, 54; *Feb. 15*, 169.

Denmark
- Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50.

Derby Corporation Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 827.
  - 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 993.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
  - 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 993.

Derwent Valley Water Board Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
  - 1R. *Feb. 25*, 993.

Devonport Corporation Gas Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
  - 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 993.

Devonport Gas and Coke Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
  - 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 993.

Devonshire, Duke of—*Lord President of the Council*
- Cockerton Judgment—Higher Elementary Education and Evening Continuation Schools, etc., *Feb. 25*, 981.

Dewar, Mr. J. A. [Inverness]
- Barra, Island of—Crofters and Cottars, Arrangements for Purchase of Land from Lady Gordon Cathcart, etc., *Feb. 18*, 312.
- London Government Telephone System—Date of Opening, *Feb. 19*, 484.
- Peterspont Pier, Access to—Construction of Road, *Feb. 25*, 1046.

Dewar, Mr. T. R. [Tower Hamlets, St. George's]
- Chiswick Level-Crossing Accident—Enforcing Penalties, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1039.
- Overcrowding in East London—Difficulty of proving cases of overcrowding, *Feb. 26*, 1198.
- South African War
  - Yeomanry—Rates of Pay, *Feb. 19*, 470.

Digby, Mr. J. K. Wingfield [Dorset, N.]
- Coronation Oath, proposed Alteration, *Feb. 15*, 178.

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. [Gloucester, Forest of Dean]
- Army
  - Discipline and Training, Lessons of the South African War—Inquiry proposed, *Feb. 25*, 1100.
  - Mountain Batteries, Armament of, *Feb. 26*, 1184.
  - Reform, *Feb. 14*, 140.
- Indian Army—Effective Strength in Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, etc., *Feb. 18*, 303.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 131; *Feb. 25*, 1097.
- Lead Poisoning—Number of Cases, 1899–1900, Proposed new Special Rules, etc., *Feb. 18*, 306, 307.
- Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R., *Feb. 27*, 1360.
- Municipal Trading—Appointment of Joint Committee, Affording opportunity for Debate, *Feb. 21*, 710.
- Questions—Under-Secretary of State prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 340.
- Prussian Knights of St. John—Report on Organisation, etc., Laying on the Table, *Feb. 25*, 1027.
- South African War
  - Boer Raids into Southern Bechuanaland, Griqualand, etc., *Feb. 14*, 134.
  - Cape Colony Invasion—Preparations for repelling, Question of Reinforcements, etc., *Feb. 14*, 132, 134.
  - Conduct of Battalions — Differences which the War has shown between Battalion and Battalion, *Feb. 14*, 133.
  - Conduct of the War—Sending half-trained Men straight into the Field, City Imperial Volunteers, etc., *Feb. 14*, 140.
  - Guerilla Warfare, *Feb. 14*, 131.
  - Inquiry
    - General Inquiry, etc., *Feb. 14*, 132; *Feb. 25*, 1100.
    - Surrender of British Troops—Publication of Proceedings, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1097, 1099, 1100.
  - Reinforcements — Hasty Reinforcements not confined to trained Men, etc., *Feb. 14*, 135, 137; *Feb. 25*, 1101.
- Waima Incident—Progress of Arbitration, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Dillon, Mr. J. (Mayo, E.]
- China—Anti-Foreign Rising
  - Peking—Protection of Foreign Legations, *Feb. 19*, 476.
  - Punishment of Officials—Requesting Officials to Commit Suicide, etc., *Feb. 18*, 322; *Feb. 21*, 680.
- Foxford, Suppressed League Meeting at—Extra Police, *Feb. 18*, 314; *Feb. 22*, 867.

[*cont.*

Dillon, Mr. J.—*cont.*
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 25*, 1145; *Feb. 26*, 1239.
Questions to Ministers—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 322, 323, 324.
Motion for Adjournment of the House, *Feb. 18*, 325, 334, 353, 354.
Roman Catholic Chaplains for the Fleet, *Feb. 22*, 853.
South African Constabulary Recruiting—Refusal of Australian Governments to allow, alleged, *Feb. 19*, 464.
South African War
Conduct of the War—Amendment to the Address, Attack on Everything and Everybody connected with the War, *Feb. 25*, 1145; *Feb. 26*, 1239.
Esau, Murder of, by the Boers, *Feb. 22*, 839—Milner's, Sir A., Telegram, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
Farms, Burning by Boer Forces in Cape Colony, *Feb. 22*, 843.
Grants to Generals, proposed, *Feb. 21*, 658.
Hamilton's, Gen. Bruce, Proclamation at Ventersburg, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1020.
Newspapers—Suppression of English Newspapers in Cape Colony, *Feb. 22*, 841.
Peace Negotiations between Gen Botha and Lord Roberts, *Feb. 15* 260; *Feb 18*, 296.
Refuge Camps, Number of, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1021.
Yeomanry—Rates of Pay, Extension to Regular Troops, proposed, *Feb. 19*, 470; *Feb. 22*, 842.
Supply
Motions for Reduction not moved for the Purpose of diminishing Government Expenditure—Mr. Balfour's Observations, *Feb. 27*, 1332.
Sessional Order, Discussion of Irish Estimates, *Feb. 26*, 1313; *Feb. 27*, 1332, 1337.

Diplomatic and Consular Service
Asia Minor—British Consular Representation, Extension of, to Tiflis, Baku, etc.
Q. Mr. Norman; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 305.

Diplomatic and Consular Trade Reports
see Trade Reports.

Diseases of Animals Act
see Contagious Diseases.

Disraeli, Mr. C. R. [Cheshire, Altrincham]
Maidstone Election Petition — Refusal of Certificates of Indemnity, etc., *Feb. 22*, 859.

District Councils, Ireland
Labourers purchasing Cottages belonging to District Councils — Proposed Amendment of Labourers Act
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1048.

District Messenger and Theatre Ticket Company Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 994.

Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D. [Middlesex, Uxbridge]
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 879.

Dockyard Ports Regulation Act
Portsmouth Dockyard—Order in Council Presented, *Feb. 15*, 169; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Dockyards
Wages, Revision of—Petitions, etc.
Q. Mr. Kearley; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *Feb. 22*, 854.

Dogs
Muzzling Order in Carmarthen Co.—Omitting to make Inoculation Experiments
Q. Mr. L. Morgan; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 19*, 482.

Domestic Legislation
Prospects of the Session 1901
References to in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 42, 43, 100.

Doncaster Tithe Trust Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Donegal
Crime, Decrease in—Proclamation Revocation
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 487.
Land Commission, see that title.
Newbridge Port, Proposed Construction of Boatslip and Breakwater—Report of Engineer, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 864.
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—"Day of General Mourning," Police compelling Publicans to close, etc., alleged
Q. Mr. M'Fadden; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 697.
Roman Catholic and Protestant Magistrates, Number of—Representation of Roman Catholic Population, etc.
Q. Mr. Boyle; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1051.
Small-pox, Case of — Precautionary Measures
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1057.

Donelan, Capt. A. J. C. [Cork, E.]
Army Contracts and Irish Firms—Proportion of Foreign Beef and Mutton supplied to Troops, etc., *Feb. 18*, 297.
Dredger, Loss of in Cork Harbour—Inspection, etc., *Feb. 18*, 310 ; *Feb. 25*, 1054.
Horses for the Army—Number purchased in Ireland and Abroad, etc., *Feb. 18*, 295; *Feb. 22*, 846.
Land, Dual Ownership of—Cork County Council Resolution, etc., *Feb. 21*, 703.
Lightships—Repairs, Placing Contracts with English Firms, etc., *Feb. 19*, 492.
National Gallery—Sunday Closing in Winter, *Feb. 25*, 1039.
Roman Catholic Chaplain at Queenstown, Salary, *Feb. 22*, 854.

Dorking Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 994.

Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. A.—*First Commissioner of Works* [Kent, St. Augustine's]
Aberdeen Post Office—Date of Commencement of New Building, *Feb. 26*, 1198.
Admiralty Building,—Delay in erection of Colonnade, *Feb. 22*, 854.
Dog Muzzling in County Carmarthen—Omitting to make Inoculation Experiments, *Feb. 19*, 483.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 20*, 610.
Liquor Licensing Laws Reform, *Feb. 20*, 610.
Piccadilly—Crossing Refuges in, *Feb. 19*, 482.
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Members' Stand, *Feb. 19*, 496.

Dover Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Dover Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Dover Harbour Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Drainage Works, Ireland
Arterial Drainage — Enabling County Councils to execute, Proposed Amendment of Local Government Act, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Govern ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 698.
Owenmore River, Drainage of—Proposed Grant-in-Aid
Q. Mr. O'Dowd ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 694.

Dredgers
Cork Harbour—Sinking of Dredger, *see* Cork.

Drink Question
Liquor Licensing Reform, *see* title Liquor Traffic and Liquor Licensing Laws.

Dublin
Army Contracts—Establishment of Receiving Depot for Tenders from Irish Manufacturers
Q. Mr. Field ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1187.
Barrack Contract—Evasion of Fair Wage Resolution, etc.
Qs. Mr. Nannetti ; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 300 ; *Feb. 21*, 672.
Botanic Gardens—Acreage, Annual Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 858.
Mail Trains between Belfast and Dublin —Exemption of Third Class Carriages
Q. Mr. Daly ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.
Metropolitan Police—Sick Regulations, Grievances
Q. Mr. Field ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 695.
Port of Dublin—Appointment of Viceregal Commission, proposed
Q. Mr. Field ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 317.
Post Office Sorters' Grievances—Reduction of Wages, etc.
Q. Mr. Field ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 490.
Spencer Dock—Condition of Lock Gates
Q. Mr. Kennedy ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 1208.

Dublin Corporation (Markets, etc.) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 994.

Dublin (Equalisation of Rates) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 994.

Dublin, St. James' Gate Brewery Tramways Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 994.

Duchy of Cornwall
Receipts and Disbursements for 1900—Account Presented, *Feb. 15*, 166 ; *Feb. 19*, 438.

Duchy of Lancaster
Receipts and Disbursements — Account Presented, *Feb. 19*, 438, 449.

Dudley, Earl of—*Secretary to the Board of Trade*
"Primrose Hill," Loss of—Board of Trade Inquiry, *Feb. 22*, 821.

Dunboyne, Lord
Representative Peer for Ireland, *Jan. 24*, 5.

Dungarvan
Postal Arrangements—Improvement of
Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 491.

Dyke, Sir W. H. [Kent, Dartford]
Parliament, State Opening—Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 15*, 177.

Early Closing of Shops
see Shops.

Earthenware Manufacture
Lead Poisoning, *see* that title.

East India
see India.

East London
Overcrowding, *see* that title.

Easton and Church Hope Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Eccles Corporation Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 995.

Edgeworthstown and Ballymahon
Queen Victoria, Funeral of, "Day of General Mourning"—Police Compelling Publicans to Close, etc., alleged
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 697.

Edinburgh University
Annual Statistical Report Presented *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 437.
Report of the State of the Finances, Presented *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 437, 448.

Education
President—Duke of Devonshire.
Vice-President—Rt. Hon. Sir J. E. Gorst.
Adults—Evening Continuation Schools, etc., *see* sub-heading Higher Grade and Evening Coninuation Schools.
Bills Relating to, *see* their titles
Cockerton Judgment
Continuing Grant to Schools affected pending Decision of the Court of Appeal
Q. Mr. Kenyon; *A.* Sir J. Gorst, *Feb. 21*, 692.
Debate (Lords) *Feb. 25*, 978.
Code of 1900—Minute modifying Article 101 (*g*) of the Day School Code, Presented,, *Feb. 20*, 588.
Endowed Charities, *see* that title.
Higher Elementary Schools—Number of Applications for Recognition, etc.
Q. Mr. Yoxall; *A.* Sir J. Gorst, *Feb. 19*, 481.

Education—*cont.*
Higher Grade and Evening Continuation Schools—Petition for Alteration of Law, *Feb. 15*, 164; *Feb. 18*, 287; *Feb. 19*, 447; *Feb. 20*, 587; *Feb. 21*, 654; *Feb. 22*, 836; *Feb. 25*, 1010; *Feb. 26*, 1174.
Irish Questions
Ardagh National School—Building Estimates, Proposed Supplemental Grant towards Excess claimed, etc.,
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 870.
Intermediate Education—Time Table of Examinations for 1901 Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.
National School Teachers, *see* that title.
King's Speech Proposals
References to in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 42, 97.
School Boards and School Attendance Committees in England and Wales—List Presented, *Feb. 19*, 437, 449.
Science and Art Grants—Cockerton Judgment, *see* that sub-heading.
Scotland—Legislative Prospects, 1901
Qs. Mr. Crombie, Mr. Bartley: *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 495.
Teachers
Dismissal of—Legislation proposed
Q. Mr. Crombie; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 495; *Qs.* Major Rasch, Mr. Caine; *As.* Sir J. Gorst, *Feb. 25*, 1042.
Irish Teachers, *see* title National School Teachers.

Education (Young Children) (School Attendance) (Scotland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 451.

Edwards, Mr. F. [Radnor]
Militia Officers' Gratuities—Regiments Stationed in the Channel Islands, *Feb. 21*, 670.
Sporting Rights on Government Lands in Wales—Advertising Sale of, etc., *Feb. 21*, 689.

Egypt
British Occupation—Pledges broken with reference to Self-Government, etc.
O. Mr. Lloyd-George, *Feb. 18*, 400.
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Elections
Parliamentary Elections, *see* that title.

Electoral Disabilities Removal Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 460.

Electric Trams
Standard Gauge proposed
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 684.

Electricity
Chelsea Electricity Supply Company—Giving Preferential Rates to users of 200 volts
Q. Mr. Strachey; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 309.

Elementary Education
see Education.

Elibank, Master of [Edinburgh, Midlothian]
Paardeberg Despatches, *Feb. 21*, 662; *Feb. 26*, 1180.

Elland Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Ellis, Mr. J. E. [Nottingham, Rushcliffe]
Agricultural Rating in England and Wales—Return, *Feb. 25*, 1037.
Bloemfontein Provost Marshal Clerk—Case of Atherstone, *Feb. 25*, 1022.
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 883.
Milner, Sir A., and Sir W. Hely Hutchinson, Position of, etc., *Feb. 18*, 291.
Parliament, State Opening—Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 15*, 175.
Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act—Petitions in favour of, or against Provisional Orders, *Feb. 15*, 164.
South African War—Boer Women in Refugee Camps, Amount of Rations, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1021; *Feb. 26*, 1180.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1294.
Transvaal Appointments with reference to Civil Administration, Criticism on—Communicating to Sir A. Milner, *Feb. 22*, 838.

Emigration and Immigration
Alien Immigration
Legislative Prospects
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 178.
Number of Aliens arriving in United Kingdom in each month of 1901—Return Presented, *Feb. 18*, 290; *Feb. 19*, 441.
Irish Statistics—References to in Debate on the Land Acts, *Feb. 21*, 716, 750.

"Encounter," H.M.S.
Belleville Boilers, fitting with, pending Report of Committee of Inquiry, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Wilson, Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 18*, 301, 302.

Endowed Charities
Fareham—William Price Charity, Scheme for Management of Presented, *Feb. 15*, 169; *Feb. 26*, 1168.

Engineers
Coopers' Hill College, *see* that title.
Royal Engineers, *see* Army.

Enniscorthy Asylum
Auditing Accounts—Local Government Board Charge, etc.
Q. Mr. Ffrench; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 21*, 706.

Enteric Fever
see South African War.

Esau
see South African War.

Esmonde, Sir T. G. [Wexford, N.]
County Officials' Salaries in Wexford—Appeals against Increase in Salaries, *Feb. 26*, 1207.
Supply—Sessional Order, Increase in Number of Days for the Discussion of Irish Votes, *Feb. 27*, 1335.

Estate Duty
Ireland—Amount collected on Devolution of Tenancies, Legality of Duty, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 493.

Estate Duty Office
Irish Solicitors, Appointments of—Examination of Irish Candidates in English Law, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 707.

Estimates
see titles Army, Navy, and Supply.

Evening Continuation Schools
see Education—Higher Grade and Evening Continuation Schools.

Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.,* *Feb. 20*, 645.

Evictions, Ireland
Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 70.

Exchequer
Revenue Returns and Exchequer Issues, Quarterly Returns—Distribution to Members
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 477.

Executioner Billington
Cork Coroner Summoning to attend Inquest, *see* Cork.

Executions
Amended Rules for Regulating, *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 439.

Exham, Col.
South African Hospitals Commission—Evidence
Q. Mr. Guthrie, *Feb. 15*, 232, 233.

Explosions
Gunpowder Factory at Blackbeck, Lancashire, Explosion—Report of Inspector, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Exports
- *see* Imports and Exports.

Faber, Mr. G. D. [York]
- Paardeberg Despatches, *Feb. 15*, 170.

Fair Wage Resolution
- Dublin Barracks Contract
  - *Q.* Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 300; *Feb. 21*, 672.

Fairford and Cirencester Railway Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 828.
  - 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 995.

Famine
- *see* India.

Fareham
- William Price Charity, Scheme for Administration of, Presented, *Feb. 15*, 169; *Feb. 26*, 1168.

Farm Burning in South Africa
- *see* South African War.

Farquharson, Dr. R. [Aberdeenshire, W.]
- Army Medical Department—Work in South Africa, Military Titles Agitation, etc., *Feb. 19*, 552.
- Private Bill Procedure, Scotland, *Feb. 15*, 174.

Farrell, Mr. J. P. [Longford, N.]
- Ardagh National School—Building Estimates, Proposed Grant, etc., *Feb. 22*, 870.
- Coolarty, Proposed Sunday Delivery of Letters—Providing Letter Box at Springpark, etc., *Feb. 18*, 319.
- Granard Postal Arrangements—Increased Facilities, proposed, etc., *Feb. 22*, 869.
- Irish Grievances — Charge against the Executive—United Irish League, etc., *Feb. 22*, 931.
- Irish Land Acts, Maladministration—Compulsory Purchase of Land, proposed, etc., *Feb. 18*, 393; *Feb. 21*, 762.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 18*, 392; *Feb. 21*, 762; *Feb. 22*, 931.
- Labourers Act, Proposed Amendment—Labourers purchasing Cottages held by District Councils, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1048.
- Land Commission Proceedings
  - Annally Estate—Tenant Purchasers' Applications, Delay in supplying Vesting Orders, etc., *Feb. 19*, 485.
  - Appeals in County Longford, *Feb. 19*, 486.
  - Fair Rents in County Longford, *Feb. 26*, 1203.
  - Granard Estate — Delay in Sale of Land to Tenants, *Feb. 25*, 1049.
- Longford Union Night Nurse—Refusal of Local Government Board to sanction Appointment of Miss Brown, *Feb. 18*, 317.

Farrell, Mr. J. P.—*cont.*
- Lowrison, Lewis—Remission of sentence proposed, *Feb. 18*, 314.
- Meath Co.—Proposed Railway between Granard and Oldcastle, Government Assistance, *Feb. 19*, 487.
- Moore, Mr., late Longford Petty Sessions Clerk—Refusal of Pension Gratuity to Widow, *Feb. 19*, 489.
- Queen Victoria, Funeral of, "Day of General Mourning"—Police compelling Publicans to close, etc., alleged, *Feb. 21*, 697.
- Railway Construction in Ireland—Amount of unexpended Grant, *Feb. 21*, 693.
- Roman Catholicism—King's Declaration against, *Feb. 18*, 392.
- St. Mel Cathedral, Preservation of Ruins, *Feb. 18*, 319—Correspondence, etc., *Feb. 21*, 707.
- South African War
  - Irish Prisoners at St. Helena, *Feb. 26*, 1181.
  - Over Taxation of Ireland, *Feb. 18*, 393.

Faversham Water Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Fenwick, Mr. C. [Northumberland, Wansbeck]
- Boilers, Inspection of—Proposed Legislation, *Feb. 15*, 174.
- Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R., *Feb. 27*, 1372.
- Parliament, State Opening Joint Committee of Inquiry,
  - Press Accommodation, *Feb. 26*, 1208

Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. [Manchester, N.E.]
- Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 897.
- West Indian Mail Service—Delays, *Feb. 25*, 1040.

Ffrench, Mr. P. [Wexford, S.]
- Enniscorthy Asylum, Auditing Accounts—Charge, etc., *Feb. 21*, 706.
- Harbour Dues, Tonnage Measurement, *Feb. 19*, 480.

Field, Mr. W. [Dublin, St. Patrick]
- Beer Contract for Troops in Ireland given to English Firm, etc., *Feb. 22*, 850.
- Belfast Valuation—Return, *Feb 25*, 1055.
- Constabulary, Royal Irish
  - Constabulary Force Fund, *Feb. 21*, 696.
  - Sick Regulations Grievances, *Feb. 21*, 695.
- Dublin
  - Army Contracts—Establishment of Depot, *Feb. 26*, 1187.
  - Port of—Appointment of Viceregal Commission proposed, *Feb. 18*, 317.
  - Post Office—Sorters' Grievances, *Feb. 19*, 490.

[*cont.*

Field, Mr. W.—*cont.*
- Forage for Army Horses in Ireland—Local Contracts, *Feb. 21*, 675.
- Irish Lights Board—Number of Members, Salaries, etc., *Feb. 19*, 491.
- Live Stock, Transport from Ireland to Great Britain — Consignment Notes, etc., *Feb. 18*, 311.
- Local Taxation—Report of Commission, Date of Issue, *Feb. 18*, 318.
- Railway Rates—Preferential Rates for Foreign Fruit, *Feb. 18*, 310.
- Rating of Lands and Buildings, Ireland—Proposed Re-valuation, etc., *Feb. 21*, 703.
- Small Dwellings Acquisition Act—Number of Purchases, Working of Act, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1052.
- Supply—Sessional Order, Discussion of Irish Estimates, *Feb. 26*, 1317.
- Urban District Valuations in Ireland, *Feb. 19*, 484.

Financial Business of the House
- *see* titles Business of the House and Supply.

Finlay, Sir R. B.—*Solicitor-General* [Inverness Burghs]
- Circuit System, Reform of, *Feb. 21*, 691.
- Demise of the Crown—Effect of on Representation of Irish and Scotch Constituencies, *Feb. 19*, 483.
- Jury System—Jurors ordered to stand by, Instances of in England during the last fifty years, *Feb. 26*, 1199, 1200.
- Maidstone Election Petition
  - Bribery, Extent of, etc., *Feb. 21*, 691.
  - Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 880, 891.
  - Prosecution of Offenders, etc., *Feb. 21*, 690 ; *Feb. 26*, 1200.
  - Refusal of Certificates of Indemnity, etc., *Feb. 22*, 859.
- South African Conciliation Committee and Lieut. Morrison's Letter, *Feb. 26*, 1181.
- Trust Frauds—Legislation, *Feb. 26*, 1199.
- Witnesses' Names, Suppression of—Case of Cory-Thomas *v.* Spink, *Feb. 21*, 692.

Finlay's, D., Estate
- Delay in Completion of Sale to Tenants
  - *Q.* Mr. M'Govern ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 866.

First Commissioner of Works
- Rt. Hon. A. A. Douglas.

First Lord of the Admiralty
- Earl Selborne.

First Lord of the Treasury
- Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour.

Fish
- Culture — Experimental Establishment, Board of Trade Proposals
  - *Q.* Mr. Norman ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 870.
- Immature Fish—International Convention
  - *Q.* Sir A. Rollit ; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Fisheries
- Bills relating to, *see* their titles.
- Ireland
  - Inland Fisheries Commission
    - Norwegian Salmon Fisheries, Translation of Report, *Feb. 14*, 69.
    - Report of Commissioners — Appendix, Documents and Minutes of Evidence Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 69.
  - Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund—Loans under, Amended Rules for Administration of, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.
  - Trawling, *see* that title.
- North Sea Fisheries, *see* that title.
- Salmon Fisheries, *see* that title.
- Sea Fisheries — Statistical Tables and Memorandum relating to Presented, *Feb. 20*, 588.
- Trawling, *see* that title.

Fishermen, Ireland
- Loans to—Requiring Applicants for Loans to Supply Sureties, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Clancy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 866.

Fishmongers' Company
- *see* Salmon Fisheries.

Flannery, Sir J. F. [Yorkshire, Shipley]
- Business of the House, Precedence of Government Business — Mines (Eight Hours) Bill Discussion *Feb. 26*, 1224.
- Naval Ships and Water-tube Boilers—Committee of Inquiry, Ocean Trial proposed, *Feb. 18*, 302. ; *Feb. 22*, 851.

Flavin, Mr. M. J. [Kerry, N.]
- Army Contracts given to German Firms
  - Saddles, *Feb. 22*, 848.
  - Vegetables, *Feb. 22*, 850.
- Beer, Arsenical Poisoning, *Feb. 21*, 687, 699.
- Cape Colony, Boer Invasion of—Placing Map in the Library, etc., *Feb. 15*, 170.
- Coonaloughey Landing Stage—Proposed Improvements by Congested Districts Board, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1047.

[*cont.*

Flavin, Mr. M. J.—*cont.*
County Officials' Salaries in Wexford—Appeals against Increase in Salaries, *Feb. 26*, 1207.
Crimean Veterans in Irish Workhouses, *Feb. 26*, 1188.
Horses—Purchase of Irish Horses for the Army, *Feb. 21*, 669.
South African Constabulary, Recruiting in Australia—Australian Governments refusing, alleged, *Feb. 22*, 838.

Flynn, Mr. J. C. [Cork, N.]
Army Contract System in Ireland, *Feb. 21*, 673.
Cork City Election—Amount claimed from Borough Council for Extra Police Force, etc., *Feb. 18*, 315.
Cork Coroner Summoning Executioner Billington to attend Inquest—Warrant for Arrest, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1056.
Irish Land Acts, Maladministration, Compulsory Purchase of Land proposed, etc., *Feb. 21*, 758.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 21*, 758.
Newmarket (Cork) Petty Sessions—Extra Police, *Feb. 18*, 315.
Rifle Clubs in Ireland, Gun Licences, Exemption from Duty, *Feb. 25*, 1026.
Sullivan, J. R., Convict—Proposed Remission of Sentence, *Feb. 25*, 1050.
Supply—Sessional Order, Discussion of Irish Estimates, *Feb. 26*, 1310.

Folkestone Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Food
Imported Food, Analysis of—Number of Samples analysed in 1900, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1041.

Food Standards Committee
see Milk and Cream.

Forage
Army Horses in Ireland — Home and Foreign grown Forage
Qs. Mr. Daly, Mr. Field; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 675.
County Councils' Resolutions
Qs. Mr. O'Doherty; Mr. M'Fadden; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1023.

Foreign Affairs
Questions—Supplementary Questions, etc. *see* title Questions.

Foreign Competition
Tin Plate Industry, *see* that title.

Foreign Loans
see Names of Countries.

Foreign Manufactures
see Imports and Exports.

Foreign Office
Secretary of State—Marquess of Lansdowne.
Under Secretary—Viscount Cranborne.

Forster, Mr. H. W. [Kent, Sevenoaks]
King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 14* 72.

Foster, Sir W. [Derby, Ilkeston]
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 219.
South African War
Enteric
Inoculation against, Results—Prof. Wright's Statement, *Feb. 26*, 1183.
Number of Cases and Deaths, &c., *Feb. 18*, 293.
Hospitals Commission Report—Defects of Medical Arrangements in South Africa, Recommendations, etc., *Feb. 15*, 219.

Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. [Wolverhampton, E.]
Indian Expenditure, Recommendations of Commission, Grant in Relief of Indian Famine, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1137.
Parliament—State Openings, Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 19*, 494.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1304.

Foxford
Suppressed Meeting of United Irish League—Number of Police brought in, Expenses, etc.
Qs. Mr. Dillon; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 314; *Feb. 22*, 867.

France
Waima Incident—Arbitration, Progress of
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 461.

French Plums
Preparation of—Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Freshwater, Yarmouth, and Newport Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Friendly Societies
National Debt Accounts, *Feb. 18*, 288; *Feb. 19*, 440.
Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, *see* that title.
Report for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.

Friendly Societies' Disqualifications Removal Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 464.

Fruit
Railway Rates—Preferential Rates for Foreign Fruit from Dover to London, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 310.

Galway Bay
Trawling in—Increasing Fine, etc., proposed
Q. Mr. Morris; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 698.

Galway, County
Kenny Estate—Sale of Land to Tenants Reservation of Right of Game
Q. Mr. Roche; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.

Garner, Sergeant Major
Military Savings Bank Account—Withholding Payment from Widow, etc.
Q. Col. Lockwood; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 471.

Gas Light and Coke Company Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 995.

Gateshead and District Tramways Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 995.

General Election Campaign
South African War—"The War is over"
References to, in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 84, 102; *Feb. 15*, 247, 256; *Feb. 19*, 504.

German Emperor
Queen Victoria, Death of, Visit to England
O. Mr. Forster, *Feb. 14*, 74.
South African War—German Emperor as Arbitrator
Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 845.

Germany
Anglo-German Agreement, *see* China.
British Army Contracts, *see* Army—Contracts.
Congo Free State—Alleged Seizure of Territory by German Force and Ejection of Belgian Forces, etc.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 15*, 172.
Prussian Knights of St. John—Report on Organisation, etc.; Laying on the Table
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1027.
Trade Estimates Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Gibraltar
Colvile, General, *see* Colvile.
Dock and Harbour Works—Safety, Adequacy, and Defensibility of Scheme
Bowles', Mr. G., Amendment to the Address — Appointment of Committee of Inquiry, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1062.
Sanitary Condition, etc., Improvement of —Recommendations of Inter-departmental Committee
Qs. Mr. Stevenson, Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 479.

Glasgow
Small-pox Epidemic—Number of Deaths
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1046.

Glasgow University
Annual Statistical Report Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167; *Feb. 19*, 437, 449.

Glasgow and Renfrew District Railway Transfer Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 995.

Glasgow and South Western Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 995.

Gloucester
Vaccination—Number of Unvaccinated Persons, etc.
Q. Mr. Coghill; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 25*, 1035.

Goddard, Mr. D. F. [Ipswich]
Burial Laws Consolidation—Recommendations of Select Committee, etc., *Feb. 22*, 857.

Golborne Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 996.

"Goonlaze"
Wreck of—Discovery of Bodies close to Peppercombe Coastguard Station, proposed Inquiry, etc.
Q. Mr. Soares; *A.* Mr. G. W. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 173.

Gordon, Mr. J. [Londonderry, S.]
Gun Licences—Compelling Purchasers to exhibit Licences to Dealer before Purchase, *Feb. 26*, 1196.
Irish Land Acts, Maladministration — Compulsory Purchase of Land, etc., *Feb. 21*, 765.
Jury System—Legislation, *Feb. 26*, 1196.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 21*, 765.

Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.—*Vice-President of Council of Education* [Cambridge University]

Cockerton Judgment—Continuing Grant to Schools affected pending Decision of the Court of Appeal, *Feb. 21*, 692.

Higher Elementary Schools, Number of Applications for Recognition, etc., *Feb. 19*, 482.

Teachers—Arbitrary Dismissal, *Feb. 25*, 1042.

Goschen of Hawkhurst, Viscount

New Peer—Introduced, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Gosforth and Ponteland Light Railway

Orders Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 71.

Government Contracts

Army Contracts, *see* Army.

Granard

Estate—Delay in Sale of Land to Tenants, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1049

Postal Arrangements, Complaints — Increased Facilities Proposed, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 869.

Grants-in-Aid

Ireland - Grants forwarded to County Councils, Notification to District Councils, etc., Proposed
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 318.

Gravesend Gas Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 996.

Great Central Railway Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 996.

Great Eastern Railway Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 996.

Great Northern Railway Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 996.

Great Northern Railway, Ireland

Armagh and Kingscourt Scheme
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 26*, 1202.

Mail Trains between Dublin and Belfast, Exemption of Third Class Passenger Carriages
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.

Midland Great Western Companies, Agreement with—Monopoly Question
Q. Mr. M'Govern; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1058.

Great Southern and Western Railway Bill

l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Great Western Railway Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 996.

Greece

Loan—Annual Account for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 15*, 166; *Feb. 19*, 438.

Queen Victoria, Death of—Resolution of Sympathy from the Chamber of Deputies, *Jan. 25*, 17, 18.

Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 19*, 436.

Greenwich Hospital and Travers' Foundation

Accounts, with Report of Comptroller and Auditor-General, Presented, *Feb. 27*, 1324.

Grenada

Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. [Northumberland, Berwick]

Questions—Under-Secretary of State prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 348.

Griffith, Mr. E. J. [Anglesey]

Holyhead Mail Pier, Erection of—Sale of Property to London and N.W. Railway Company, etc., *Feb. 21*, 686.

Guildford Corporation

Reservists—Refusal to allow Reservists to be Employed in Borough Fire Department.
Q. Gen. Laurie; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 467.

Gully, Rt. Hon. W. C. [Carlisle]

see Speaker.

Gun Licences

Compelling Purchasers of Pistols to exhibit to Dealer Gun Licences before Purchase
Q. Mr. J. Gordon; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 26*, 1196.

Rifle Clubs — Exemption from Gun Licences
Qs. Mr. Maconochie, Mr. Flynn; *As.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 25*, 1026.

Gunpowder Explosions

Blackbeck, Lancashire—Inspector's Report, *Feb. 14*, 51, 68.

Guns

see Army.

Guthrie, Mr. W. M. [Tower Hamlets, Bow, etc.]

South African Hospitals Commission Report, *Feb. 15*, 229.

Habitual Drunkards Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 436.

Haldane, Mr. R. B. [Haddington]
Irish Land Acts, Maladministration—Compulsory Purchase of Land proposed, etc., *Feb. 21*, 793.
Irish University Question, *Feb. 21*, 798.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 21*, 793.

Halsbury, Earl of—*Lord Chancellor*
Took the Oath, *Jan. 23*, 1.

Hamilton, Gen. Bruce
see South African War.

Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G.—*Secretary of State for India* [Middlesex, Ealing]
Army
Effective Strength in Non-commissioned Officers and Men, 1896–1901, *Feb. 18*, 303.
Time-expired Men—Number serving in India, *Feb. 18*, 303; *Feb. 21*, 677.
Troops withdrawn from Establishment for Service outside India, *Feb. 18*, 303.
Burma Judicial Service—Establishment of Separate Judicial Service, Proposals, *Feb. 26*, 1192.
China—Anti-Foreign Rising
Looting at Peking, *Feb. 25*, 1031; *Feb. 26*, 1192.
Waldersee, Count von—Proposed Expedition, etc., *Feb. 21*, 678.
Cooper's Hill College—Dismissal of Professors, etc.
Inquiry proposed, *Feb. 19*, 476.
Laying Papers on the Table, *Feb. 15*, 172.
Names of Board of Visitors recommending Changes, *Feb. 26*, 1190.
Famine—Number of Persons in Receipt of Relief, *Feb. 18*, 302.
Financial Relations between the British and Indian Exchequers—Recommendations of Commission, Grant in aid of Famine, etc., *Feb. 18*, 304, 305; *Feb. 25*, 1129.
Frontier Province—Creation of New Province, etc., *Feb. 21*, 678.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 25*, 1129.
Opium Trade with China—Proposed Abandonment, etc., *Feb. 19*, 476.

Hamilton of Dalzell, Lord
Sat first in Parliament after the death of his Father, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Handsworth Urban District Council Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Harbour Dues
Tonnage Measurement
Circular, Issue of, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 480.
Wexford County Council Resolution—Legislation proposed
Qs. Mr. Ffrench, Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 480.

Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. [Monmouthshire, W.]
Business of the House, Financial Business—Government Precedence, *Feb. 26*, 1214, 1221.
China—British Military Policy, Relations with Russia, etc., *Feb. 18*, 377.
King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 18*, 377; *Feb. 25*, 1084.
Liquor Licensing Laws Reform—Compensation Question, etc., *Feb. 20*, 618.
Questions to Ministers—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 324, 332, 354.
South African War—Surrender of British Troops, Inquiry, *Feb. 25*, 1084—Publication of Proceedings, etc., 1097.

Hardie, Mr. K. [Merthyr Tydvil]
"Bohemian," Discipline on—Prosecution of Firemen, Shipowners acting as Magistrates, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1037.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 26*, 1276.
Mines [Eight Hours] Bill, 2R. *Feb. 27*, 1384.
Government Business Precedence, Protest, *Feb. 26*, 1220.
South African War—Terms of Surrender—Lieut. Morrison's Letter, Defence of the Conciliation Committee, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1276.

Harpenden District Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Harrogate Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Harrogate Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Harrowby, Earl
Sat first in Parliament after the death of his Father, *Jan. 25*, 7.

Hartlepools Gas and Water Transfer Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 997.

Harwood, Mr. G. [Bolton].
China—British Government Policy, etc., *Feb. 19*, 543.

[*cont.*

Harwood, Mr. G.—*cont.*
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 542.
South African War—Termination of the War, Terms of Settlement, Settlement after the War, etc., *Feb. 19*, 543.

Hay, Mr. C. G. D. [Shoreditch, Hoxton]
South African War—Gratuities due to Estates of deceased Officers, Delay in Payment, *Feb. 19*, 472.

Hayter, Sir A. [Walsall]
South African War Memorial—Proposed Imperial Memorial to British and Colonial Troops, etc , *Feb. 21*, 657.

Healy, Mr. T. M. [Louth, N.]
Agriculture Department, Ireland—Veterinary Inspector Staff, Appointment of Mr. C. Neil, *Feb. 25*, 1047.
Army Contract System in Ireland
Changes introduced, etc., *Feb. 21*, 673.
Troops supplied with Foreign Materials, etc., *Feb. 18*, 296.
Bills, Bringing in Bills—"Absurd" Custom, *Feb. 15*, 180.
Electric Trams—Standard Gauge, proposed, *Feb. 21*, 684.
Estate Duty—Amounts collected on Devolution of Tenancies, etc., *Feb. 19*, 493.
Harbour Construction—Treasury Grants, *Feb. 19*, 494.
Harbour Dues—Tonnage Measurement, etc., *Feb. 19*, 480.
Horses for the Army
Breakdown of Horses in South Africa, *Feb. 19*, 469.
Purchase of, in England and Ireland, *Feb. 18*, 295.
Irish Grievances—Landlord intrigues, etc., *Feb. 22*, 964.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 22*, 964.
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 880.
Parks, Royal, in Great Britain and Ireland, etc.—Acreage, Annual Cost, etc., *Feb. 22*, 858.
Questions—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 355.
Roman Catholicism, Royal Declaration against—Declaration prescribed by Bill of Rights—Effect of Act of 1866, etc., *Feb. 22*, 872.

Heckmondwike Gas (Transfer) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 829.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 997.

Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. H. [Tyrone, N.]
Curragh, N. Tyrone—Want of Post Office etc., *Feb. 22*, 870.
Supply—Sessional Order, Number of days for the discussion of Irish Votes, *Feb. 27*, 1328.

Henry Diaper and Company (Delivery Warrants) Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Hepplewhite, Mr.
Tapering Pit Props and Bars Patent
Q. Mr. A. Markham; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 26*, 1195.

Herries, Lord
Roman Catholicism—Royal Declaration against, *Feb. 22*, 819.

Herzegovina
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Hetton-le-Hole
Drunkenness in, Alleged
Os Mr. Tully, Mr. J. Wilson, *Feb. 19*, 583, 584.

Heywood and Middleton Water Board Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Hickman, Sir A. [Wolverhampton, W.]
Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R. *Feb. 27*, 1366.

Higginbottom, Mr. S. W. [Liverpool, West Derby]
Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R. *Feb. 27*, 1383.

High Court of Justice
see Law Courts.

Higher Grade Schools
see Education.

Hobhouse, Mr. C. E. H. [Bristol, E.]
China—British Government Policy, Russian Occupation of Manchuria, Shanhai-kwan Railway, etc., *Feb. 18*, 384.

Hobhouse, Mr. H. [Somerset, E.]
Agricultural Rating Act—Proposed Return of Rates levied in England and Wales 1896 and 1900, *Feb. 25*, 1036.
Inebriate State Reformatories, *Feb. 18*, 308.
Maidstone Election Petition
Extent of Bribery, etc., *Feb. 21*, 690.
Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 877.

Hofmeyr, Rev. A.
see South African War.

Holyhead
Mail Pier, Erection of, and the Sale of Property to London and North-Western Railway Company, Abandonment of, etc.
Q. Mr. E. Griffith; *A.* Mr. G. W. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 686.

Home Office
Secretary of State—Rt. Hon. C. T. Ritchie.
Under-Secretary—Rt. Hon. J. Collings.

Honduras—British
Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Hong Kong
Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Honley Urban District Council (Gas) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 997.

Horley District Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 997.

Horse Breeding in Ireland
Premiums for Stallions Distribution—Number given to Ulster
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1203.

Horse Shoe and Nail Company
Army Contract—Placing Contract elsewhere, etc.
Qs. Sir H. Vincent, Mr. P. O'Brien; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1028.

Horses
Purchase of Horses for the Army
Aldridge's Repository—Inspection of Horses by Government Purchasers, Number purchased, etc.
Q. Mr. Philipps; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 847.
Argentine Horses
O. Mr. Philipps, *Feb. 14*, 113.
Prices paid for unsuitable Horses, etc.
Q. Mr. Philipps; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1021.
Hungarian Horses—Purchase of unsuitable Horses, etc., alleged
Q. Mr. Beaumont; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 669.
Irish Horses, Purchase of—Number purchased from Dealers and Non-Dealers, etc.
Qs. Col. Nolan, Mr. Flavin, Mr. Cullinan; *As.* Lord Stanley, Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 669; *Qs.* Col. Nolan, Major Rasch, Mr. Bartley; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1186.
Number purchased in England, Ireland, and Abroad—Comparative Merits, etc.
Qs. Mr. Philipps, Mr. T. M. Healy, Capt. Donelan, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 295; *Qs.* Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett, Capt. Donelan, Col. Sandys; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 845.

Horses—*cont.*
Purchase of Horses for the Army—*cont.*
Purchase Abroad—Insufficient care exercised in choice of Horses, etc.
References to, in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 110, 116, 129.
Secrecy as to Prices
Q. Col. Nolan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1189.
Sending Buyers into the Country—Making known publicly
Q. Mr. Philipps; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 846.
South African War, *see* that title.

Hoult, Mr. J. [Cheshire, Wirrall]
"Primrose Hill," Difficulty of obtaining Crew—Inquiry into Wreck, etc., *Feb. 21*, 685.

Hours of Labour in Shops
see Shops.

House of Commons
see Parliament.

House of Lords
see Parliament.

Housing of the Working Classes
Boyle, Erection of Houses—Delay in Issuing Loan
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 706.
King's Speech Omission, etc.
References to, in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 43, 99, 119.
Overcrowding in East London—Difficulty of Proving Cases of Overcrowding
Q. Mr. Dewar; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 26*, 1198.

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 998.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 998.

Humphreys-Owen, Mr. A. C. [Montgomery]
"South African News"—Prosecution of Editor for Libel, *Feb. 26*, 1179.

Hutchinson, Sir W. Hely
Position in Cape Colony
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 291.

Hutchinson, Viscount
Sat first in Parliament after the death of his Father, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Ilkeston and Heanor Water Board Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 998.

Immature Fish
- North Sea Fisheries—International Conventions
  - *Q.* Sir A. Rollit; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Immigration
- *see* Emigration and Immigration.

Imported Food
- Analysis by Commissioners of Customs—Number of Samples Analysed in 1900, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1041.

Imports and Exports
- British Trade Statistics
  - *Q.* Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1193.
- Foreign Manufactures, Imports of—Total Value for 1900
  - *Q.* Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1193.

Incorporated Law Society
- Discipline Committee—B. G. Lake, late Chairman, sentenced to Penal Servitude for Fraud, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 478.

India
- *Secretary of State*—Rt. Hon. Lord G. Hamilton.
- *Under-Secretary*—Earl of Hardwicke.
- Agricultural Land in the Punjab—Amendment of Law
  - *O.* Mr. Schwann, *Feb. 25*, 1119.
- Army
  - Effective Strength in Non-commissioned Officers and Men, 1896–1901
    - *Qs.* Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Caine; *As.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 18*, 303.
  - Military Charges, *see* sub-heading Finance.
  - Time-expired Men—Number serving in India
    - *Qs.* Capt. Norton, Mr. Cochrane; *As.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 18*, 303; *Feb. 21*, 677.
  - Troops withdrawn from Establishment for Service outside India, Number of British and Native Troops
    - *Q.* Mr. Caine; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 18*, 303.
- Burma, *see* that title.
- Cooper's Hill College, *see* that title.
- Famine
  - Carrying out the Famine Code—In praise of the Officials, etc.
    - *O.* Mr. Schwann, *Feb. 25*, 1117.
  - Grant in Relief of, by the Imperial Government—Mr. Caine's Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1105.

India—*cont.*
- Famine—*cont.*
  - Number of Persons in receipt of Relief
    - *Q.* Mr. Caine; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 18*, 302.
  - Preventive Measures
    - *O.* Mr. Schwann, *Feb. 25*, 1116.
  - Relief Administration—"Deterrent" Conditions
    - *O.* Mr. Schwann, *Feb. 25*, 1118.
- Finance
  - Expenditure Commission Recommendations—Transfer of Items of Charge to the British Exchequer, Grant in Relief of Indian Famine, etc. — Mr. Caine's Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1105.
    - Aden Charges, 1107.
    - Control of Expenditure—Transferring to the House of Commons so that it could be discussed on the Estimates, 1138.
    - Indian Office Appropriation-in-Aid, 1132, 1133.
    - Lump Sum in Settlement of Arrears, 1106, 1109, 1124, 1128, 1131, 1137, 1140.
    - Military Charges—Troops Withdrawn for Service outside India, etc., 1112, 1123, 1125.
    - Persian Mission and the Establishments in China, 1108.
    - Salaries of Secretary of State and Under-Secretary, 1111, 1132, 1133.
    - Zanzibar and Mauritius Cable, 1107.
  - Imperial Grant (£50,000) in Aid of India Office Charges
    - *Q.* Mr. Caine; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 18*, 304, 305.
  - Loans raised in India—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 72.
- Frontier Province, Creation of New Province—Administration
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 21*, 677.
- Irrigation Question
  - *O.* Mr. Schwann, *Feb. 25*, 1120.
- Opium Trade with China — Proposed Abandonment, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Lord G, Hamilton, *Feb. 19*, 475.
- Technical Education Question
  - *O.* Mr. Schwann, *Feb. 25*, 1122.
- Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries, Tables relating to Presented, *Feb. 19*, 437, 449.

Industrial and Provident Societies
- Report for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.

Inebriate Reformatories
Corngreaves Hall Retreat — Regulations for Management of, Presented, *Feb. 25*, 976, 1011.
Inspector's Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.
State Reformatory, Establishment of, proposed — Representations from County Authorities, etc.
Q. Mr. H. Hobhouse ; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 18*, 308.

Innishowen
Compulsory Land Purchase—Resolution of District Council
Q. Mr. O'Doherty ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 864.
Labourers' Cottages, Erection of—Amount of Grant standing to Credit of District Council, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 860.
Land Commission Appeals, Number of—Date of next Sitting, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 699.

Inquests
see Coroners' Inquests.

Intoxicating Liquor (Sale to Travellers) Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 436.

Inventions
War Office, Examination by—Method pursued, etc.
Q. Sir H. Vincent ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 849.

Ionian Islands
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 19*, 436.

Ireland
Lord Lieutenant—Earl Cadogan.
Chief Secretary—Rt. Hon. G. Wyndham.
Attorney General—Rt. Hon. J. Atkinson.
Solicitor-General—Mr. D. P. Barton.
Lord Chancellor—Lord Ashbourne.

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department
Factory and Truck Acts Administration, Control
Q. Mr. O'Doherty, *Feb. 15*, 242.
Rules under Section 3 Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.
Veterinary Inspection Staff—Appointment of Mr. Neill, Retaining Services of Capt. Tuke, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1047.
Annally Estate—Vesting Orders, Delay in supplying to Farmers, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 485.

Ireland—*cont.*
Ardagh National School—Building Estimates, Proposed Supplemental Grant towards Excess claimed, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 870.
Armagh, *see* that title.
Army Contracts, *see* Army.
Arterial Drainage and Re-afforestation, Enabling County Councils to undertake — Proposed Amendment of Local Government Act, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Govern ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 698.
Ballybofey Sub-Postmastership — Delay in filling Vacancy
Q. Mr. Boyle ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 708.
Beer, Arsenic in—Number of Cases and Deaths from Arsenical Poisoning, etc.
Q. Mr. Flavin ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 699.
Beer Contracts for Troops in Ireland, *see* title Army—Contracts
Belfast, *see* that title.
Bills Relating to, *see* their titles.
Board of Works—Resignation of Chairman
Q. Mr. P. O'Brien ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1206.
Boycotting and Intimidation by United Irish League
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 22*, 905.
Boyle, *see* that title.
Church Temporalities—Report Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1177.
Constabulary, Royal Irish—for collective heading *see* that title.
Coolarty, Sunday Delivery of Letters—Providing Wall Letter Box at Spring-park, etc.
Q. Mr. P. J. Farrell ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 319.
Coonaloughey Landing Stage—Proposed Improvements by Congested Districts Boards, etc.
Qs. Mr. Boland, Mr. Flavin ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1047.
Cork, *see* that title.
County Councils—Grants in Aid forwarded to, Notification to District Councils, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 318.
County Officials—Increase in Salaries by the Local Government Board
Q. Mr. Daly, *Feb. 19*, 549.
Wexford County Council Appeals
Qs. Sir T. Esmonde, Mr. Flavin, Mr. P. O'Brien ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1207.
Crime and Outrages
Agrarian Outrages—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 69.

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*
Crime and Outrages—*cont.*
Decrease in Crime in County Donegal, Removing operations of Peace Preservation Act
Q. Mr. O'Doherty ; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 487.
Curragh, N. Tyrone, — Want of Post Office, Inconvenience caused by, etc.
Q. Mr. Hemphill ; A. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 870.
Dairy Industry—Appointment of Irish Commissioner in England to protect Irish Interests proposed, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Mara ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.
Demise of the Crown—Effect of on Representation of Irish Constituencies
Qs. Mr. J. Campbell, Mr. J. Lowther ; *As.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 19*, 483.
Donegal, *see* that title.
Dublin, *see* that title.
Dungarvan Postal Arrangements, Improvement of, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Shee ; Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 491.
Education — for collective heading, *see* title Education.
Electoral Areas, Poor Law Valuation, etc. —Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 70.
Enniscorthy Asylum, Auditing Accounts —Local Government Board Charge, etc.
Q. Mr. Ffrench ; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 21*, 706.
Estate Duty—Amount collected on Devolution of Tenancies, Legality of Duty, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy ; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 493.
Evictions—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 70.
Executive — Maladministration, etc., alleged
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 22*, 905.
Factory Legislation
O. Mr. O'Doherty, *Feb. 15*, 242.
Fair Rents—for collective heading, *see* title Land Commission.
Finlay's, D., Estate, Co. Cavan—Delay in Completion of Sale to Tenants
Q. Mr. M'Govern ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 866.
Fisheries—for collective heading, *see* Fisheries
Fishermen, Loans to—Sureties
Q. Mr. Clancy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 866.
Flag—Green Flag and Sligo Court House Incident
Q. Mr. O'Dowd ; *A* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 26*, 1204.
Forage Contracts for Troops in Ireland, *see* title Army—Contracts.
Foxford—Suppressed Meeting, *see* sub-heading United Irish League.

Ireland—*cont.*
Galway, *see* that title.
Government Contracts, *see* title Army—Contracts.
Granard, *see* that title.
Grants - in - aid forwarded to County Councils — Notification to District Councils, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham *Feb. 18*, 318.
Great Northern and Midland Great Western Railway Companies, alleged Agreement between, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Govern ; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1058.
Green Flag, *see* sub-heading Flag.
Grievances of the Irish People
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 22*, 905.
Harbour Construction—Treasury Grants
Qs. Col. Nolan, Mr. T. M. Healy ; *As.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 493.
Harbour Dues, Tonnage Measurement — Wexford County Council Resolution, etc.
Qs. Mr. Ffrench, Mr. T. M. Healy ; *As.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 480.
Horse-breeding—Distribution of Premiums for Stallions, Number given to Ulster
Q. Mr. Daly ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1203.
Horses, Purchase of, for the Army, *see* title Horses.
Innishowen, *see* that title.
Intermediate Education—Time Table of Examinations for 1901 Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.
Jermyn's, Castlecove Estate — Fixing Judicial Rents
Q. Mr. Boland ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1202.
Johnston, Mr., Armagh Magistrate, Allegations against—Decision of County Court Judge, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Fadden ; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 25*, 1049.
Judicial Rents—Returns Presented *Feb. 14*, 53, 70—*see* also title Land Commission.
Jury Packing
Debate on Irish Grievances, *Feb. 22*, 913, 916, 925, 928, 941, 946, 949, 954.
Justice Administration—Maladministration, alleged.
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 22*, 905.
Kenny Estate, Sale of Land to Tenants—Reservation of Right of Game.
Q. Mr. Roche ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.
King's Visit
O. Marquess of Waterford, *Feb. 14*, 31.
Labourers' Cottages - for collective heading *see* that title.
Land Commission—for collective heading *see* that title.

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

"Land Grabbers"—United Irish League Methods
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 22*, 905.

Land Judges' Court—Return
Qs. Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Cullinan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 694.

Land Question
Compulsory Sale.
Debate on the Addres, *Feb. 14*, 34, 122; *Feb. 18*, 393.
Innishowen Council Resolution, Legislation proposed, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 864.
Russell, Mr., Conversion of to the Nationalist Views — Personal Explanation, *Feb. 21*, 728.
O. Col. Saunderson, 772.
Russell's, Mr. T. W., Scheme—Lord Salisbury's Letter to Mr. Russell — "Existing Circumstances"
O. Mr. J. Redmond, *Feb. 21*, 727.
Dual Ownership of — Cork County Council Resolution, etc.,
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 703.
Land Acts—Failure of, System of Compulsory Sale, proposed Redmond's, Mr., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 21*, 711—[for details of Debate, *see* Land Question.]

Landlords—"British Garrison," Term of Reproach
O. Col. Saunderson, *Feb. 21*, 778.

Lights Board — Number of Members, Salaries, Annual Outlay of Board, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 491.

Lightships — Repairs, Placing Contracts with English Firms, etc.
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 492.

Limerick, *see* that title.

Liquor Licensing Question.
Debate on Mr. Whittaker's Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 19*, 579, 582; *Feb. 20*, 593, 640.

Live Stock, Transport to Great Britain—Consignors compelled to sign through consignment notes relieving Companies of Liability, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 311.

Local Government Board.
County Officials' Salaries, *see* sub-heading County Officials.
Return
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1205.

Londonderry, *see* that title.

Ireland—*cont.*

Longford, *see* that title.

Lowrison, Lewis, Case of—Proposed remission of Sentence.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 314.

Lunatic Asylums—for collective heading, *see* Lunatic Asylums.

Magistrates and Justices of the Peace, for collective heading, *see* that title.

Mail Service, *see* that title.

Mail Trains between Dublin and Belfast, Exemption of third class carriages.
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.

Meat Contracts for Troops in Ireland, *see* title Army—Contracts.

Meath, Co.—Proposed Railway between Granard and Oldcastle, Government Assistance, etc.,
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 487.

Mohill and Farnaught Postal Arrangements, Incovenience caused by, etc.,
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 319.

Monaghan Estates—Delay in fixing Judicial Rents, Date of next Sitting at Carrickmacross, etc.
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 863.

Moville, *see* that title.

National School Teachers, *see* that title.

Newbridge Port, Proposed Construction of Boatslip and Breakwater—Report of Engineer, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 864.

Newmarket Petty Sessions Court, *Oct. 12, 1900*—Extra Police Force, Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 315.

Newspaper Proprietors and Editors, Prosecution of—"Kilkenny People," etc.
Debate on Irish Grievances, *Feb. 22*, 911,
Tallow Prosecution—Mr. C. Redmond summoned to give evidence as to handwriting, etc.
O. Mr. J. Redmond, *Feb. 22*, 938.

Ogilby Estate, Sale of Holdings to Tenants, Delay, etc.
Q. Mr. Murnaghan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.

Owenmore River, Drainage of, Grant-in-aid proposed
Q. Mr. O'Dowd; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 694.

Piers and Harbours—for collective heading *see* title Piers and Harbours.

Portnaling, Co. Donegal—Proposed Construction of Pier and Harbour, Government Grant, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 861.

Post Office—for collective heading, *see* that title—Irish Questions

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Day of General Mourning; Shopkeepers and Publicans compelled by Police to close, etc.
  Qs. Mr. J. O'Connor; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 316; *Feb. 25*, 1059; *Feb. 26*, 1205.
  Qs. Mr. M'Fadden, Mr. J. P. Farrell; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 697.

Railways—for collective heading, *see* title Railways.

Rates
  Land and Buildings Assessment—Revaluation
    Qs. Mr. Field, Mr. O'Shee; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 703.
  Railways and other Lands—Assessment of Rates on one-fourth of net annual value, complaints, etc.
    Q. Mr. Carew; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 314.

Representative Peers, *see* that title.

Roads, Repair of, by direct Labour, Obtaining Order in Council, etc.
  Q. Mr. Lundon; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 705.

Roberts, Lord, Erecting Memorial to proposed
  O. Mr. Power, *Feb. 15*, 240.

Roman Catholic University Question
  Os. Mr. Haldane, Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 798.
  Omissions in the King's Speech
    O. Mr. Power, *Feb. 15*, 237.

St. Mel's Cathedral, *see* that title.

Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund, Loans under—Amended Rules for Administration of, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.

Seeds—Schemes for Improvement, etc., Distribution of Seeds to Irish Farmers
  Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 863.

Skibbereen Land Sub-Commission Sitting—Postponement until after Cork Assizes
  Q. Mr. Barry; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 701.

Sligo, *see* that title.

Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, Number of Purchasers—Working of Act, etc.
  Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1052.

Soldiers' Wives and Children in Irish Workhouses
  Healy's, Mr. T. M., Statement, etc.
    Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 473.
  Money accruing to them through their husbands—Paying direct to Workhouses
    Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1019.

Solicitors and Somerset House Appointments—Examination of Irish Candidates in English Law, etc.
  Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 707.

Spencer Dock, Dublin—Condition of Lock Gates
  Q. Mr. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1208.

Sullivan, J. R., Convict—Remission of Sentence Proposed
  Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1050.

Supreme Court of Judicature Rules—Orders in Council Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.

Taxation—Cost of the War in South Africa
  O. Mr. Farrell, *Feb. 18*, 395.

Tipperary Rent Appeals—Delays
  Q. Mr. Cullinan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 490.

Tobacco Cultivation, *see* title Tobacco.

Trawling, *see* that title.

Ulster and Connaught Labourers' Cottages—Unexpended Grant, etc.
  Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 704.

United Irish League Organisation—Lawful or Unlawful Organisation, etc.
  Debate on the Address, *Feb. 22*, 905

United Irish League—Suppressed Meeting at Foxford, Number of Police brought in, Expenses, etc.
  Qs. Mr. Dillon; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 314; *Feb. 22*, 867.

Urban Districts, System of Valuation—Proposed Assimilation to English System, etc.
  Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 484.

Wexford, *see* that title.

Wicklow, *see* that title.

Workhouses—for collective heading, *see* that title.

Irish Language
  O'Donnell's, Mr., Attempt to address the House in the Irish Language, *Feb. 19*, 546.

Irish Lights Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 458.

Irish Presbyterian Church Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
    1R.* *Feb. 25*, 998.

Irish Prisoners at St. Helena
  see South African War—Prisoners.

Irish Rifles, Royal
  Stormberg Casualties—Report as to death of three Privates who were not dead
    Q. Major Jameson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1183.

Iron and Steel Industry
Threatened Increase of Duties by Foreign Governments
O. Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 117.

Islington and Euston Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Italy
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Jameson, Major J. E. [Clare, W.]
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 579.
Liquor Licensing Reform, *Feb. 19*, 579.
South African War—Reported Death of three Privates of the Royal Irish Regiment, *Feb. 26*, 1183

Jameson Raid
Indemnity—Set-off against the British Government Claim, Communications since the Annexation of the Transvaal
Q. Mr. A. Davies; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1179.

Japan
Estates of deceased persons, Protection of—Convention between United Kingdom and Japan, *Feb. 14*, 51, 67.
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50.

Jermyn's Castlecove Estate
Judicial Rents
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1202.

Jessel, Capt. H. M. [St. Pancras, S.]
Borough Councils — Triennial Elections, *Feb. 19*, 481.

Jews in the East End of London
Housing of the Working Classes Question
O. Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 119, 121.

Johnston, Mr. W. [Belfast, S.]
Armagh Magistrate, Allegations against—Decision of County Court Judge, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Fadden; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 25*, 1049.
Unparliamentary Language Incident, *Feb. 22*, 948.

Joicey, Sir J. [Durham, Chester-le-Street]
Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R. *Feb. 27*, 1386.
Naval Ships and Water-tube Boilers, Belleville Type—Number supplied to Navy, etc., *Feb. 22*, 852.

Jones, Mr. D. B. [Swansea District]
South African War — Welsh Hospital, Maintaining for further period of three months, etc., *Feb. 21*, 667.

Journals
House of Commons — Sessional Order, *Feb. 14*, 67.

Joyce, Mr. M. [Limerick]
Collisions at Sea—Number in 1900, Board of Trade Inquiries, etc., *Feb. 21*, 684.
South African War
Militia Reservists — Proposed Recall of Fifth Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1023.
Soldiers' Wives in Irish Unions, *Feb. 25*, 1019.

Judges
Circuit System, *see* that title.

Judicial Rents, Ireland
Returns Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 70.
(*see* also Land Commission.)

Jurors' Expenses Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 458.

Jurors (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 464.

Jury System
Ireland—Jury Packing
Debate on Irish Grievances, *Feb. 22*, 913, 916, 925, 928, 941, 946, 949, 954.
Jurors Ordered to Stand by—Number of Instances in England during last fifty years
Qs. W. Redmond, Mr. J. Redmond; *As.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 26*, 1199.
Legislation
Q. Mr. J. Gordon; *A.* Mr. Ritchie *Feb. 26*, 1196.

Juvenile Offenders
see Youthful Offenders.

Kaffirs
see South African War.

Kearley, Mr. H. E. [Devonport]
Navy
Ball, Mrs., Case of—Warrant Officers' Widows' Annuities, *Feb. 21*, 676.
Dockyards Wages, Revision of—Petitions, *Feb. 22*, 854.
Patriotic Fund—Return, Date of Presenting to the House, *Feb. 26*, 1188.
South African War—Naval Brigade, Honours for Warrant Officers, *Feb. 21*, 675.

Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. [Devon, Honiton]
Liquor Traffic and Liquor Licensing Laws Reform, *Feb. 20*, 607.

Kennedy, Mr. P. J. [Westmeath, N.]
Spencer Dock, Dublin—Condition of Lock Gate, *Feb. 26*, 1208.

Kenny Estate
Sale of Land to Tenants—Reservation of Right of Game
Q. Mr. Rocke; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.

Kenyon, Mr. J. [Lancashire, Bury]
Cockerton Judgment—Continuing Grant to Schools affected pending Decision in Court of Appeal, *Feb. 21*, 692.

Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. [Shropshire, Newport]
Beer—Arsenic Poisoning Epidemic, *Feb. 15*, 202.

Kerry
Coonaloughey Landing Stage—Proposed Improvements by Congested Districts Board, etc.
Qs. Mr. Boland, Mr. Flavin; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1047.
Jermyn's Castlecove Estate, *see* that title.

Kettering Urban District Water Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 998.

Kew Gardens
Acréage, Annual Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 858.

"Kilkenny People"
Prosecution of Editor and Proprietor, Debate on Irish Grievances, *Feb. 22*, 911.

Kilmorey, Earl of
South African Hospitals Commission Report
Departmental Committee Recommendations, *Feb. 21*, 650, 654.

Kimberley, Earl of
Army Reform, *Feb. 14*, 41.
King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 37.
Licensing Laws Reform, *Feb. 14*, 42.
Queen Victoria, Death of—Address of Sympathy to the King, *Jan. 25*, 11.
South African War—Conduct of the War, Criticism on the Government, Insufficient Number of Mounted Troops and other Appliances, etc., *Feb. 14*, 38.

King Edward VII.
Accession Council—Edward VII. Proclaimed, *Jan. 23*, 2.
Accession to the Throne
O. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *Feb. 14*, 82.
Coronation, Cost of
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 710.

King Edward VII.—*cont.*
Parliament, State Opening, *see* Parliament.
Roman Catholicism, Declaration against, *see* Roman Catholicism.

King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Tramways Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

King's Road Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

King's Speech on the Opening of Parliament
Address in Answer (Lords), *Feb. 14*, 31—(Commons) 72; *Feb. 15*, 180; *Feb. 18*, 369; *Feb. 19*, 501; *Feb. 20*, 589; *Feb. 21*, 711; *Feb. 22*, 905; *Feb. 25*, 1062 [for subjects discussed, *see* their titles].
Omissions
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 43, 99, 114, 122.
Text of Speech, *Feb. 14*, 27.

Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 998.

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, [89] 830.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 999.

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms
House of Commons — Appointment of Committee, *Feb. 25*, 1166.

Kitchener, Lord
see South African War.

Labouchere, Mr. H. [Northampton]
Business of the House—Government Business Precedence, *Feb. 26*, 1223.
China, Loot from Peking, *Feb. 21*, 680, 681.
Civil List—Appointment of Committee of Inquiry, etc., *Feb. 21*, 709.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 247.
Questions—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 331.
South African Settlement, Terms of—Form of Government, etc., *Feb. 15*, 248.
South African War
Annexation Proclamations and Peace Negotiations, Responsibility for, etc., *Feb. 21*, 658.
Boer Brutality—Case of Esau, etc., *Feb. 21*, 664.
English Newspapers, Suppression of, in Cape Colony, *Feb. 21*, 665.
Hamilton's, Gen. Bruce, Operations—Proclamation at Ventersburg, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1020.
Termination of the War, Terms of Surrender, etc., *Feb. 15*, 247.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1302.

Labourers' Cottages, Ireland
Additional Half-acres, Applications for, etc.
  Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1053.
Applications for Cottages, etc., under Labourers Acts — Number since 1883, etc.
  Q. Mr. K. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1052.
Boyle Union—Distribution of unexpended Balance of Grant, etc.
  Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 318.
Delays in completing Schemes
  Q. Mr. Cullinan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 865.
Innishowen District Council—Unexpended Grant, etc.
  Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 860.
Labourers purchasing Cottages held by District Councils, etc.—Proposed Amendment of Labourers Act
  Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1048
Munster and Leinster—Amount of unexpended Grant
  Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1054.
Ulster and Connaught—Amount of unexpended Grant
  Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 704.

Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 453.

Lake, B. G.
Sentenced to Penal Servitude for Fraud—Late Chairman of Discipline Committee of Incorporated Law Society
  Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 478.

Lambert, Mr. G. [Devon, South Molton]
China—Count von Waldersee's proposed Expedition, etc., *Feb. 21*, 678.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 25*, 1069
Militia Embodiment — Relieving Battalions stationed abroad, *Feb. 21*, 671.
South African War
  Outrages by British Troops, alleged—Lieut. Morrison's Statement, etc., *Feb. 21*, 657.
  Stores and Supplies, Mismanagement, alleged, *Feb. 25*, 1077.
  Surrender of British Troops—Inquiry, *Feb. 25*, 1069, 1087, 1103.
Swine Fever—Number of Cases in 1898-1900, Expenditure incurred, etc., *Feb. 21*, 688.
War Office Reform, *Feb. 25*, 1076.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Dearne Valley Junction Railways) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 830.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 999.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 999.

Lancaster, Duchy of
Receipts and Disbursements — Account Presented, *Feb. 19*, 438, 449.

Land Acts, Ireland
Maladministration—Compulsory Purchase of Land, proposed, etc.
  Redmond's, Mr. J., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 21*, 711.
    Act of 1881
      Conservative Party Attitude towards Land Purchase, 783.
      Irish Members not responsible for, 712, 751.
    Appeals on Value, 729, 749.
    Ashbourne Act, Working of, 796.
    British Taxpayer—Effect of Compulsory Purchase, 723.
    Compulsory Sale and Purchase, 718, 741, 750, 755, 762, 763, 769, 775, 777, 791, 802.
    Cost of Administration, 713, 783.
    Dual Ownership, Abolition of, 712, 729, 762, 769, 796.
    Emigration Statistics for the year 1900, 716, 750.
    Fair Rent Acts Administration, 782.
    Finance difficulty, 767.
    Front Opposition Bench Opposition to Land Purchase in 1891, 755.
    Judges, Attack on, 730, 732, 785, 787.
    Land Judges' Court, Working of, 738.
    Landlord Class—Destruction of the "British Garrison," 778.
    Landlords—Effect of Compulsory Purchase on, 721.
    Landlord's Point of View—Working of System, 715,
    McCluggage Case, 730, 789.
    Meredith, Mr. Justice, Attack on, 732, 785, 796.
    Purchase of Land Acts, Working of, etc., 736, 740, 752.
    Remedy suggested, 718.
    Rent—Is it a Question of Rent? 794.
    Ross, Judge, Attack on, 790, 796.
    State of Public Opinion in Ireland upon the Question, 725.
    Tenant Farmers' Point of View—Working of System, 714.

Land Acts, Ireland—*cont.*

- Maladminstration—Compulsory Purchase of Land, proposed, etc.—*cont.*
  - Redmond, Mr. J., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 21*, 711—*cont.*
    - Tenants' Improvements, Method of dealing with, 731, 769.
      - Famous Adams and Dunseath Case, 731, 787, 788.
      - Ulster Tenants, Attitude of, 732.
    - Ulster Custom, 733.
    - Voluntary Purchase System—No Voluntary System can settle the Irish Question, 719.

Land Commission, Ireland

- Account for 1900—Report of Comptroller and Auditor General on, *Feb. 21*, 656.
- Administration of Land Acts
  - Redmond s, Mr. J., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 21*, 711.
- Annally Estate—Vesting Orders, Delay in supplying to Farmers, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. J P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 485.
- Cavan Co., D. Finlay's Estate, etc.—Delay in completion of Sale to Tenants
  - *Q.* Mr. M'Govern; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 866.
- Church Temporalities—Report Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1177.
- Donegal
  - Inneshowen Union—Number of Appeals, Date of next Sitting, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 699.
  - Letterkenny Appeals, Number of—Date of next Sitting
    - *Q.* Mr. M'Fadden; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 700.
- Fair Rent Applications—Delays
  - *Qs.* Mr. Cullinan, Mr. Clancy; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 868.
- Granard Estate, Co. Longford—Delay in Sale of Land to Tenants
  - *Q.* Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1049.
- Jermyn's Castlecove Estate
  - *Q.* Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1202.
- Judicial Rents—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 70.
- Longford Co.
  - Appeals—Tenant Litigants forced to go to Dublin, alleged, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 486.
  - Fixing Fair Rents
    - *Q.* Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1203.
- Monaghan Estates
  - Delay in fixing Judicial Rents—Date of next Sitting at Carrickmacross
    - *Q.* Mr Daly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 863.

Land Commission, Ireland—*cont.*

- Ogilby Estate, Co. Tyrone—Sale of Holdings to Tenants, Delay, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Murnaghan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.
- Proceedings—Return Presented, *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 437.
- Return
  - *Q.* Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1205.
- Skibbereen — Sub-Commission Sitting, Postponement until after Cork Assizes
  - *Q.* Mr. Barry; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 701.
- Tipperary Appeals—Delays
  - *Q.* Mr. Cullinan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 490.

Land Judges' Courts, Ireland

- Return
  - *Qs.* Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Cullinan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 694.

Land Question

- Ireland, *see* that title, also Land Acts.

Land Tenure Bill

- c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 452.

Land Tenure (Wales) Bill

- c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 456.

Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act (1854) Amendment Bill

- c. 1R*. *Feb. 26*, 1239.

Landsdowne, Marquis of—*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*

- South African Hospitals Commission Report—Recommendations, *Feb. 21*, 651.

Lawrie, Gen. [Pembroke and Haverfordwest]

- Guildford Corporation — Reservists as Firemen, *Feb. 19*, 467.

Law, Mr. A. B. [Glasgow, Blackfriars]

- King's Speech—Address in Answer *Feb. 19*, 527.
- South African War
  - Terms of Surrender, Conduct of the War, etc., *Feb. 19*, 528.

Law Courts

- Court of Common Pleas—Documents of not sufficient value to justify preservation—Schedule, *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.
- Ireland—Supreme Court of Judicature Rules, Orders in Council Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.
- Supreme Court of Judicature — Rules Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 72.

Lawson, Mr. J. G.—*Secretary, Local Government Board* [York, N.R., Thirsk]

- Burial Laws Consolidation — Recommendations of Select Committee, etc., *Feb. 22*, 857.

Lead Poisoning
Number of Cases reported, etc. — Address for Return, *Feb. 26*, 1177, 1321, 1324.
Number of Cases in 1899–1900—Alleged failure of Special Rules, proposed new Special Rules, etc.
Qs. Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Coghill; *As.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 18*, 306.

Leamy, Mr. E. [Kildare, N.]
Irish Language—Mr. O'Donnell's attempt to address the House in the Irish Language, *Feb. 19*, 547.

Leasehold Enfranchisement (England and Wales) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 462.

Leatherhead Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 999.

Leconfield, Lord
Sat first in Parliament after the death of his father, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Lee, Mr. A. [Hants, Fareham]
South African War
Colonial Troops, Rate of Pay, *Feb. 25*, 1014.
Rewards for Distinguished Service—Delay in announcing, *Feb. 21*, 661.

Leeds Churches Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 972.

Leeds Corporation (General Powers) Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Leeds Corporation Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Leeward Islands
Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Legal Procedure (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 452.

Leicester
Vaccination — Number of Unvaccinated Persons, etc.
Q. Mr. Coghill; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 25*, 1035.

Leigh, Sir J. [Stockport]
Imperial Yeomanry—Rates of Pay, *Feb. 19*, 470.

Leinster
Labourers' Cottages—Amount of unexpended Grant
Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1054.

Leng, Sir J. [Dundee]
Army Reserve—Section D, Detention of Men with the Colours contrary to terms of Engagement, *Feb. 26*, 1185.
Budget and the Customs House Clearance, *Feb. 19*, 477.
Patriotic Fund and the Crimean Widows—Unrelieved Widows, *Feb. 26*, 1187.
South African War—British Prisoners captured at Magersfontein, Pay, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1016.
Sugar Bounties — British Government Right to impose Duty, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1031.

Letterkenny
Land Commission Appeals. Number of—Date of next Sitting, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Fadden: *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 700.

Level-crossings
Chiswick Accident—Enforcing Penalties, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Dewar; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25.* 1039.

Levy, Mr. M. [Leicestershire, Loughborough]
Pensions for Permanently Disabled Officers and Men, *Feb. 19*, 472.

Lewis, Mr. J. H. [Flint Boroughs]
Aged and Deserving Poor—Pensions, Legislative Prospects of, 1901; *Feb. 22*, 874.
South African War—Cost of the War, Total Cost, etc., *Feb. 22*, 844.
Yeomanry Recruits at Aldershot, Treatment of, etc., *Feb. 21*, 670.

Liberal Party and the War
O. Marquess of Salisbury, *Feb. 14*, 46, 49.
Pro-Boers, *see* that title.

Licences (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 454.

Licensing Sale of Intoxicating Liquors
Petitions for Alteration of Law, *Feb. 29*, 448.

Licensing Sessions Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 436.

Lichfield
Rifle Range—Progress of Works
Q. Mr. Warner; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1027.

Life Assurance Companies
Statements of Account and Abstracts of Actuarial Reports, Presented, *Feb. 27*, 1324.

Life Insurance
Child Insurance, *see* Children.

Light Dues
Exemption from—Report of Board of Trade Committee, with Appendix, Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 69.

Light Load Line Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 436.

Light Railways
Orders Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 70.

Lighthouses
General Lighthouse Fund—Income and Expenditure Account Presented, *Feb. 15*, 165 ; *Feb. 19*, 438.

Lights Board, Ireland
Number of Members, Salaries, etc.
Q. Mr. Field ; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 491.

Lightships
Ireland—Repairs, Placing Contracts with English Firm, etc.
Q. Capt. Donelan ; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 492.

Limerick
Clerk of the Peace—Salary
Q. Mr. O'Shaughnessy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1206.
Lunatic Asylum—Grant-in-aid for Pauper Lunatics, Application to Irish Government, &c.
Q. Mr. Lundon ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 859.

Liquor Traffic and Liquor Licensing Laws
Beer, Arsenic in, &c., *see* Beer.
Intoxicating Liquor (Sale to Travellers) Bill, *see* that title.
Liquor Reform Bills, *see* their Names.
Publicans' Licences Valuations—Return
Q. Mr. E. Robertson ; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 22*, 855.
Reform—Recommendation of Royal Commission, Legislation, &c.
Debate on the Address *Feb. 14*, 42, 98, 101.
Whittaker's, Mr., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 19*, 557 ; *Feb. 20*, 589.
Appeal to Quarter Sessions, Abolition of, 601.
Bona Fide Travellers, 577, 603.
Buying up Public Houses, 619.
Children, Sale of Drink to, 603, 625.
Clubs, 578, 597.
Compensation and Reduction of Number of Licences Question, 567, 576 ; *Feb. 20*, 595, 600, 611, 615, 617, 618, 625, 627, 629.

Liquor Traffic and Liquor Licensing Laws —*cont.*
Reform—Recommendation of Royal Commission, Legislation, etc.—*cont.*
Whittaker's, Mr., Amendment to the Address—*cont.*
Consolidation of the Law, 599.
Construction of Premises, 627.
Consumption of Liquor — Comparison between Amount of Liquor Consumed 25 years ago and now, 622.
Diminution in Drinking as the number of Licences has diminished, 565.
Disqualification of Licensing Authority, 600.
Excessive number of Public Houses and its effect, 620.
Habitual Drunkards, 604, 610, 626.
Arrest for Simple Drunkenness, 577.
Ireland—Licensing Question as affecting Ireland, 579, 582, 589, 593, 640.
Licensing Authority, 594, 608, 611, 634.
Licensing Session, holding in March instead of August and September, 577.
Local Veto, 624, 631.
Mortality among Publicans and their Servants, 566.
Mortality, Increase in Rate, 573.
Occasional Licences, 600, 603.
Off Licences, 601.
Penalty to be inflicted on Publicans for Breach of Law, 609.
Points upon which the Commission was unanimous, 562, 608, 625.
Police Corruption in large Towns, 563, 582, 632.
Renewal of Licences—£12 rateable value, 577, 600.
Sale of Liquor on Passenger Vessels, Theatres, etc., 601.
Sunday Closing, 602, 617.

Live Stock
Transport from Ireland to Great Britain—Consignors compelled to sign through Consignment Notes, relieving Companies of Liability, etc.
Q. Mr, Field ; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 311.

Llanelly Harbour Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Water Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 999.

Llandrindod Wells Water Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1000.

Lloyd-George, Mr. D. [Carnarvon, etc.]
  Chamberlain, Mr., Attack on, *Feb. 18*, 398.
  King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 18*, 397.
  Pro-Boers — Encouraging the Boers, etc., *Feb. 18*, 397.
  South African Settlement, Policy of the Government—Amendment to Address, proposed
    O. Mr. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 421.
  South African War—Terms of Surrender, Farm Burning, Settlement after the War, Peace Negotiations, etc., *Feb. 18*, 398.

Loans
  Foreign Countries, *see* their Names.
  India, Loans raised in—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 72.

Local Government Board
  President—Rt. Hon. W. H. Long.
  Parliamentary Secretary — Mr. J. G. Lawson.

Local Government, Ireland
  Electoral Areas, Poor Law Valuation, etc. —Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 70.
  Return
    Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1205.

Local Government (Ireland) Amendment Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 455.

Local Government (Scotland) Act (1894) Amendment Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1237.

Local Taxation
  Agricultural Rating Act, *see* that title.
  Ireland—Assessments
    Lands and Buildings—Proposed Revaluation, etc.
      Qs. Mr. Field, Mr. O'Shee; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 703.
    Railways and other Lands—Assessment on one-fourth of net Annual Value, Complaints, etc.
      Q. Mr. Carew; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 314.
  Report of Royal Commission—Date of Issue
    Q. Mr. Channing; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 15*, 174; *Q.* Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 318.

Lockwood, Col. [Essex, Epping]
  Garner, Sergeant-Major, Military Savings Bank Account—Withholding Payment from Widow, etc., *Feb. 19*, 471.
  South African War—Surrender of British Troops, Inquiry, *Feb. 25*, 1083.

London Bridge Widening Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1000.

London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

London (City) School for Orphans of Freemen Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1000.

London County Council (Spitalfields Market) Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1001.

London Government
  see Borough Councils.

London Riverside Fish Market Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1001.

London, Tilbury and Southend Railway Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1001.

London, Tilbury and Southend Railway Bill
  Petition for Additional Provision referred to Examiners for Private Bills, *Feb. 26*, 1174.

London Water (Purchase) Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1001.

London and India Docks (New Works) Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1000.

London and North-Western Railway Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 831.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1000.

Londonderry
  Discharge of Firearms, Discovery of Explosives, etc.—Police Investigations
    Qs. Mr. O'Doherty; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 488; *Feb. 21*, 692.

[*cont.*

Londonderry—*cont.*
Post Office Staff—Number of Clerks Appointed in 1900, Advertising Examinations, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1059.

Long, Rt. Hon. W. H.—*President of the Local Government Board* [Bristol, S.]
Agricultural Rating Act—Renewal, Rates levied in England and Wales, 1896 and 1900—Return, *Feb. 25*, 1036; *Feb. 26*, 1198.
Beer—Arsenic Poisoning Epidemic, *Feb. 15*, 199, 205, 218.
Crumpsall Workhouse Infirmary, Deaths in, *Feb. 18*, 311.
Number of Deaths from Arsenical Poisoning, etc., *Feb. 21*, 687.
Borough Councils—Triennial Elections, *Feb. 19*, 481.
Food Standards Committee—Report, *Feb. 25*, 1036.
Overcrowding in East London—Difficulties of Proving Cases of Overcrowding, *Feb. 26*, 1198.
Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899 | Number of localities adopting, etc., *Feb. 21*, 687.
Small-pox—Precautions against in London, *Feb. 21*, 687.
Swine Fever—Number of Cases in 1898–1900; expenditure incurred, etc., *Feb. 21*, 688.
Vaccination
Conscientious Objectors, Working of the Act—Complete Abolition of Compulsory Vaccination proposed, *Feb. 26*, 1197.
Leicester and Gloucester—Number of Unvaccinated Persons, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1035.
Returns, *Feb. 26*, 1197.

Long Eaton Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.*, *Feb. 25*, 1001.

Long Melford and Hadleigh Light Railway
Order Presented *Feb. 14*, 53, 71.

Longford
Granard, *see* that title.
Land Commission Proceedings
Annally Estate — Vesting Orders, Delay in Supplying to Farmers, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 485.
Appeals—Tenant Litigants forced to go to Dublin, alleged, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 486.
Fair Rents, Fixing
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 26*, 1203.

Longford—*cont.*
Moore, Mr., late Petty Sessions Clerk—Refusal of Pension Gratuity to Widow
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 489.
St. Mel's Cathedral, *see* that title.
Union Night Nurse—Refusal of Local Government Board to sanction Appointment of Miss Brown
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 317.

Lonsdale, Mr. J. B. [Armagh, Mid]
Irish Land Acts, Maladministration, Compulsory Purchase proposed, etc., *Feb. 21*, 761.

Looting at Peking
see China—Anti-Foreign Rising.

Lord Advocate for Scotland
Rt. Hon. A. G. Murray.

Lord Chancellor
Earl of Halsbury.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland
Lord Ashbourne.

Lord Chief Justice of England
Baron Alverstone.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland
Earl Cadogan.

Loss of Life at Sea
Cornwall, North—Number of Wrecks and Number of Lives lost since 1880, Return.
Q. Mr. Caine; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1037.

Lough, Mr. T. [Islington, W.]
Aliens, Naturalisation of—Fees, *Feb. 21*, 683.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 20*, 369.
Liquor Licensing Laws Reform, *Feb. 20*, 639.
Postmen—Candidates for Postmastership, Telegraph Qualifications, *Feb. 21*, 688, 689.
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Members' Stand, *Feb. 19*. 496.
Somaliland, Outbreak of Ogaden Somalis — Primitive Operations, Attack on British Expedition, *Feb. 27*, 1399.
South African Constabulary — Total Strength Landed in South Africa, *Feb. 18*, 292.
Supply
Friday Sittings—Different use of Fridays, *Feb. 15*, 179.
Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1307.
Tuesdays, substituting for Fridays, *Feb. 25*, 1061.
West Indian Prisons—Proposed Abolition of Penal Labour, etc., *Feb. 21*, 681.

Lowestoft Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Lowrison, Lewis
Case of—Remission of Sentence, proposed
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb 18*, 314.

Lowther, Mr. C. [Cumberland, Eskdale]
South African War—Usage of Civilised Warfare, *Feb. 25*, 1164.

Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. [Kent, Thanet]
Business of the House—Financial Business, Precedence of Government Business, *Feb. 26*, 1213.
China—Count Von Waldersee's proposed Expedition, etc., *Feb. 21*, 679.
Demise of the Crown—Effect of on Representation of Irish and Scotch Constituencies, *Feb. 19*, 484.
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb 22*, 889.
Questions—Under Secretary of State prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb 18*, 341.
Saddles for Army Horses, proposed Reduction of Weight, *Feb. 19*, 469.

Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W.—*Chairman of Committees* [Cumberland, Penrith]
Private Legislation (Scotland) Act—Petitions for or against Provisional Orders
Motion, *Feb. 15*, 163, 164.

Lunacy
Number of Visits made, Patients seen, etc.—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 72.

Lunatic Asylums, Ireland
Enniscorthy—Auditing Accounts, Local Government Board Charge, etc.
Q. Mr. Ffrench; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 21*, 706.
Limerick—Grant-in-Aid for Pauper Lunatics, Application to Irish Government, etc.
Q. Mr. Lundon; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 859.

Lundon, Mr. W. [Limerick, E.]
Limerick Lunatic Asylum—Grant-in-Aid for Pauper Lunatics, *Feb. 22*, 859.
Roads, Ireland, Repair of, by direct Labour, etc.—Obtaining Order in Council, *Feb. 21*, 705.

Lynton and Barnstaple Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Macartney, Mr. W. E. [Antrim, S.]
Irish Land Question—Compulsory Purchase, etc., *Feb. 21*, 802.
Roman Catholic University, Ireland, Question, *Feb. 21*, 802.

MacIver, Mr. D. [Liverpool, Kirkdale]
Questions—Under-Secretary of State prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 360.

MacKinnon, Maj.-Gen.
City Imperial Volunteers—Sending half-trained men straight into the Field
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 140; *Feb. 15*, 261; Lord Stanley, 261.

Macnamara, Dr. T. J. [Camberwell]
Soldiers' Widows and Orphans in Irish Workhouses, etc., *Feb. 19*, 473.

Maconochie, Mr. A. W. [Aberdeenshire, E.]
Aberdeen Volunteers—Stock of Ammunition, *Feb. 26*, 1188.
Rifle Clubs—Gun Licences Exemption, *Feb. 25*, 1026.

McFadden, Mr. E. [Donegal, E.]
Chaplains—Roman Catholic Chaplains and H.M. Ships, *Feb. 26*, 1189.
Johnston, Mr., Armagh Magistrate, allegations against, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1049.
Letterkenny Land Commission Appeals, Number of, etc., *Feb. 21*, 700.
Meat and Forage Contracts for Troops in Ireland placed with Foreign Firms—Complaints, *Feb. 25*, 1024.
Queen Victoria, Funeral of, Day of General Mourning—Police compelling Publicans in Donegal to close, etc., alleged, *Feb. 21*, 697.

M'Govern, Mr. T. [Cavan, W.]
Arterial Drainage and Re-afforestation, Ireland—Enabling County Councils to undertake, etc., *Feb. 21*, 698.
Finlay's, D., Estate, County Cavan—Delay in Completion of Sale to Tenants, *Feb. 22*, 866.
Great Northern and Midland Great Western Railway Companies, alleged Agreement between, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1058.
South African War—Farm Burning by British Troops, *Feb. 21*, 666.

Magistrates and Justices of the Peace
"Bohemian," Prosecution of Firemen on—Shipowners acting as Magistrates
Q. Mr. Keir Hardie; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1037.
Ireland
Armagh—Allegations against Mr. Johnston, Decision of County Court Judge, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Fadden; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 25*, 1049.
Donegal County—Number of Roman Catholic and Protestant Magistrates, etc.
Q. Mr. Boyle; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1051.

[*cont.*

Magistrates and Justices of the Peace—*cont.*
  Ireland—*cont.*
    Roman Catholic Magistrates, Appointment of, to fill Vacancies, etc., proposed
      Qs. Mr. O'Doherty; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18,* 313; *Feb. 22*, 862.
  Oath of Allegiance, Justices renewing on Demise of the Crown, etc.
    Q. Mr. Broadhurst; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 21*, 683.

Maidstone Election Petition
  Certificates of Indemnity—Refusal of to L. Barker, etc.—Laying Official Evidence of Inquiry on the Table
    Q. Mr. Disraeli; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 22*, 859.
  Corrupt Practices—Proposed Amendment of Law
    Q. Mr. C. Allen; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1060.
  Judges' Report, *Feb. 19*, 446.
  Legal Proof of extent of Corrupt Practices, etc.
    Q. Mr. Hobhouse; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 21*, 690.
  New Writ
    Motion (Mr. H. Gladstone), *Feb. 22*, 874—Amendment (Mr. Caine), 879.
  Persons Scheduled in Report of Judges—Prosecution of, etc.
    Q. Mr. Channing; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 21*, 690; *Q.* Mr. Caine; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 26*, 1200.

Mail Service
  American Mail Service, Time Occupied in Transit, etc.—Return Ordered, *Feb. 25*, 1012.
  Belfast Night Mail to London—Hour of closing Head Office, etc.
    Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1051.
  West Indian Mails—Forwarding Mails from Plymouth by Goods Train, Delays, etc.
    Q. Sir J. Fergusson; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1040.

Mail Trains
  Ireland—Dublin and Belfast Mail Trains, Exemption of Third Class Carriages
    Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.

Malt
  Arsenic in
    Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 184, 201, 211, 213.

Manchester
  Beer Poisoning Epidemic, *see* Beer.

Manchester Corporation Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Manchester (Market Street Area) Improvements Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Manchuria
  see China.

Manhood Suffrage (Ireland) Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 457.

Mansa, Mahomed Sooleiman
  Petition for redress of Grievances, *Feb. 15*, 164.

Mansfield, Mr. H. [Lincoln, Spalding]
  Colvile, Gen., Recall of—Tried twice for same offence, etc., alleged, *Feb. 22*, 840.

Mansfield Corporation Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1001.

Manufactured Goods
  Imports of Foreign Manufactures, *see* Imports and Exports.

Manvers, Earl
  Queen's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 34.

Maps
  Cape Colony, Invasion of, by the Boers—Placing Map in the Library, etc.
    Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 15*, 170

Markham, Mr. A. B. [Notts, Mansfield]
  Tapering Pit Props and Bars—Patent by Mr. Hepplewhite, Inspector of Mines, *Feb 26*, 1195.

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 452.

Meat
  Foreign Beef and Mutton supplied to Troops in Ireland, Proportion of, etc.—Complaints
    Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb 18*, 297; *Qs.* Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. M'Fadden; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1023.

Meath
  Railway between Granard and Oldcastle, Construction of, proposed—Government Assistance
    Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 487.

Medical Act (1858) Extension Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 904.

Medical Officers
Poor Law Medical Officers, Scotland—Petition for Alteration of Law, *Feb 19*, 448.

Members of Parliament (Resignation of Seats) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb 19*, 458.

Merchandise Marks Act (Amendment) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 902.

Merchant Shipping
Collisions at Sea, Number in 1900—Board of Trade Inquiries, etc.
  Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 684.
Cork Harbour, Sinking of Dredger, *see* Cork.
Cornwall, North—Number of Wrecks and Number of Lives lost since 1880, Return
  Q. Mr. Caine; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1037.
Discipline—Prosecution of Firemen on the "Bohemian," Shipowners acting as Magistrates, etc.
  Qs. Mr. Keir Hardie; *As.* Mr. Ritchie, Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1037.
"Goonlaze," Wreck of — Discovery of Bodies close to Peppercombe Coastguard Station, proposed Inquiry, etc.
  Q. Mr. Soares; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 173.
Harbour Dues, *see* that title.
Light Dues, Exemption from—Board of Trade Committee Report with Appendix Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 69.
Light Load Line Bill, *see* that title.
Manning of Ships—Loss of the "Primrose Hill"
  Board of Trade Inquiry, etc.
    Q. Lord Muskerry; *A.* Earl of Dudley, *Feb. 22*, 821.
  Difficulty of obtaining Crew, Inquiry into Wreck, etc.
    Q. Mr. Hoult; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 685.
Naval Expenditure and Mercantile Marine—Return Ordered, *Feb. 18*, 290.
Seamen, *see* that title.

Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, Amendment Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 21*, 650.

Mercantile Marine Fund Act
Exemption from Light Dues—Board of Trade Committee Report with Appendix, Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 69.

Merionethshire
Sporting Rights on Crown Lands—Advertising Sale of, etc.
  Q. Mr. Edwards; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 689.

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board (Canada Dock Works, etc.), Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Metric System
Reports from H.M. Representatives Abroad, *Feb. 14*, 52, 67.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1002.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1002.

Metropolitan Police
Houses of Parliament, Approaches to, etc., Sessional Order, *Feb. 14*, 66.
Pay, Increase in, Lodging Allowance
  Qs. Sir A. Rollit, Capt. Norton; *As.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 26*, 1196.

Metropolitan Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1002.

Metropolitan Water Companies (Amendment of Acts) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1002.

Mexico
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50.

Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. [Stafford, Handsworth]
South African War
  Boer Prisoners, Escape of, from British Ships, *Feb. 21*, 661.
  Horses
    Overweighted—Selection of Light Weight Men, etc., *Feb. 19*, 468.
    Pursuit of General De Wet, Abandoned Horses, *Feb. 21*, 666.

Midland Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1002.

Mildmay, Capt. (Devon, Totnes)
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 141.
South African War—Personal Experiences, etc., *Feb. 14*, 142.

Milford Docks Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Military Hospitals in South Africa
see South African War — Hospital and Medical Arrangements.

Military Savings Bank
Garner's, Serjeant-Major, Account—Withholding Payment from Widows, etc.
Q. Colonel Lockwood; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 471.

Militia
Channel Islands, Regiments stationed in—Gratuities for Officers and Men, etc.
Q. Mr. Edwards; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 670.
Embodiment—Relieving Battalions stationed Abroad, etc.
Qs. Mr. Bill, Mr. Lambert; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 671.
Munster Fusiliers, Royal, *see* that title.
Officers—Retired Army Officers serving in the Militia Pay Grievance
Q. Lieut.-Col. Pryce-Jones; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1024.
Re-embodiment.
Q. Mr. Warner; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 18*, 294.
South African War, *see* that title.

Milk and Cream Standards
Report of the Departmental Committee, *Feb. 18*, 289; *Feb. 19*, 437; *Feb. 25*, 976, 1011, 1036.

Miller, W.
Case of—Army Pensioners and Outdoor Relief
Q. Mr. Delaney; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1027.

Milner, Sir A.
Administration of Transvaal and Orange River Colony—Position as High Commissioner, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 291.
High Commissioner, Salary as, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 660.

Milward, Col. [Warwick, Stratford-on-Avon]
Sugar Bounties—Proposed Conference, *Feb. 21*, 681.
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1306.

Mines
Patents by Inspector of Mines, *see* sub-heading Tapering Pit Props and Bars.
Persons Employed, Output and Accidents in Great Britain, Colonies, and Foreign Countries—General Report and Statistics Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 68.
Tapering Pit Props and Bars—Patent by Mr. Hepplewhite, Inspector of Mines
Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 26*, 1195.

Mines (Eight Hours) Bill
c. 1R. *Feb. 19*, 451.
2R. *Feb. 27*, 1357.

Mines (Eight Hours) Bill
Government Business Precedence—Debate, *Feb. 26*, 1215.
Petitions, *Feb. 26*, 1175.

Mohill and Farnaught
Postal Arrangements, Inconvenience caused by
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 319.

Molesworth, Sir W. [Cornwall, Bodmin]
Liquor Licensing Reform, *Feb. 19*, 575.

Monaghan
North Monaghan Division—New Member Sworn, *Feb. 15*, 179.
Shirley and Tennison Estates, etc.—Delay in Fixing Judicial Rents, etc.
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 863.

Mond Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1003.

Moon, Mr. E. R. P. [St. Pancras, N.]
Aden European General Hospital—Nursing Staff, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1029.
China—Russian Occupation of Niuchwang, etc., *Feb. 15*, 282.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 281.

Moore, Edward
Under-age Recruit
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 474.

Moore, Mr. W. [Antrim, N.]
Longford Petty Sessions Clerk—Refusal of Pension Gratuity to Widow
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 489.

Morgan, Mr. Lloyd [Carmarthen, W.]
Carmarthen
Dog Muzzling—Omitting to make Inoculation Experiments, *Feb. 19*, 482.
Prison—Proposed Changes, *Feb. 18*, 308.
Naval Reserve—Case of T. Reynolds, *Feb. 21*, 676.

Morley, Mr.
Patagonia—Complaints against Cattle Thieving, Report of Chaplain of H.M.S. "Flora," etc.
Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 305.

Morris, Mr. M. H. F. [Galway]
Trawling in Galway Bay—Raising Fine, etc., proposed, *Feb. 21*, 698.

Morrison, Lieut.
Charges against British Troops in South Africa, *see* South African War—Conduct of the Troops.

Mountain Batteries
Armament of
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1184.

Moville
Roman Catholic Magistrates, Appointment of, to fill Vacancies, proposed
Qs. Mr. O'Doherty; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 313; *Feb. 22*, 862.

Mowbray, Lord
Earldom of Norfolk—Petition Presented, and referred to the Committee for Privileges, *Feb. 21*, 647.

Mowbray, Sir R. [Lambeth, Brixton]
Indian Expenditure—Recommendations of Commissions, Grant in Relief of Famine, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1128, 1133.

Municipal Trading
Joint Committee of Inquiry, Appointment of—Affording Opportunity for Debate
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 710.

Munster
Labourers' Cottages — Amount of unexpended Grant
Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1054.

Munster Fusiliers, Royal
Fifth Battalion
Discharge, Applications for, of Men not Volunteering for Foreign Service—Delays, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Shaughnessy; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1025.
Recall from South Africa, proposed, etc.
Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1023.
Volunteering for Service in Egypt and Malta, Compulsory Volunteering.
Q. Mr. O'Shaughnessy; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1025.

Murders
Trains, Murder in, *see* Railways—Corridor Trains.

Murnaghan, Mr. G. [Tyrone, Mid]
Ogilby Estate, Co. Tyrone—Sale of Holdings to Tenants, Delay, etc., *Feb. 21*, 702.

Murphy, Mr. J. [Kerry, E.]
Beer, Manchester Beer Epidemic, etc., *Feb. 19*, 555.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 553.
Roman Catholicism, King's Declaration against, *Feb. 19*, 554.

Murray, Mr. A. G.—*Lord Advocate* [Buteshire]
Allotments—Lands Acquired, etc., Return, *Feb. 25*, 1046
Barra, Island of—Arrangements for Purchase of Land from Lady Gordon Cathcart for Crofters and Cottars, *Feb. 18*, 312.
Glasgow, Small-pox Epidemic—Number of Deaths, *Feb. 25*, 1046.
Peterspont Pier, Access to—Construction of Road, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1046.
Private Bill Procedure—Substitution of Private Bills for Provisional Orders, Petitions relating to Orders, etc., *Feb. 15*, 175; *Feb. 18*, 313.
Salmon Fisheries — Fishmongers' Company's Powers, *Feb. 25*, 1043, 1044.
South African War—Farm Burning, *Feb. 25*, 1155.
Tweed Commissioners' Bailiffs—Assault on Mr. Anderson, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1045.

Murray, Mr. A. W.
see Elibank, Master of.

Music
Teachers of Music Registration Bill, *see* that title.

Muskerry, Lord
"Primrose Hill," Loss of—Board of Trade Inquiry, *Feb. 22*, 821.

Muzzling of Dogs
see Dogs.

Nannetti, Mr. J. P. [Dublin, College Green]
Beer Contracts for Troops in Ireland placed with English Firms, etc., *Feb. 21*, 674.
Dublin Barracks Contractor — Evasion of Fair Wages Resolution, etc., *Feb. 18*, 300; *Feb. 21*, 672.

National Debt
Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Accounts, *Feb. 18*, 288; *Feb. 19*, 440.

National Gallery
Report for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1177; *Feb. 27*, 1324.
Sunday Closing during Winter Months
Qs. Capt. Donelan, Mr. P. O'Brien; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1039.

National School Teachers, Ireland
Balance of Residual Grant—Counting for Financial Year ended Mar. 31, or Year ended Dec. 31
Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 862.
Salaries, Reduction of Mr. W. O'Callaghan's Salary, etc.
Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 862.

Naturalisation
Fees, Reduction of, Proposed
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 21*, 683.

Navigation
Accounts relating to, Return Presented, *Feb. 18*, 290.

Navy
First Lord—Rt. Hon. Earl of Selborne.
Secretary—Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.
Civil Lord of the Admiralty—Mr. E. G. Pretyman.
Aden, European General Hospital at—Arrangements between Admiralty and Indian Government for Nursing Staff, etc.
Q. Mr. Moon; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 25*, 1029.
Admiralty Buildings — Delay in Erection of Colonnade
Q. Mr. Whitmore; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 22*, 854.
Boilers—Water Tube Boilers
Belleville Type
Fitting Ships with Belleville Boilers pending Report of Committee, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Wilson, Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 18*, 301, 302.
Number supplied to Navy, Cost—Amount given as Royalties, etc.
Qs. Sir J. Joicey, Mr. W. Allan; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 22*, 852.
Committee of Inquiry
Ocean Trial, proposed
Q. Sir F. Flannery; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 18*, 302; *Feb. 22*, 851.
Report—Date of Issue
Q. Mr. Penn; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 19*, 475.
Cadets Prohibited from wearing Great Coats, etc.
Q. Mr. Norman; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 677.
Illness on H.M.S. "Britannia," etc.
Q. Mr. Norman; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 25*, 1030.
Chaplains — Roman Catholic Chaplains for the Fleet
Deputation to First Lord, etc.
Qs. Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. Dillon; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 22*, 853.

Navy—*cont.*
Chaplains — Roman Catholic Chaplains for the Fleet—*cont.*
Discontinuing Payment out of Public Funds, proposed
Q. Mr. P. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 474.
Pastoral Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland
Qs. Mr. M'Fadden, Col. Nolan, Mr. W. Redmond; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 26*, 1189.
Queenstown—Increasing Salary of Chaplain
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 22*, 854.
Coastguards, *see* that title.
Defence—Joint Naval and Military Committee, Constitution and Function of
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb 15*, 171.
Dockyard Wages, Revision of—Petitions, etc.
Q. Mr. Kearley; *A.* Capt. Pretyman, *Feb. 22*, 854.
Expenditure—Naval Expenditure and Mercantile Marine, Return Ordered, *Feb. 18*, 290.
Loot from Peking—Transmission of Cases on H.M. Ships, alleged
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 680, 681.
Pensions for Widows and Orphans of Soldiers killed in War—Government Scheme, *see* War Relief Funds.
Portland Cement Contracts—Inviting Tenders from abroad, etc.
Q. Col. Tufnell; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *Feb. 25*, 1029.
Reserve, Case of T. Reynolds—Pension
Q. Mr. L. Morgan; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 676.
Submarine Boats—Action of the Admiralty, etc.
Q. Mr. Cochrane; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 676.
Warrant Officers
South African War—Non participation in Honours and Promotions
Q. Mr. Kearley; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 675.
Widows' Annuities—Case of Mrs. Ball
Q. Mr. Kearley; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 676.
Water Tube Boilers, *see* sub-heading Boilers.

Navy Estimates
Appropriation Account for 1899 1900 Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167.
Estimate for 1901-2 Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1176.
Explanatory Statement Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1176.
Supplementary Estimate Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1176.

Neath Harbour Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1003.

Neill, Mr.
Appointment to Veterinary Inspection Staff, Irish Department of Agriculture, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1047.

Netherlands Railway Company
Attitude of British Government towards, etc.
Q. Mr. A. Davies: *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1018.

New College, Oxford
Statutes Presented, *Feb. 15*, 168; *Feb. 19*, 441.

New Members Sworn
Thompson, Mr. E. C., for County of Monaghan (North Monaghan Division), *Feb. 15*, 179.
Worsley-Taylor, Mr. H. W., for North Lancashire (Blackpool Division), *Jan. 23*, 3.

New Orleans
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1167.

New Peers
Introduced
Goschen of Hawkhurst, Viscount, *Feb. 14*, 30.
Ridley, Viscount, *Feb. 14*, 30.
Roberts of Kandahar, Earl, *Feb. 14*, 30.

New South Wales
Federal Elections Act, 1900, Presented, *Feb. 27*, 1324.

New Swindon Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

New Writs
Lancaster County (Stretford Division), *Feb. 14*, 56.
Maidstone Election Petition, *see* Maidstone.
Seats declared Void on the ground of Corrupt Practices, etc.—Notices of Motion.
Motion (Sir W. Walrond), *Feb. 18*, 369.

Newbridge
Boatslip and Breakwater, Construction of proposed—Report of Engineer, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 864.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb 25*, 974.

Newmarket, County Cork
Petty Sessions Court, Oct. 12, 1900—Extra Police Force, Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 315.

Newport (Isle of Wight) Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Newry Port and Harbour Trust Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1003.

Newspapers
Press Restrictions in Cape Colony, *see* South African War—Newspapers.

Niger Company, Royal
Money expended and borrowed and Securities created under Act of 1899—Account with Report of Comptroller and Auditor-General Presented, *Feb. 22*, 837.

Nigeria, Southern
Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

Nitrate Railways Company Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Nolan, Col. [Galway, N.]
Chaplains—Roman Catholic Chaplains for the Navy, *Feb. 26*, 1190.
Harbour Construction, Ireland—Treasury Grants, *Feb. 19*, 493.
Horses for the Army—Purchase of, in Ireland, Prices, Purchase from Dealers, etc., *Feb. 21*, 669; *Feb. 26*, 1186.
Secrecy as to Prices, *Feb. 26*, 1189.
Parliament, State Opening—Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 15*, 176, 177.

Nooitgedacht Reverse
see South African War.

Norfolk, Earldom of
Petition of Charles Botolph Joseph, Lord Mowbray, etc., Presented and referred to the Committee for Privileges, *Feb. 21*, 647.
Petition of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, etc., Presented and referred to the Committee for Privileges, *Feb. 25*, 971.

Norman, Mr. H. [Wolverhampton, S.]
Asia Minor—British Consular Establishments, Extension of to Baku, Tiflis, etc., *Feb. 18*, 305.
Fish Culture—Experimental Establishment, Board of Trade Proposals, *Feb. 22*, 870.
Naval Cadets prohibited from wearing Great Coats, etc., *Feb. 21*, 677; *Feb. 25*, 1030.

North British Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 832.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1003.

North-East London Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

North-Eastern Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1003.

North Sea Fisheries
Immature Fish, Destruction of, International Conventions
Q. Sir A. Rollit ; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Norton, Capt. [Newington, W.]
Army
Engineers, Royal—Building Work, Comparative Cost of Civil and Military Work, *Feb. 22*, 850.
Permanent Under-Secretary for War Appointment, *Feb. 19*, 474.
Veterinary Department — Proposed Abolition of Prefix to Titles of Officers, *Feb. 18*, 299.
War Office Reform Committee—Allocation of Army Contracts, etc., *Feb. 21*, 671.
Indian Army—Number of Men serving beyond Terms of Engagement, *Feb. 18*, 303.
Metropolitan Police—Increase in Pay, Lodging Allowance, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1197.
South African War — Boer Prisoners dressed in Khaki, Orders to Shoot, alleged, *Feb. 19*, 467.

Norton, Lord
Cockerton Judgment—Higher Elementary Education and Evening Continuation Schools, *Feb. 25*, 987.

Norway
Parcel Post between United Kingdom and Norway—Agreement Presented, *Feb. 15*, 165 ; *Feb. 19*, 437.

Notting Hill Electric Lighting Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1004.

Nottingham Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Oakham Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Oakington and Cottenham Light Railway
Order Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 71.

Oaths
Allegiance, Oath of—Justices renewing, on Demise of the Crown, etc.
Q. Mr. Broadhurst ; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 21*, 683.

Oaths—*cont.*
Coronation Oath, *see* that title.
King's Oath against Roman Catholicism, *see* Roman Catholicism.
Religion—Oaths made by Heads of States on their Accession, Address for Return, *Feb. 19*, 586.

O'Brien, Mr. K. [Tipperary, Mid]
Labourers Acts—Number of Applications for Cottages, etc., since 1883, *Feb. 25*, 1052.

O'Brien, Mr. P. [Kilkenny]
Army Contracts—Horse Shoe and Nail Contracts, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1029.
Belfast Night Mail to London—Hour of Closing Head Office, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1051.
Board of Works, Ireland—Resignation of Chairman, *Feb. 26*, 1206.
Budget—Date of Introduction, *Feb. 19*, 477.
Cork Coroner Summoning Executioner Billington to attend Inquest, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1056, 1057.
County Officials' Salaries in Wexford—Appeals against Increase in Salaries, *Feb. 26*, 1207.
Customs and Excise, Assistants of—Age Limit for Candidates, etc., *Feb. 22*, 858.
National Gallery — Sunday Closing in Winter, *Feb. 25*, 1040.
Roman Catholic Chaplains in the Navy and Army, *Feb. 19*, 474.

O'Brien, Mr. W. [Cork]
Irish Grievances—United Irish League, Methods of Irish Executive in dealing with the League, etc., *Feb. 22*, 905, 946, 961.

O'Callaghan, Mr. W.
National School Teachers' Salary, Case of Mr. O'Callaghan
Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 862.

O'Connor, Mr. J. [Wicklow, W.]
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—"Day of General Mourning," Shopkeepers at Carnew compelled by Police to close their shops, etc., *Feb. 18*, 316 ; *Feb. 25*, 1059 ; *Feb. 26*, 1205.

O'Connor, Mr. T. P. [Liverpool, Scotland]
Jury Packing, *Feb. 22*, 949.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 22*, 950.
Land Question, Ireland—United Irish League Organisation, etc., *Feb. 22*, 951.
Peers and Parliamentary Elections—Sessional Order, *Feb. 14*, 59.
Roman Catholicism, King's Declaration against, *Feb. 22*, 950.

Odessa
  Agriculture—Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

O'Doherty, Mr. W. [Donegal, N.]
  Cork Coroner summoning Executioner Billington to attend Inquest—Warrant for Arrest, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1055.
  Donegal
    Crime, Decrease in — Proclamation Revocation, etc., *Feb. 19*, 487.
    Small-pox at — Precautionary Measures, *Feb. 25*, 1057.
  Estate Duty Office, Appointments of Irish Solicitors—Examination of Irish Candidates in English Law, etc., *Feb. 21*, 707.
  Factory Legislation for Ireland, *Feb. 15*, 242.
  Innishowen District Council
    Compulsory Land Purchase—Resolution, *Feb. 22*, 864.
    Labourers' Cottages, Erection of—Unexpended Grant, *Feb. 22*, 860.
  Irish Grievances—Charges against the Executive, United Irish League, Jury Packing, etc., *Feb. 22*, 927.
  King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 241 ; *Feb. 22*, 927.
  Land Commission
    Innishowen Union—Number of Appeals, etc., *Feb. 21*, 699.
    Return, *Feb. 26*, 1205.
  Local Government, Ireland, Return, *Feb. 26*, 1205.
  Londonderry
    Discharge of Firearms, etc.—Police Investigations, *Feb. 19*, 483 ; *Feb. 21*, 692.
    Post Office Staff—Number of Clerks appointed in 1900. Advertising Examinations, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1059.
  Meat and Forage Contracts for Troops in Ireland placed with Foreign Firms—Complaints, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1023.
  Moore, Edward, Case of—Under-age Recruit, *Feb. 19*, 474.
  Moville Petty Sessions Bench—Increase in Number of Roman Catholic Magistrates, proposed, *Feb. 18*, 313 ; *Feb. 22*, 862.
  Newbridge Port, Proposed Construction of Boatslip and Breakwater, etc., *Feb. 22*, 864.
  Portnaling—Proposed Construction of Pier and Harbour, Government Grant, etc., *Feb 22*, 861.
  Roman Catholicism—King's Declaration against, *Feb. 15*, 241.
  South African War—Conduct of the War, Protest against the War, etc., *Feb. 15*, 241.

O'Donnell, Mr. T. [Kerry, W.]
  Irish Language—Attempt to Address the House in the Irish Language, *Feb. 19*, 546.

O'Donnell, Mr. T.—*cont.*
  National School Teachers—Salary of Mr. O'Callaghan, Balance of Residual Grant, etc., *Feb. 22*, 862.

O'Dowd, Mr. J. [Sligo, S.]
  Owenmore River, Drainage of—Proposed Grant-in-Aid, *Feb. 21*, 694.
  Sligo
    Agrarian Dispute in—Extra Police, *Feb. 21*, 700.
    County Council—Flag Incident, *Feb. 26*, 1204.

Ogilby Estate, Co. Tyrone
  Sale of Holdings to Tenants—Delay, etc.
    Q. Mr. Murnaghan ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 702.

O'Kelly, Mr. J. [Roscommon, N.]
  China—Count von Waldersee's proposed Expedition, etc., *Feb. 21*, 678.

Old Age Pensions
  Colonies, Systems adopted in — Laying Return on the Table
    Q. Mr. W. Redmond ; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 682.
  Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 118, 122.
  Legislative Prospects, 1901
    Q. Mr. H. Lewis ; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 22*, 874.

Old Age Pensions Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 455.

Old Age Pensions (No. 2) Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 457.

Old Age Pensions (No. 3) Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 458.

Old Age Pensions (No. 4) Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 901.

Omagh Gas Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

O'Mara, Mr. J. [Kilkenny, S.]
  Cooper's Hill College—Dismissals, Name of Board of Visitors recommending changes, *Feb. 26*, 1190.
  Dairy Industry in Ireland —Appointment of Irish Commissioner in England, etc., *Feb. 21*, 702.
  Food
    Imported Food, Analysis of—Number of Samples analysed, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1041.
    Standards Committee—Report, *Feb. 25*, 1036.
  Seeds—Schemes for Improvement, etc., Distribution of Seeds to Irish Farmers, *Feb. 22*, 863.

Opening of Parliament
see Parliament.

Opium Trade
India and China—Proposed abandonment of Trade, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 19*, 475.

Orange River Colony
Administration—Sir A. Milner, *see* Milner.
Annexation—Lord Roberts's Responsibility for Proclamation, Legal Status of Inhabitants, etc.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 658.
Atherstone, Clerk to Bloemfontein Provost Marshal—Conviction against for Murder of Native in 1894, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1022.
Colonisation
O. Lord A. Compton, *Feb. 19*, 541.
Patent Rights, British—Extension of, to Orange River Colony.
Q. Sir J. Brunner; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1179.
Settlement after the War, *see* title South African Settlement.

Orangemen, Ireland
Londonderry, Discharge of Firearms, etc., *see* Londonderry.

Ordnance Factories
see Army.

O'Shaughnessy, Mr. P. J. [Limerick, W.]
Limerick, Clerk of the Peace—Salary, *Feb. 26*, 1206.
Munster Fusiliers, Royal—Volunteering for Service in Egypt and Malta, alleged Compulsory Volunteering, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1025.

O'Shee, Mr. J. J. (Waterford, W.)
China, Looting at Peking—Articles seized by the British Troops, *Feb. 26*, 1192.
Dungarvan Postal Arrangements, *Feb. 19*, 491.
Labourers Acts—Applications for additional Half-acres, unexpended Grant in Munster and Leinster, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1053, 1054.
Labourers' Cottages in Ulster and Connaught—Unexpended Grant, etc., *Feb. 21*, 704.
Rating of Lands and Buildings, Ireland—Re-valuation, etc., *Feb. 21*, 704.
Supply—Sessional Order, Increase in number of days for Irish discussion proposed, *Feb. 27*, 1342.

Otley Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 974.

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 454.

Outlawries Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 14*, 67.

Overcrowding
East London—Difficulty of proving cases of Overcrowding
Q. Mr. T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Feb. 26*, 1198.

Owenmore River, Co. Sligo
Drainage of—Proposed Grant in Aid
Q. Mr. O'Dowd; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 694.

Oxford University
Statutes Presented, *Feb. 15*, 168; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Paardeburg
see South African War.

Paget's Horse
see South African War.

Paisley Police and Public Health Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1004.

Palmistry
Police Prosecutions—Proposed Prosecutions of Fashionable Palmists, etc., in London
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 21*, 683.

Parcels Post
Norway, Agreement with—Copy Presented *Feb. 15*, 165; *Feb. 19*, 437.

Parks and Pleasure Gardens
Acreage in Great Britain and Ireland, Annual Cost, etc.—Return
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 858.

Parliament
Approaches to the Houses of Parliament—Police Sessional Order, *Feb. 14*, 66.
Demise of the Crown—Effect of on Representation of Irish and Scotch Constituencies
Qs. Mr. J. Campbell, Mr. J. Lowther; *As.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 19*, 483.
House of Commons
Ballot for Bills and Motions for the first four Thursdays—Standing Order Proposed
Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *Feb. 15*, 179—Motion Withdrawn, 180.
Business of the House, and Committees, *see* those titles.
Journals—Sessional Orders, *Feb. 14*, 67.

[*cont*

Parliament—*cont.*
House of Commons—*cont.*
Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms—Appointment of Committee, *Feb. 25*, 1166.
Map of Cape Colony, Placing in the Library, etc.
Q. Mr. Flavin; *A* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 15*, 170.
Order of Debate—Speaker's Rulings, etc., *see* Speaker.
Questions in the House, *see* that title.
Votes and Proceedings — Sessional Order, *Feb. 14*, 66.
House of Lords
Offices—Select Committee Appointed, *Feb. 25*, 977.
Representative Peers and New Peers, *see* those titles.
Roll of the Lords, *Feb. 14*, 30.
Sat First in Parliament
Berwick, Lord, after the death of his Uncle, *Feb. 14*, 30.
Hamilton of Dalzell, Lord, after the death of his Father, *Feb. 14*, 30.
Harrowby, Lord, after the death of his Father, *Jan. 25*, 7.
Hutchinson, Visc., after the death of his Father, *Feb. 14*, 30.
Leconfield, Lord, after the death of his Father, *Feb. 14*, 30.
Radnor, Earl of, after the death of his Father, *Jan. 24*, 5.
Took the Oath
Cambridge, Duke of, *Jan. 24*, 5.
Connaught, Duke of *Jan. 23*, 1.
Halsbury, Earl, *Jan. 23*, 1.
York, Duke of, *Jan. 23*, 1.
King's Declaration against Roman Catholicism, *see* Roman Catholicism.
King's Speech, *see* that title.
Opening—State Opening, *Feb. 14*, 27 - King's Speech, *see* that title.
Accommodation for Members, Inadequacy of
Exclusion of Members from Seats allotted to them in Gallery of House of Lords
Qs. Mr. J. Ellis, Col. Nolan; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 175.
Joint Committee of Inquiry
Qs. Sir W. Hart-Dyke, Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 177; *Q.* Sir H. Fowler; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 494.
Press Accommodation
Q. Mr. Fenwick; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1208.
Westminster Hall, Use of as Reception Hall, proposed
Q. Mr. Caldwell; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 175; *Q.* Mr. Stevenson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 494.

Parliament—*cont.*
Queen Victoria, Death of—Resolutions of Condolence, *see* Queen Victoria.

Parliamentary Constituencies
Number of Electors, also the Population and Inhabited Houses in each Constituency—Address for Return, *Feb. 15* 169.

Parliamentary Elections
Bribery and Corruption
Legislation proposed
Q. Mr. C. Allen; *A.* Mr. A. J Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1060.
Maidstone, *see* that title.
Report of the Judges, *Feb. 14*, 57; *Feb. 19*, 446.
Shorthand Writers' Notes, *Feb. 22*. 838.
New Writs, *see* that title.
Peers' Interference—Sessional Order.
Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *Feb. 14*, 59.

Patagonia
Morley's, Mr. J., Complaints against Cattle Thieves — Report of Chaplain on H.M.S. "Flora," etc.
Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 305.

Patent Rights in South Africa
Extension to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, British Patent Rights
Q. Sir J. Brunner; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1179.

Patriotic Fund
Crimean Soldiers' Widows — Unrelieved Widows.
Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1187.
Government Pension Scheme for Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors, *see* War Relief Funds.
Return, Date of Presenting to the House
Q. Mr. Kearley; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1188.

Peasant Proprietary, Ireland
Establishment of
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 21*, 711.

Peking
see China—Anti-Foreign Rising.

Pembroke
Election Petition—Judges Report, *Feb. 14*, 57.

Pembroke Urban District Council (County of Dublin) Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1004.

Penal Labour
West Indian Prisons, Abolition of Penal Labour
Q. Mr. Lough ; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 681.

Penal Servitude Acts
Conditional Licences Granted, *Feb. 15*, 168 ; *Feb. 18*, 289 ; *Feb. 19*, 438.

Penn, Mr. J. [Lewisham]
Boiler Committee Report, *Feb. 19*, 475.

Pensions
see titles, Army, Navy, Old Age Pensions, &c.

Peppercombe
Coastguard Service—Wreck of "Goonlaze," Prosposed Inquiry, &c.
Q. Mr. Soares ; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 173.

Petersfield and Selsey Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1004.

Peterspont Pier
Access to—Construction of Road, &c.
Q. Mr. J. Dewar ; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1046.

Petitions
Public Petitions Committee, Appointed, *Feb. 26*, 1322.

Phillips, Mr. J. W. [Pembroke]
Horses for the Army, Purchase of
Argentine Horses—Prices paid for unsuitable Horses, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1021.
Inspection of Horses at Aldridge's Repository, etc., *Feb. 22*, 846, 847.
Number purchased in Great Britain and other Countries, &c., *Feb. 18*, 295.
Purchase of Horses at home and abroad, Prices, Care in Choosing horses, etc., *Feb. 14*, 110.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 110.

Piccadilly
Crossing Refuges
Q. Sir B. Simeon ; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 19*, 482.

Piccadilly and City Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Piers and Harbours
Holyhead Mail Pier, Erection of—Sale of Property to London and North Western Railway Company, Abandonment of, etc.
Q. Mr. E. Griffith ; *A.* Mr. G. W. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 686.

Piers and Harbours—*cont.*
Ireland
Construction of Harbours—Treasury Grants
Qs. Col. Nolan, Mr. T. M. Healy ; *As.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 493.
Portnaling, Proposed Construction of Pier and Harbour — Government Grant, etc.,
Q. Mr. O'Doherty ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 861.
Scotland — Peterspont Pier, Access to, Construction of Road, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Dewar ; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1046.

Pilkington, Col. [Lancashire, Newton]
Liquor Licensing Laws Reform, *Feb. 20*, 633.

Pirie, Mr. D. V. [Aberdeen, N.]
King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 190.
South African War
Conduct of the War, Peace Negotiations, Farm Burning, Unconditional Surrender, Boer Character, etc., *Feb. 15*, 190.
Hofmeyr, Rev. A., Sent to the Transvaal as Peace Commissioner, etc., *Feb. 21*, 659 ; *Feb. 25*, 1017.
Pay of Troops—Date of last Payment, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1018.
Prisoners—Boer Prisoners at Graspan, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1013.
Roberts, Lord, and "Unconditional Surrender"—General Buller's Interview with General Botha, etc., *Feb. 18*, 291.
Separation Allowance—Married Soldiers' Discharge into the Reserve postponed, etc., *Feb. 18*, 298.
Transport Service to South Africa—Demurrage at South African Ports, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
Transvaal Appointments, Uitlanders' Dissatisfaction, alleged, *Feb. 15*, 193.
Yeomanry Recruits—Physical Standard, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1018.

Plague
Cape Town, Cases at
Q. Mr. J. Campbell ; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1033.

Plumbism
see Lead Poisoning.

Poisoning Epidemic from Arsenic
see Beer.

Police
Constabulary, Royal Irish, *see* that title.
Metropolitan Police, *see* that title.
South African Constabulary, *see* that title.

Police Superannuation (Scotland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 449.

Poor Law
Army Pensioners and Outdoor Relief—Case of W. Miller
Q. Mr. Delaney; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1027.
Medical Officers (Scotland)—Petition for Alteration of Law, *Feb. 19*, 448.

Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Act
Petitions for Alteration of Law, *Feb. 15*. 164; *Feb. 18*, 287; *Feb. 19*, 448; *Feb. 20*, 587; *Feb. 21*, 655; *Feb. 22*, 836; *Feb. 26*, 1175.

Poor Law Officers' Superannuation (Scotland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 453.

Poor Law Superannuation (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1238.

Portland Cement
Army and Navy Contracts — Inviting Tenders from Abroad, etc.
Q. Col. Tufnell; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1026, 1029.

Portmadoc, Beddgelert and South Snowdon Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Portnaling
Pier and Harbour, Proposed Construction of—Government Grant, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 861.

Portsmouth Dockyard
Order in Council Presented, *Feb. 15*, 169; *Feb. 19*, 440.

Portugal
Queen Victoria, Death of—Resolution of Sympathy with the British Nation, *Feb. 19*, 444; *Feb. 25*, 971.
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 19*, 436.

Post Office
Postmaster General — Marquess of Londonderry
Representative in House of Commons—Mr. Austen Chamberlain
Aberdeen, *see* that title.
Irish Questions
Ballybofey Sub-postmastership — Delay in filling Vacancy
Q. Mr. Boyle; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 708.
Coolarty, Proposed Sunday Delivery —Providing Wall Letter Box at Springpark, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 319.

Post Office—*cont.*
Irish Questions—*cont.*
Curragh, N. Tyrone—Want of Post Office, Inconvenience caused by, etc.
Q. Mr. Hemphill; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 870.
Dublin Sorters' Grievances
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 490.
Dungarvan Arrangements
Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 491.
Granard Complaints—Increased Facilities proposed, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 869.
Londonderry Staff—Number of Clerks appointed in 1900, Advertising Examinations, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1059.
Mohill and Farnaught Arrangements —Inconvenience caused by, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 319.
Mail Service, *see* that title.
South African War—Sunday Publication of Telegrams at Post Offices, Discontinuance of
Q. Mr. Power; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 299.
Telegraph Service, *see* that title.
Telephone Service, *see* that title.

Postmaster General
Marquess of Londonderry

Postmasters
Welsh-speaking Postmasters, Appointment of, in Wales
Q. Mr. H. Roberts; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.

Postmen
Candidates for Postmasterships — Telegraph Qualifications
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 688, 689.

Potteries
Lead Poisoning, *see* that title.

Poulton-le-Fylde Gas Bill
l. 1R* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Powell, Sir F. S. [Wigan]
Business of the House, Government Precedence—Mines (Eight Hours) Bill Discussion, *Feb. 26*, 1228.

Power, Mr. P. J. [Waterford, E.]
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 237.
South African War
Conduct of the War, Protest against the War, etc., *Feb. 15*, 237.
Sunday Publication of Telegrams from South Africa, Discontinuance of, *Feb. 18*, 299.

Press
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Facilities to view Procession in London and Windsor refused to Foreign Press, alleged
Q. Mr. W. Allan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 312.
Restrictions in the Cape Colony, *see* South African War—Newspapers.

Prestatyn Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Pretyman, Mr. E. J. [Suffolk, Woodbridge]
Dockyard Wages—Revision of, Petitions, *Feb. 22*, 854.
Portland Cement Contracts — Inviting Tenders from Abroad, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1029.

Prime Minister
Marquess of Salisbury.

"Primrose Hill," Loss of
Board of Trade Inquiry, etc.
Q. Lord Muskerry; *A.* Earl of Dudley, *Feb. 22*, 821.
Crew, Difficulty of Obtaining—Statement of Captain, Inquiry into Wreck, etc.
Q. Mr. Hoult; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 685.

Prisoners
Defence of Prisoners who have no means—Proposed Payment by the Crown, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1034.
Irish Prisoners, *see* Ireland—Names of Prisoners.

Prisons
Carmarthen Prison, Proposed Changes
Q. Mr. L. Morgan; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 18*, 308.
St. Vincent — Amending Prison Rules 1900, Presented, *Feb. 20*, 588.
West Indies—Proposed Abolition of Penal Labour, etc.
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 681.

Private Bills
Bills to be originated in the House of Lords under Standing Order 79, *Feb. 19*, 442.
Petitions—Suspension of Standing Order 195, *Feb. 15*, 163.
Practice and Procedure of the Referees Rules Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1176.
Standing Orders, *see* that Title.

Private Legislation Procedure (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 455.

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act
Bills to be dealt with by Private Bills, Bills to be dealt with by Provisional Orders—Report by the Chairman of the Committees of the Lords and Commons, *Feb. 21*, 649; *Feb. 22*, 837.
Proceedings—Additional and Amending Order for Regulation of, *Feb. 19*, 440, 449.
Provisional Orders Bills Petitions
Motion (Mr. J. W. Lowther), *Feb. 15*, 163; *Feb. 19*, 441.
Q. Dr. Farquharson; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 15*, 174; *Q.* Mr. Renshaw; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 18*, 313.

Privy Council Appeals
Court of Final Appeal
Qs Sir A. Agnew, *Feb. 14*, 81; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 97.

Pro-Boers
see South African War.

Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887
Operation of—Urging Courts to use Act, Facts disclosed in Returns, etc.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1033.

Prosecutions
Defence of Prisoners unable through poverty to demand Legal Assistance—Proposed Payment by the Crown
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*. 1034.

Prussian Knights of St. John
Report on Organisation, etc., Laying on the Table
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1027.

Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. [Montgomery Boroughs]
Militia Officers—Retired Army Officers, Pay Grievance, *Feb. 25*, 1024.
Telegraph Forms—Quality of Paper, *Feb. 26*, 1200.
Volunteer Officers' Sons, Education of—Fees at Sandhurst and Woolwich, *Feb. 25*, 1025.

Public Accounts
Committee, Nomination of Members, *Feb. 26*, 1322.

Public Buildings Expenses Act
Account Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1175.

Public Offices
Acquisition of Sites Act—Account Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1175.

Public Petitions
Select Committee—Nomination of Members, *Feb. 26*, 1322.

Public Records
see Records.

Public Trustee and Executor Bill
c. 1r.* *Feb. 22*, 903.

Public Worship Regulation Act (1874) Amendment Bill
c. 1r.* *Feb. 19*, 463.

Publicans' Licences
Valuations for the purpose of Death Duties—Return
Q. Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Quarries
Persons Employed, Output and Accidents in Great Britain, Colonies, and Foreign Countries—General Report and Statistics Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 68.

Queen Victoria—Death of
Balfour, Mr. A. J., on, *Jan. 25*, 19.
Canterbury, Archbishop of, on, *Jan. 25*, 15.
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H., on, *Jan. 25*, 23.
Funeral
Day of General Mourning — Irish Shopkeepers and Publicans compelled to close, alleged, *see* Ireland.
Foreign Press—Facilities to view Procession in London and Windsor refused by Military Authorities, alleged
Q. Mr. W. Allan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 312.
Members' Stand—Complaints, Authority responsible for choosing site, etc.
Qs. Mr. Lough, Mr. A. Davies, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; *As.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 19*, 496.
Kimberley, Lord, on, *Jan. 25*, 11.
King's Message to Parliament, *Jan. 25*, 7.
Addresses of Sympathy (Lords) *Jan. 25*, 7—(Commons) 19.
Parliament — Resolutions of Sympathy from Foreign Parliaments
Greek Chamber of Deputies, *Jan. 25*, 17, 18.
Hungarian House of Magnates, *Feb. 19*, 435.
Portuguese Chamber of Deputies, *Feb. 19*, 444.
Portuguese House of Peers, *Feb. 25*, 971.
Roumanian Senate, *Jan. 25*, 17, 18.
Servian National Assembly *Jan. 25*, 18.
Salisbury, Lord, on, *Jan. 25*, 7.

Questions in the House
Notice of Motion, Question appearing on the Paper as—Member allowed to put the Question
Q. Mr. G. Whiteley; *A.* Mr. Speaker, *Feb. 25*, 988.
Supplementary Questions
Date of Commencement of Practice
Q. Mr A. J. Balfour. *Feb. 18*, 330
Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from answering Supplementary Questions
Qs. Mr. Dillon, Mr. Coghill, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir W. Harcourt; *As.* The Speaker, *Feb. 18*, 322; *Q.* Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 22*, 872.
Motion for Adjournment of the House (Mr. Dillon), *Feb. 18*, 325.

Quilter, Sir C. [Suffolk, Sudbury]
Beer—Arsenic Poisoning Epidemic, *Feb. 15*, 197, 207, 208, 215.

Radnor, Earl
Sat first in Parliament after the Death of his Father, *Jan. 24*, 5.

Radnorshire
Sporting Rights on Government Lands—Advertising Sale of, etc.
Q. Mr. Edwards; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 689.

Raglan, Lord—*Under Secretary for War*
South African Hospitals Commission Report, *Feb. 21*, 650.

Railway and Canal Traffic Acts
Annual Report of Commission, with Appendix, Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 655.

Railways
Accidents
Chiswick Level Crossing Accident—Enforcing Penalties, etc.
Q. Mr. T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1039.
Swanley Junction — Report of Inspecting Officer
Q. Mr. Bell; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1038.
Automatic Couplings, Substitution of, etc., proposed
Q. Mr. Bell; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 309.
Bills relating to, *see* their titles.
Companies, *see* their Names.
Continuous Brakes, Progress in use of —Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 69.
Corridor Trains, Adoption of—Prevention of Murders in Trains
Q. Mr. Taylor; *A.* Mr. G. W Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 686.

[*cont.*

Railways—*cont.*
Crops damaged by Sparks from Engines, *see* Compensation for Damage to Crops Bill.
Cycles—Conveyance of Cycles Bill, *see* that title.
Fruit, Rates for—Preferential Rates for Foreign Fruit from Dover to London, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 310.
Ireland
Armagh and Kingscourt Scheme—Great Northern Railway Company Monopoly
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 26*, 1202.
Grants for Construction of Railways—Amount unexpended, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 693.
Great Northern and Midland Great Western Railway Companies, Agreement between, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Govern; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1058.
Mail Trains between Dublin and Belfast—Exemption of Third Class Carriages
Q. Mr. Daly; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.
Meath County—Proposed Railway between Granard and Oldcastle, Government Assistance, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 487.
Rating of Railways—Assessment of Rates on one-fourth of net Annual Value, Complaints, etc.
Q. Mr. Carew; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 314.
Light Railways, *see* that title

Railways (Prevention of Accidents) Act 1900
Rules to Enforce Compliance, etc.
Q. Mr. Bell; *A.* Mr. G. W. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 308.

Rajoo Narayama
Petition for Redress of Grievances, *Feb. 15*, 165.

Ramsgate Harbour
Receipts and Payments—Statement Presented, *Feb. 15*, 165; *Feb. 19*, 439.

Randles, Mr. J. S. [Cumberland, Cockermouth]
Liquor Traffic and Liquor Licensing Laws Reform, *Feb. 20*, 613.

Rasch, Maj. F. C. [Essex, Chelmsford]
Army
Cavalry Establishments—Permanent Organisation at Home—Three or Four Squadrons, *Feb. 26*, 1185.
Horses, Purchase of, in Ireland, Prices, Purchasing from Dealers, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1186.

Rasch, Maj. F. C.—*cont.*
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 883.
South African Constabulary, Embarkation on "Aurania"—Want of Training, Equipment, etc., *Feb. 18*, 292.
South African War
Hospitals Commission—Case of Capt. Skipwith, *Feb. 22*, 843.
Outrages by British Troops, alleged—Lieut. Morrison's Statement, etc., *Feb. 21*, 657.
Teachers' Arbitrary Dismissals, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1042.

Rates
see Local Taxation.

Re-afforestation
Ireland—Enabling County Councils to execute, proposed Amendment of Local Government Act, etc.
Q. Mr. M'Govern; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 698.

Re-afforesting (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 462.

Reay, Lord
Cockerton Judgment—Higher Elementary Education and Evening Continuation Schools, *Feb. 25*, 978.

Records
Documents of not sufficient value to justify Preservation—Schedules, *Feb. 14*, 54; *Feb. 15*, 169; *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.

Redmond, Mr. J. [Waterford]
Business of the House—Precedence of Governess Business, *Feb. 26*, 1217.
Irish Grievances—Prosecution of Newspaper Proprietor, Summoning Mr. Redmond to give evidence as to handwriting, etc., *Feb. 22*, 938.
Irish Land Acts—Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 21*, 711.
Irish Language—Mr. O'Donnell's attempt to address the House in the Irish Language, *Feb. 19*, 547, 548.
Jurors ordered to stand by—Instances of, in England during last fifty years, *Feb. 26*, 1200.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 546; *Feb. 21*, 711; *Feb. 22*, 938.
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 898.
Questions—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 342.
Supply, Sessional Order—Discussion of Irish Estimates, *Feb. 26*, 1302; *Feb. 27*, 1351.

Redmond, Mr. W. [Clare, E.]
Australasia—Visit of Imperial Troops, Expenses, *Feb. 26*, 1188.

[*cont.*

Redmond, Mr. W.—*cont.*
  Jurors ordered to stand by—Instances of, in England, during the last fifty years, *Feb. 26*, 1199.
  King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 121.
  Land Sale, Ireland—Compulsory Sale, *Feb. 14*, 122.
  Old Age Pensions
    Omissions in the King's Speech, *Feb. 14*, 122.
    Systems in the Colonies—Return, *Feb. 21*, 682.
  Roman Catholic Chaplains for the Navy, *Feb. 22*, 853; *Feb. 26*, 1190.
  Roman Catholicism—King's Declaration against, Proposed abolition, *Feb. 18*, 320; *Feb. 22*, 873.
  South African War
    Arbitration—German Emperor as Arbitrator, *Feb. 22*, 845.
    Charges against British Troops—Outrages upon Women and Children, *Feb. 14*, 126.
    Colvile, Gen., Recall of, etc., *Feb. 22*, 840.
    Farm Burning—Miscalculations as to Cost of the War, etc., *Feb. 14*, 123.
    Pay, Rates of, for Various Forces, *Feb. 21*, 668.
    Yeomanry, Reinforcements—Increased Rate of Pay, Injustice to Regular Troops, *Feb. 14*, 125.
  Supply—Sessional Order, Discussion of Irish Estimates, *Feb. 26*, 1320; *Feb. 27*, 1326.

Reformatories
  Inebriate Reformatories, *see* that title.

Reid, Sir R. [Dumfries Burghs]
  King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 18*, 415.
  "Pro-Boer," Objections to term, *Feb. 18*, 425.
  South African War—Terms of Surrender, Settlement after the War, etc., *Feb. 18*, 415, 423.

Religion
  Oaths and Declarations made by Heads of States on Accession—Address for Return, *Feb. 19*, 586.
  Roman Catholicism, King's declaration against, *see* Roman Catholicism.

Renshaw, Mr. C. B. [Renfrew, W.]
  Private Bill Procedure, Scotland, *Feb. 18*, 313.
  South African War—Rates of Pay for new Recruits, *Feb. 21*, 668.

Representative Peers for Ireland
  Dunboyne, Lord, *Jan. 24*, 5.
  Westmeath, Earl of, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Reservists
  see Army.

Revenue and Expenditure
  Quarterly Returns of Revenue and Exchequer Issues—Distribution to Members
    Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 477.

Reynolds, J.
  Case of—Pension
    Q. Mr. L. Morgan; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 676.

Rhyl Bridge Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1004.

Rhyl Improvement Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*. 1004.

Rhyl and Prestatyn Light Railway
  Order Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 71.

Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

Richmond Gas Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1005.

Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water Bill
  c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1005.

Ridley, Viscount
  New Peer—Introduced, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Rifle Clubs
  Gun Licences Exemption
    Qs. Mr. Maconochie, Mr. Flynn; *As.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 25*, 1026.

Rifle Ranges
  New Ranges, Construction of, etc.
    Q. Mr. Warner; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1028.
  [For particular Ranges, *see* their Names.]

Riots
  Suppression of, Employment of Troops—Expenses, Billeting Rates, etc.
    Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 473; *Q.* Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 22*, 856.

Ripon Corporation Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T.—*Secretary of State for Home Department* [Croydon]
  Aliens, Naturalisation of—Fees, *Feb. 21*, 684.

[*cont.*

Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T.—*cont.*
- "Bohemian," Discipline on—Prosecution of Firemen, Shipowners acting as Magistrates, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1038.
- Boilers, Inspection of—Proposed Legislation, *Feb. 15*, 174.
- Carmarthen Prison, Arrangement of—Proposed Changes, *Feb. 18*, 308.
- Child Insurance—Bristol Grand Jury Protest, *Feb. 25*, 1035.
- Gun Licences—Compelling Purchasers to exhibit Licences to Dealer before Purchase, *Feb. 26*, 1196.
- Inebriate Reformatories—Establishment of State Reformatory, etc., *Feb. 18*, 308.
- Jury System—Legislation, *Feb. 26*, 1196.
- Justices and the Oath of Allegiance, *Feb. 21*, 683.
- King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 20*, 614.
- Lead Poisoning—Number of Cases, 1899 1900—Proposed new Special Rules, etc., *Feb. 18*, 306.
- Liquor Licensing Laws Reform
  - Deputation—Misconception, *Feb. 20*, 614.
  - Whittaker's, Mr., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 20*, 614.
- Local Taxation—Report of Royal Commission, Date of Issue, *Feb. 15*, 174.
- Metropolitan Police—Increase in Pay, Lodging Allowance, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1196.
- Mines—Tapering Pit Props and Bars Invention—Patents by Inspectors of Mines, *Feb. 26*, 1195.
- Palmistry—Police Prosecutions, *Feb. 21*, 683.
- Prisoners, Defence of Poor Prisoners—Proposed Payment by the Crown, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1034.
- Riots, Suppression of, Employment of Troops—Expenses, Local Liability, etc., *Feb. 22*, 857.
- Song-birds, Capture of, by Fishing Hooks—Alleged Cruelty, etc., *Feb. 22*, 856.
- Sumner, Rose, Case of—Proposed Remission of Death Penalty, *Feb. 22*, 857.
- Tradespeople exhibiting goods outside their doors—Incentive to theft, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1035.
- Youthful Offenders—Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887, Return, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1034.

Roads, Ireland
- Repairs of, by direct Labour, etc.—Obtaining Order in Council
  - *Q.* Mr. Lundon; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 705.

Roberts of Kandahar, Earl
- Memorial to, proposed Erection of, at Waterford
  - *O.* Mr. Power, *Feb. 15*, 240.
- New Peer—Introduced, *Feb. 14*, 30.
- South African War, *see* that title.

Roberts, Mr. J. B. [Carnarvonshire, Eifion]
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 530.
- Questions—Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs prohibited from replying to Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 362.
- South African War
  - Brabant's Horse—Terms of Engagement, *Feb. 21*, 667.
  - Colonial Troops
    - Insubordination, Case of, *Feb. 25*, 1014.
    - Terms of Engagement, etc., *Feb. 18*, 293.
  - Hamilton's, Gen. Bruce, Operations, Proclamation at Ventersburg, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1019.
  - Policy of Farm Burning, Terms of Surrender, Pro-Boer Speeches, Protest against the War, etc., *Feb. 19*, 530.
  - Yeomanry—Untrained Men, Accepting as Volunteers for South Africa, *Feb. 18*, 294.
- Unparliamentary Language Incident, *Feb. 22*, 948.

Roberts, Mr. H. [Denbighshire, W.]
- Indian Expenditure, Recommendations of Commission, Grant in Relief of Famine, Military Charges, *Feb. 25*, 1125.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 570; *Feb. 25*, 1125.
- Liquor Licensing Laws—Reform, *Feb. 19*, 570.
- Postmasters—Appointing Welsh-speaking Postmasters for Districts in Wales, *Feb. 26*, 1201.

Robertson, Mr. E. [Dundee]
- Esau, Case of—Ill-treatment by Boers, etc., *Feb. 21*, 664.
- Gibraltar Dock and Harbour Works—Safety, Adequacy and Defensibility of Scheme, *Feb. 25*, 1065.
- Publicans' Licences—Valuations, Returns, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Roche, Mr. J. [Galway, E.]
- Kenny Estate, Co. Galway—Sale of Land to Tenants, Reservation of Rights of Game, *Feb. 21*, 702.

Roll of the Lords
- *Feb. 14*, 30.

Rolleston, Sir J. [Leicester]
- Vaccination—Conscientious Objectors, Working of the Act, Complete Abolition of Compulsory Vaccination proposed, *Feb. 26*, 1197.

Rollit, Sir A. [Islington, S.]
- Metropolitan Police—Increase in Pay, Lodging Allowance, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1196.
- North Sea Fisheries, Destruction of Immature Fish—International Conventions, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Roman Catholic Chaplains
Navy, *see* that title.

Roman Catholic Magistrates
see Magistrates and Justices of the Peace—Ireland.

Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 457.

Roman Catholicism
King's Declaration against, Objections to Abolition, proposed
Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 320.
Bill of Rights, Declaration prescribed by—Effect of Act of 1866, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 22*, 872.
Debate (Lords), *Feb. 22*, 816.
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 241; *Feb. 18*, 392; *Feb. 19*, 554; *Feb. 22*, 950.

Roumania
Queen Victoria, Death of—Resolution of Sympathy from the Senate, *Jan. 25*, 17, 18.

Royal Academy
Sculptors, Architects, etc.—Increase in Number of Members, proposed, Appointment of Royal Commission, etc.
Q. Mr. Stevenson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 709.

Royal Commissions
see Commissions of Inquiry.

Royal Exchange Assurance Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

Royal Irish Constabulary
see Constabulary, Royal Irish.

Royal Niger Company
Money expended and borrowed and Securities created under Act of 1899—Account, with Report of Comptroller and Auditor-General, Presented, *Feb. 22*, 837.

Royal Parks
see Parks.

Royal Patriotic Fund
see Patriotic Fund.

Rugby Water and Improvement Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Russell, Mr. T. W. [Tyrone, S.]
Attendance of Members on the Ministerial Bench—Scanty Attendance during the Debate on Temperance Reform, *Feb. 19* 559.
Irish Land Question
Conversion to Nationalists' Views—Explanation, *Feb. 21*, 728, 774 776.
O. Col. Saunderson, 772.
Redmond's, Mr. J., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 21*, 728, 748, 749, 752, 753, 787, 793.
King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 20* 592; *Feb. 21*, 728.
Land Judges' Court, Ireland—Return, *Feb. 21*, 694.
Liquor Licensing Question as affecting Ireland, *Feb. 20*, 592.
Supply—Sessional Order, Number of Days for the Discussion of Irish Votes, *Feb. 27*, 1327, 1343.

Russia
Agriculture of the Odessa District—Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.
British Consular Establishments in Asia Minor, Extension to Tiflis, Baku, etc.
Q. Mr. Norman; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 305.
China, *see* that title.

Saddles for Army Horses
German Saddles, Contract for, etc.
Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 848.
Reduction of Weight, proposed
Q. Mr. J. Lowther; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 469.

St. Andrews University
Bute Chair of Anatomy and Chandos Chair of Physiology, Foundation of—Ordinances Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167; *Feb. 19*, 441.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

St. Helena
Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.
Boer Prisoners, *see* South African War—Prisoners.

St. Lucia
Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.

St. Mel's Cathedral
Preservation of Ruins—Correspondence between Board of Works and Church Representative Body
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 319; *Feb. 21*, 707.

St. Vincent
- Annual Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50, 68.
- Prisons—Amended Rules Presented, *Feb. 20*, 588; *Feb. 21*, 648.

Sale of Food and Drink Act
- Milk and Cream Standard, *see* Milk.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill
- *c.* 1R.* *Feb. 20*, 646.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday
- Petitions, *Feb. 15*, 165; *Feb. 18*, 288; *Feb. 19*, 448; *Feb. 20*, 587; *Feb. 22*, 836.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill
- *c.* 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 463.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill
- *c.* 1R* *Feb. 19*, 450.
- Petitions, *Feb. 19*, 448; *Feb. 20*, 587; *Feb. 25*, 1011.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children (Scotland) Bill
- *c.* 1R.* *Feb. 27*, 1399.

Salford Corporation Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Salisbury, Marquess of—*Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal*
- Commissions of Inquiry and their Reports—Obligation incumbent on the Government to adopt Policy, New Contention, *Feb. 26*, 1171.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 43.
- Queen Victoria, Death of, *Feb. 14*, 44.
  - Address of Sympathy to the King, *Jan. 25*, 7.
- Roman Catholicism, Royal Declaration against, *Feb. 22*, 816.
- Shops, Early Closing—Select Committee of Inquiry, *Feb. 26*, 1169.
- South African Settlement—Independence of the Republics, etc., *Feb. 14*, 46.
- South African War—Prolongation of the War, Conduct of the War, Criticism on the Government, etc., *Feb. 14*, 45.

Salmon Fisheries
- Scotland
  - Fishmongers' Company's Powers
    - Summoning Persons Living in Scotland to Answer Charges in England
      - *Q.* Capt. Sinclair; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1044.
    - Transmission of Salmon by Rail—Right of Detectives to Search Parcels, etc.
      - *Q.* Mr. W. Thorburn; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1043.

Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill
- *c.* 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 457.

Sandhurst Military College
- Fees—Volunteer Officers' Sons
  - *Q.* Lt.-Col. Pryce-Jones; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1025.

Sandys, Col. [Lancashire, Bootle]
- Horses for the Army, Purchase of, in Canada, etc., *Feb. 22*, 846.

Sardinia
- Loan—Annual Account for 1900, Presented, *Feb. 19*, 438.

Saunderson, Col. [Armagh, N.]
- Irish Land Question
  - Land Acts, Maladministration—Compulsory Purchase of Land proposed, etc., *Feb. 21*, 771.
  - Russell, Mr. T., joining the Irish Nationalists, *Feb. 21*, 772.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 21*, 771.

Savings Banks
- Military Savings Banks, *see* that title.
- National Debt Accounts, *Feb. 18*, 288; *Feb. 19*, 440.
- Trustee Savings Banks, Inspection Committee—Annual Report of Proceedings Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1168, 1175.

Scarborough Electric Tramways
- Petition for Bill referred to Select Committee on Standing Orders, *Feb. 22*, 836.

School Attendance Committees
- List of, in England and Wales, Presented, *Feb. 19*, 437, 449.

School Boards
- List of, in England and Wales, Presented, *Feb. 19*, 437, 449.

Schools
- *see* Education.

Schwann, Mr. C. [Manchester, N.]
- Indian Expenditure, Recommendations Commission, Grant-in-aid of Famine, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1115.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 25*, 1115.
- Telegraph Service—Overtime at Central Telegraph Office, etc., Return, *Feb. 21*, 689.

Science and Art Expenditure
- Cockerton Judgment *see* that title.

Scotland

Secretary—Rt. Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh.
Under-Secretary—Sir C. Scott-Moncrieff.
Lord Advocate — Rt. Hon. A. G. Murray.
Solicitor-General—Mr. C. S. Dockson.

Aberdeen, *see* that title.

Allotments—Land acquired under Allotments Act, 1892, and Local Government Act, 1894—Return
Q. Mr. Wason; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1046.

Barra Island, Crofters and Cottars on—Arrangements for Purchase of Land from Lady Gordon Cathcart, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 18*, 312.

Bills relating to, *see* their titles.

Crofters and Cottars, *see* that title.

Demise of the Crown—Effect of, on Representation of Scotch Constituencies
Qs. Mr. T Campbell, Mr. J. Lowther; *As.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 19*, 483.

Edinburgh, *see* that title.

Education—Legislative Prospects for 1901
Qs. Mr. Crombie, Mr. Bartley; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 495.

Glasgow, *see* that title.

Peterspont Pier, Access to—Construction of Road, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1046.

Poor Law Medical Officers—Petition for Alteration of Law, *Feb. 19*, 448.

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, *see* that title.

Salmon Fisheries, *see* that title.

Trawling—Infringement of Fishery Board Bye-laws, Prosecutions — Return Ordered, *Feb. 26*, 1177.

Tweed Commissioners' Bailiffs—Assault on Mr. Anderson, etc.
Q. Sir W. Thorburn; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1044.

Universities Act—Reports, etc., *see* Names of Universities.

Wick Burghs Election Petition—Judges' Report, *Feb. 14*, 58.

Scott, Mr. C. P. [Lancashire, Leigh]

South African War—Terms of Surrender, Annexation of the Republics, Settlement after the War, etc, *Feb. 19*, 523; *Feb. 26*, 1273.

Sea Fisheries

North Sea Fisheries, Destruction of Immature Fish—International Conventions
Q. Sir A. Rollit; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 855.

Statistical Tables and Memorandum relating to Presented, *Feb. 20*, 588.

Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) Act

Loans under—Amended Rules for Administration Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 70.

Seamen, Merchant Service

Deceased Seamen's Wages and Effects—Account Presented, *Feb. 15*, 165; *Feb. 19*, 437; *Feb. 27*, 1324.

Seeds—Agricultural Seeds

Schemes for Improvement, etc.—Distribution of Seeds to Irish Farmers
Q. Mr. O'Mara; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 863.

Standards Committee—Report and Evidence with Appendices and Index Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 655.

Seidel & Co., Munsterberg

Vegetable Contract for British Army, etc.
Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 850.

Select Vestries (*Pro Forma*) **Bill**

l. 1R.* *Feb. 14*, 30.

Selenium Poison

References to, in Debate on Arsenic in Beer, *Feb. 15*, 189, 216.

Separation Allowance

see South African War.

Servia

Queen Victoria, Death of—Resolution of Sympathy from the National Assembly, *Jan. 25*, 18.

Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.

Seton-Karr, Mr. H. [St. Helens]

Mines (Eight Hours) Bill—Business of the House, *Feb. 26*, 1227

Shannon Water and Electric Power Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 833.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1005.

Sheerness and District Light Railway

Order Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 72.

Sheffield Corporation Bill

l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Sheffield District Gas Bill

l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

Shields Bridge Bill

l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Shipley Improvement Bill

c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 833.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1005.

Shipping

see Merchant Shipping.

Shireoaks, Laughton, and Maltby Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1005.

Shops
Early Closing—Select Committee of Inquiry—Motion (Lord Avebury), *Feb. 26*, 1168.
Exhibiting Goods outside—Incentive to Theft, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell ; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1035.

Shops Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 461.

Shrewsbury Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

Simeon, Sir B. [Southampton]
Piccadilly—Crossing Refuges, *Feb. 19*, 482.
Transport Service—Treatment of Wounded Volunteers, *Feb. 25*, 1017.

Sinclair, Capt. J. [Forfar]
Fishmongers' Company's Powers, Summoning Persons living in Scotland to answer Charges in England, *Feb. 25*, 1044.

Sinclair, Mr. L. [Essex, Romford]
South African Hospitals Commission Report—State of the Army Medical Department, etc., *Feb. 18*, 389.

Singh, Jamand
Petition for Redress of Grievances, *Feb. 15*, 165.

Singh Magan
Petition for Redress of Grievances, *Feb. 18*, 287.

Sittings of the House
Ash Wednesday, *see* that title.

Skibbereen
Land Sub-Commission Sittings—Postponement until after Cork Assizes
Q. Mr. Barry ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 701.

Skipwith, Capt.
South African Hospitals Commission—Charges against Capt. Skipworth, Resignation, etc.
Qs. Major Rasch, Mr. Burdett-Coutts ; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 843.

Sligo
Achonry, Agrarian Dispute in — Extra Police Force, Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Dowd ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 700.
County Council—Court House Flag, Seizure of, by the Police
Q. Mr. O'Dowd ; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 26*, 1204.

Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899
Number of Localities adopting—Amount of Money Advanced, etc.
Q. Mr. Bartley ; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Feb. 21*, 686.
Number of Purchases – Working of Act, etc.
Q. Mr. Field ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1052.

Small Dwellings Acquisition Act (1899) Amendment Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 460.

Small-pox
Donegal, Case of Small-pox at—Precautionary Measures
Q. Mr. O'Doherty ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1057.
Glasgow Epidemic -Number of Deaths
Q. Mr. J. Campbell ; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1046.
London—Precautions against Small-pox
Q. Mr. J. Campbell ; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 21*, 687.

Smethwick Corporation Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Smith, Mr. W. F. D. [Strand, Westminster]
Yeomanry Cavalry—Report of Committee of Inquiry, *Feb. 22*, 849.

Soames, Mr. A. [Norfolk, S.]
South African War
Inquiry into Management, Date of, *Feb. 26*, 1178.
Pay of British Soldiers during Captivity, *Feb. 26*, 1181.

Soares, Mr. E. J. [Devon, Barnstaple]
"Goonlaze," Wreck of—Coastguard Service at Peppercombe, etc., *Feb. 15*, 173.

Soldiers and Sailors killed in War
Pensions for Widows and Orphans, *see* War Relief Funds.

Solicitor-General
Sir E. Carson.

Solicitors
Irish Solicitors and Somerset House Appointments – Examination of Irish Candidates in English Law, etc.
Q. Mr. O'Doherty ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 707.

Somali Coast
Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 50.

Somaliland
Outbreak of Ogaden Somalis — Attack on Punitive Expedition
Q. Mr. Lough ; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 27*, 1399.

Somerset House Appointments
Examination of Irish Solicitors
Q. Mr. O'Doherty; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 707.

Song-Birds
Capture of, by Fishing Hooks—Cruelty
Q. Mr. A. Cross; *A.* Mr. Ritchie. *Feb. 22*, 856; *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 480.

South African Conciliation Committee
Morrison's, Lieut., Letter, *see* Morrison

South African Constabulary
Australia, Recruiting in, Refusal of Australian Governments to allow, alleged, etc.
Qs. Mr. Dillon, Mr. Channing; *As.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 464. *Q.* Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 838.
Embarkation on "Aurania"—Want of Equipment, Training, etc.
Q. Major Rasch; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18* 292.
Recruiting for
O. Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 518.
Soldiers joining with less than Six Years' Service—Purchasing Discharge, etc.
Q. Mr. T. L. Corbett; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 663.
Total Strength landed in South Africa
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 292.

South African Hospitals Commission
See South African War—Hospital and Medical Arrangements.

South African Emigration and Settlement Commission
Report—Date of Issue
Q. Mr. Channing; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 466. *Q.* Mr. Crombie; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 658.

"South African News"
Prosecution of Editor for Libel
Q. Mr. Humphreys-Owen; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1179.

South African Republics
Military Notes—Issue to Members, Insufficient Number of Copies
Qs. Mr. Channing, Mr. Tennant, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Caine; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1184.

South African Settlement
Annexation of the Republics—Undoing Annexation and Restoring the Political *status quo*
Chamberlain's. Mr. J., Statement on the Policy of the Government, etc., *Feb. 18*, 425, 427.
Os. Mr. Asquith, *Feb. 19*, 505; Mr. C. P. Scott, 524.

South African Settlement—*cont.*
British Supremacy
Os. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *Feb. 14*, 91; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 106.
Civil Administration and Promise of Self-Government—Proclamation of British Intentions in English, Dutch, etc.
Q. Mr. Trevelyan; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. Feb. 19*, 465.
Colonization of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies
O. Lord A. Compton, *Feb. 19*, 541.
Crown Colony Government, Objections to
Os. Mr. Bryce, *Feb. 14*, 154; Mr. Lloyd-George, *Feb. 18*, 399; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 428; Mr. Asquith, *Feb. 19*, 507; M. C. P. Scott, 525
Establishing Commonwealth such as exists in Australia and Canada, Suggestion
Os. Mr. Labouchere; *Feb. 15*, 250, 251; Mr. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 430
Independence of the Republics
Chamberlain's, Mr. J., Statement, *Feb. 18*, 424
Debate on the Address [Lords], *Feb. 14*, 46—[Commons] 79, 94, 154; *Feb. 18*, 399; *Feb. 19*, 512, 535.
Military Government, Objections to
Os. Mr. Bryce, *Feb. 14*, 156; Mr. Harwood, *Feb. 19*, 544,
Civil *v.* Military Government
Churchill, Mr. W., on, *Feb. 18*, 409.
Opposition Party and the Terms of Settlement
Chamberlain, Mr. J., on, *Feb. 18*, 424.
Policy of the Government
Brodrick's, Mr., Statement, *Feb. 26*, 1272.
Chamberlain's, Mr. J., Statement, *Feb. 18*, 421.
Lloyd-George's, Mr., proposed Amendment to the Address
O. Mr. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 421.
Protected States Proposal
O. Mr. Bryce, *Feb. 14*, 155.
Self-Government
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 157; *Feb. 18*, 399, 428, 430; *Feb. 19*, 526, 544.
Surrender of Arms, Terms of, etc., *see* South African War.

South African War
Annexation of the Republics—Responsibility for Proclamations, Legal Status of Inhabitants, etc.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 658.
Arbitration—German Emperor as Arbitrator
Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 845.

[*cont.*

South African War—*cont.*

- Baden-Powell's Police, *see* South African Constabulary
- Bechuanaland — Boer Invasion into Southern Bechuanaland
  - *O.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 135.
- Biddulphsberg Engagement — Sufferings and Hardships endured by the Troops
  - *O.* Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 144.
- Bloemfontein—Hospital and Medical Arrangements—Report of Hospitals Commission
  - *Os.* Sir W. Foster, *Feb. 15*, 224; Mr. Burdett-Coutts, 268.
- Boer Brutality, *see* sub-headings Esau and De Wet
- Boer Character—Dishonour among the Boers, etc.
  - Mildmay, Capt., on, *Feb. 14*, 147.
    - *Os.* Mr. Bryce, 149; Mr. Pirie, *Feb. 15*, 192; Lord Stanley, 257; Lord A. Compton, *Feb. 19*, 537.
- Boer Forces, Strength of—Number of Prisoners, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Atherley-Jones; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 844.
- Boer Prisoners, *see* sub-heading Prisoners.
- Boer Women and Children, Deportation from Farms
  - *Os.* Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 25*, 1163; *Feb. 26*, 1239.
- Boer Women and Children in Refugee Camps, *see* sub-heading Refugee Camps.
- Boers in Arms—Treatment of, as Belligerents or Rebels
  - *Q.* Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 659.
- Botha, Gen., *see* sub-heading Peace Negotiations
- Brabant's Horse—Terms of Engagement, Comparison with Terms of Imperial Yeomanry, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 667.
- British Forces, Number in South Africa, 1899-1901—Return Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648; *Feb. 22*, 837.
- Buller, Gen., *see* sub-heading Peace Negotiations
- Burning of Farms, *see* sub-heading Farm-Burning.
- Cape Colony
  - Boer Invasion
    - *O.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 132, 134.
    - Placing Map in the Library, etc.
      - *Q.* Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 15*, 170.
    - Preparations for Repelling—Reinforcements, etc.
      - *O.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 134.
  - Farms, Burning by Boer Forces
    - *Q.* Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 843.
  - Press Restrictions, *see* sub-heading Newspapers.

South African War—*cont.*

- Casualties
  - Deaths from Diseases, *see* sub-heading Enteric Fever.
  - Nooitgedacht Reverse, *see* that sub-heading.
  - Number of Sailors and Soldiers deceased or Invalided home since commencement of the War—Address for Return, *Feb. 21*, 649.
  - Stormberg Casualties—Reported death of three Privates of the Royal Irish Regiment
    - *Q.* Maj. Jameson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1183.
- Clements', Gen., Reverse, *see* sub-heading Nooitgedacht Reverse.
- Colonial Troops
  - Insubordination, Case of—Name of Corps, Period of Engagement, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1014.
  - Pay, Rate of—Rate of Wages for unskilled White Labour in the Colonies
    - *Q.* Capt. Lee; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1014.
  - Terms of Engagement—Terms offered to Yeomanry and Volunteers, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 18*, 293.
- Colvile, Gen., *see* Colvile
- Conclusion of the War, *see* sub-heading Termination of the War
- Conduct of the Troops
  - Bravery and Endurance of British Soldiers
    - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 33, 87, 143; *Feb. 19*, 542.
    - Mildmay, Capt., on, *Feb. 14*, 143.
  - Charges against
    - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 79, 144.
    - Farm Burning, *see* that sub-heading.
    - Morrison's, Lieut., Charges—Conciliation Committee Publication
      - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 126, 145; *Feb. 15*, 192; *Feb. 18*, 403; *Feb. 19*, 515; *Feb. 26*, 1277.
      - *Qs.* Major Rasch, Mr. Lambert; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 657.
      - Prosecution of the South African Conciliation Committee, proposed
        - *Q.* Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 26*, 1181.

[*cont.*

South African War—*cont.*
Conduct of the War
Conciliatory Treatment — Mistaken Policy
O. Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 148.
Criticism on Generals
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 35; *Feb. 19*, 529.
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 58; *Feb. 25*, 1145; *Feb. 26*, 1239.
Inquiry into Management of the War, *see* sub-heading Inquiry.
Roberts' Lord, Humane Treatment of the Boers
O. Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 147.
Surrender of British Troops, *see* that sub-heading
Cost of the War
Miscalculations by the Government
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 124; *Feb. 18*, 395.
Total Cost—Average Weekly Cost
Q. Mr. H. Lewis; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 22*, 844.
Transvaal and Orange River Colony Mines — Amount of Contribution, etc.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 466.
Cox, Capt.—Murder of Native by his Orders, Acquittal of Policeman Smith, etc.
Q. Mr. Channing; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 660.
De Wet, Gen.
Esau, *see* that sub-heading.
Pursuit of—Abandoned Horses
Q. Sir H. Meysey-Thompson; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 666.
Treatment of Members of Peace Committee
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 664.
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 94, 108; *Feb. 18*, 433; *Feb. 19*, 514.
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 75; *Feb. 15*, 190; *Feb. 18*, 394; *Feb. 19*, 503; *Feb. 25*, 1069; 1145; *Feb. 26*, 1239.
Despatches
Despatches Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 68.
Distinguishing between Conduct of Battalion and Battalion.
O. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 133.
Paardeburg, *see* that sub-heading.
Supplementary Despatches, *Feb. 25*, 976, 1011.
Difficulties of the Campaign
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 87, 250.
Disabled Soldiers, Pensions for
Q. Mr. Levy; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 472.
Discipline and Training of the Army—Inquiry into
O. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 25*, 1100.
Enteric, etc.
Hospitals Commission Report
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 219.

South African War—*cont.*
Enteric, etc.—*cont.*
Inoculation against, Results—Professor Wright's Statement
Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1183.
Number of Cases and Deaths—Number invalided home, etc.
Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 18*, 293.
Statistics—Ages of Men and the Comparative Liability to Enteric, etc.
Q. Mr. Cochrane; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
Esau—Murder of, by the Boers
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 19*, 515; *Feb. 25*, 1166; *Feb. 26*, 1253.
Milner, Sir A., Telegram relating to *Feb. 25*, 976, 1012
Q. Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
Official Confirmation
Qs. Mr. E. Robertson, Mr. Labouchere; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 664; *Q.* Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 839.
Farm Burning by Boer Forces in Cape Colony
Q. Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 843.
Farm Burning by British Troops
Q. Mr. Trevelyan; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 470; *Q.* Mr. M'Govern; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 666.
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 89, 107, 123, 128, 152; *Feb. 15*, 192, 239, 260; *Feb. 18*, 396, 401, 407; *Feb. 19*, 509, 531, 538; *Feb. 25*, 1148, 1152, 1155; *Feb. 26*, 1270.
Dillon's, Mr., Amendment, *Feb. 25*, 1145; *Feb. 26*, 1239.
Hamilton's, Gen. Bruce, Operations—Proclamation at Ventersburg, etc.
Qs. Mr. B. Roberts, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Dillon; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1019.
Petition for Cessation, *Feb. 18*, 288.
Garner, Sergeant-Major—Military Savings Bank Account, Withholding Payment from Widow, etc.
Q. Col. Lockwood; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 471.
General Election Campaign, *see* that title.
Government and the War, Criticisms on
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 38, 47, 132, 142, 150; *Feb. 15*, 253; *Feb 19*, 516, 537.
Miscalculations by the Government, *see* sub-headings Termination of the War and Cost of the War.
Grants to Generals proposed
Q. Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 658.
Graspan, Boer Prisoners at, *see* sub-heading Prisoners.

South African War—*cont.*
- Gratuities due to Estates of deceased Officers—Delay in Payment
  - *Q.* Mr. Hay; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 472.
- Griqualand—Invasion by the Boers
  - *O.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 135.
- Guerilla Warfare, Meaning of Term, etc.—Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 130, 131; *Feb. 25*, 1148.
- Guns — Mountain Batteries, Armament of, Re-armament with Heavy Guns, etc.
  - *Q.* Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1184.
- Half-trained Men, sending straight into the Field—City Imperial Volunteers, etc.
  - *Os.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 140; *Feb. 15*, 261; Lord Stanley, 261.
- Hamilton's, Gen. Bruce, Operations—Proclamation at Ventersburg, etc.
  - *Qs.* Mr. B. Roberts, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Dillon; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1019.
  - *Os.* Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 25*, 1162; *Feb. 26*, 1252.
- Helvetia—Capture of the Liverpools
  - *O.* Mr. Lambert, *Feb. 25*, 1075.
- Hertzog, J., Death of
  - *O.* Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 26*, 1240.
- Hofmeyr, Rev. A.—Mission to Transvaal as Peace Commissioner, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Pirie; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 659; *Q.* Mr. Pirie; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1017.
- Horses
  - De Wet, Gen., Pursuit of—Abandoned Horses
    - *Q.* Sir H. Meysey-Thompson; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 666.
  - Overweighting of Horses, Lack of Mobility caused by—Selection of Light-weight Men, etc.
    - *Qs.* Sir H. Meysey-Thompson, Mr. T. M. Healy; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 468.
  - Purchase of Horses, *see* title Horses.
  - Saddles, *see* that sub-heading.
  - Supply of
    - *Os.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 15*, 262; Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 517.
- Hospitals and Medical Arrangements — Commission of Inquiry
  - Evidence before the Commission, Guthrie, Mr., on *Feb. 15*, 232.
  - Recommendations
    - *O.* Sir W. Foster, *Feb. 15*, 222.
  - Report
    - Departmental Committee, proposed
      - Debate (Lords), *Feb. 21*, 650.
      - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 15*, 219, 264; *Feb. 18*, 389; *Feb. 19*, 519.
      - Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, etc., Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 69.

South African War—*cont.*
- Hospitals and Medical Arrangements — Commission of Inquiry—*cont.*
  - Skipwith, Capt., Charges against—Resignation, etc.
    - *Qs.* Major Rasch, Mr. Burdett-Coutts; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 843.
- House - burning, *see* sub-heading Farm Burning.
- Inquiry into Management of the War, etc.
  - Conduct of Battalions—Differences which the War has shown between Battalion and Battalion
    - *O.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 133.
  - Date of Inquiry
    - *Q.* Mr. Soames; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1178.
  - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 132.
  - General Inquiry
    - *Os.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, Sir C. Dilke, Mr. W. Churchill, Mr. Asquith, *Feb. 25*, 1100, 1101, 1102.
  - Publication of Proceedings, etc.
    - *Os.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1091; Sir H. Cambell-Bannerman, 1095; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1097; Sir C. Dilke, 1100.
- Inquiry into Surrender of Troops, *see* sub-heading Surrender.
- Invalided Soldiers and Sailors, Officers and Men
  - Number invalided home since commencement of the War—Address for Return, *Feb. 21*, 649.
  - Permanently Disabled Soldiers, Pensions for, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. Levy; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 472.
- Irish Hospital—Success of
  - *O.* Mr. Guthrie, *Feb. 15*, 235.
- Irish Soldiers' Widows and Orphans in Irish Workhouses — Mr. T. M. Healy's, Statement, etc.
  - *Q.* Dr. MacNamara; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 473; *Q.* Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1019.
- Jameson Raid Indemnity, *see* Jameson Raid.
- Kaffirs attempting to escape from Mines at Kimberley—Shooting of, alleged, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Channing; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1013.
- Khaki, Boers dressed in—Orders to Shoot, alleged
  - *Q.* Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 467.
- Kitchener, Lord
  - Order to take no Prisoners, alleged
    - *Os.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 515; Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 26*, 1245.

[*cont.*

South African War—*cont.*

Kitchener, Lord—*cont.*

Orders to take no Prisoners, alleged—*cont.*

Prosecution of Editor of "South African News" for Libel
Q. Mr. Humphreys-Owen; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1179.

Re-organisation of the Forces—Letter in the "Times"
Os. Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 25*, 1151; Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1267.

Terms of Surrender, etc., *see* sub-heading Surrender.

Kroonstadt Hospital Scandal
O. Sir W. Foster, *Feb. 15*, 224.

Liberal Party and the War, *see* that title.

Lindley Disaster
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1073, 1081.

Lombard's Kop Engagement
O. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 133.

Long Hill, Attack on
O. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 133.

Magersfontein, British Prisoners captured at, *see* sub-heading Prisoners.

Memorial, Erection of Imperial Memorial to British and Colonial Troops—Proposed Deputation to Government, etc.
Q. Sir A. Hayter; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 657.

Mildmay's, Capt., Personal Experiences, etc., *Feb. 14*, 142—(for details, *see* sub-headings such as Boer Character, Conduct of the Troops, etc.).

Militia Reservists and Reserve Pay—Proposed Recall of 5th Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers
Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1023.

Military Situation
Brodrick's, Mr., Statement, *Feb. 19*, 516.

Milner, Sir A., *see* Milner.

Miscalculations by the Government, *see* sub-headings Termination of the War and Cost of the War.

Morrison's, Lieut., Letter, *see* sub-heading Conduct of the Troops.

Mounted Men

Insufficient Supply
Os. Earl of Kimberley, *Feb. 14*, 39; Sir C. Dilke, 137; Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 516.

Reinforcements, *see* that sub-heading.

Naval Brigade—Warrant Officers' alleged Non-participation in Honours and Promotions
Q. Mr. Kearley; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 675.

South African War—*cont.*

Newspapers — Suppression of English Newspapers in Cape Colony
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 665; *Qs.* Mr. J. Campbell, Mr. Dillon; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 841.

Nicholson's Nek Disaster
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1071, 1079, 1084.

Nooitgedacht Reverse, number of Killed and Wounded—Result of Court of Inquiry, etc.
Q. Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 15*, 170.
O. Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett, *Feb. 25*, 1081.

Oath of Neutrality—Boer Disregard for, Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 147; *Feb. 15*, 258.

Objects of the War.
Os. Mr. W. Churchill, *Feb. 18*, 409; Mr. B. Roberts, *Feb. 19*, 534.

Officers

Failure of Officers at the Front—Re-employment in Great Britain
Statement (Mr. Brodrick), *Feb. 25*, 1092.

Gratuities due to Estates of Deceased Officers—Delay in Payment
Q. Mr. Hay; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 472.

Paardeberg Operations—Despatches

Colvile's, Gen., Report
Q. The Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1180.

Divisional Commanders, Despatches of
Q. The Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 662.

Roberts's, Lord, Despatches
Q. Mr. Faber; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 15*, 170.

Paget's Horse—Recruits at Aldershot, Want of Accommodation, etc.
Q. Mr. Bartley; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 847.

Pay of the Troops

Captivity—Pay during Captivity
Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1016; *Q.* Mr. Soames; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1181.

Date of last Payment—Weekly Issue etc.
Q. Mr. Pirie; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1018.

Rates of Pay

Rank and File—Number receiving five shillings a day, etc.
Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 668.

Recruits for Mounted Infantry and Cavalry—Volunteers, etc.
Q. Mr. Renwick; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 668.
(*see also* sub-heading Reinforcements—Yeomanry).

South African War—*cont.*

Pay of the Troops—*cont.*

Rates of Pay—*cont.*

Yeomanry and Colonial Volunteers, Pay of—Giving same rates to Regular Soldiers, proposed
Q. Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 842.

Peace Envoys, Treatment of, by De Wet

Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 94, 108; *Feb. 18*, 433; *Feb. 19*, 514.

Envoys Flogged and Shot by Order of Gen. De Wet, Official Confirmation, etc.
Qs. Mr. Labouchere, Mr. E. Robertson; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 664.

Peace Negotiations

Botha, General, Wife of—Sent to urge her husband to Surrender
O. Mr. Labouchere, *Feb. 15*, 252.

Buller, General Sir R., and General Botha—Attempts to negotiate, Lord Roberts's Terms, etc.

Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 93, 106, 128, 153; *Feb. 18*, 422; *Feb. 26*, 1255.

Instructions from H.H. Government, etc.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 658.

Unconditional Surrender—General Buller's Views after Interview with Gen. Botha, etc.
Q. Mr. Pirie; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 291.

Communicating Terms to the Enemy—Communications with Kruger and Steyn
O. Lord Stanley, *Feb. 15*, 259.

Communicating with Generals in the Field
Os Mr. Bryce, *Feb. 14*, 155; Mr Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 434.

Hofmeyr, Rev. A., *see* that sub-heading.

Lost Opportunities of negotiating for Peace

Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 89; *Feb. 15*, 191, 259; *Feb. 18*, 422; *Feb. 19*, 508.

Roberts, Lord, and Boer Generals, Communications between—Proposed Meeting in June between Lord Roberts and General Botha
Q. Mr. Dillon; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 296.

Correspondence (June, 1900) Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, *Feb. 22*, 837.

South African War—*cont.*

Police Force for South Africa, *see* South African Constabulary.

Policy of the Government—"We have put our hands to the plough and will not withdraw"
O. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 14*, 109.

Prisoners

Boer Prisoners

Escape of, from British ships
Q. Sir H. Meysey-Thompson; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 661.

Graspan, Friends of Prisoners admitted to see them and then sent to St Helena, alleged—Statement of British Officer
Q. Mr. Pirie; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1013.

Number of
Q. Mr. Atherley-Jones; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 844.

St. Helena and Ceylon Prisoners—Making Known Terms of Surrender to
O. Mr. Asquith, *Feb. 19*, 509.

British Prisoners, pay during Captivity, *see* sub-heading Pay.

Irish Prisoners at St. Helena
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1181.

Order to take no Prisoners, alleged, *see* sub-heading Kitchener, Lord.

Pro-Boers—Encouragement and Inspiration to the Enemy

Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 86, 108, 123, 150; *Feb. 15*, 258; *Feb. 18*, 407, 425; *Feb. 19*, 504, 514, 532, 540; *Feb. 25*, 1145.

Prolongation of the War

Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 38, 45, 75, 78; *Feb. 15*, 250.

Historical Comparisons
O. Marquess of Salisbury, *Feb. 14*, 45.

Pro-Boer Speeches, etc.—Encouragement to the Boer to continue the War

Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 86, 108, 123, 150.

Racial Hostilities
O. Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 431.

Rebels—Lord Roberts' Proclamation of June, 1900.
O. Mr. Dillon, *Feb.* 26, 1251.

Reddersburg, Surrender of British Troops
Debate on the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1072.

Refuge Camps

Number of, Number of Persons Protected, etc.

Qs. Mr. J. Ellis, Mr. Dillon; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1021.

[*cont.*

South African War—*cont.*

- Refuge Camps—*cont.*
  - Rations—Surrender and Non-Surrender Distinctions
    - *Qs.* Mr. J. Ellis, Mr. Dalziel; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1180.
    - *Os.* Mr. Lloyd-George, *Feb. 18*, 405; Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 25*, 1149, 1163; *Feb. 26*, 1239; Mr. Channing, *Feb. 26*, 1265.
- Reinforcements—Imperial Yeomanry, etc.
  - Brodrick's, Mr., Statement, *Feb. 19*, 518.
  - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 75, 88, 104, 115, 125, 129, 135, 138; *Feb. 18*, 413; *Feb. 19*, 516, 538.
  - Jump Test for Yeomanry, abolition of
    - *O.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 138.
  - Mounted Men
    - Hasty Reinforcements not confined to Trained Men, etc.
      - *Os.* Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 135, 137; *Feb. 25*, 1101.
    - Number sent to South Africa since Jan. 1, 1901, etc.
      - *Qs.* Mr. Bartley, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 468.
  - Patriotic Volunteers *v.* Trained Men
    - *O.* Mr. Lambert, *Feb. 25*, 1074.
  - Pay—Higher Rate of Pay, *Feb. 14*, 129, 138.
    - Injustice to Regular Troops, *Feb. 14*, 125.
  - Recruits — Physical Standard and Qualifications of Character, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. Pirie; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1018.
  - "Scrambling together a nondescript force of heterogeneous elements"
    - *O.* Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *Feb. 14*, 88.
- Relief Fund, *see* War Relief Fund.
- Reorganisation of the Forces—Letter in the "Times"
  - *Os.* Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 25*, 1151; Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26*, 1267.
- Rewards for Distinguished Service, Delay in announcing
  - *Q.* Mr. A. Lee; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 661.
- Rhenoster River Station—Capture of Convoy
  - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1074.
- Roberts, Lord
  - Despatches and Proclamations
    - *Os.* Mr. Channing, *Feb. 26*, 1262; Mr. Brodrick, 1271.
  - Peace Negotations, *see* that sub-heading.
  - State of the Army as left by Lord Roberts — Letter in the "Times"
    - *Os.* Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 25*, 1151; Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 26* 1267.

South African War—*cont.*

- Rundle's, Gen., Force—Shortness of Supplies, etc.
  - *O.* Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 142.
- Sanitary Arrangements
  - Foster's, Sir W., Suggestions as to a Sanitary Committee
    - *Os.* Sir W. Foster, *Feb. 15*, 221; Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 521.
  - Report of Hospitals Commission
    - *Os.* Sir W. Foster, *Feb. 15*, 221; Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 521.
- Sanna's Post Disaster
  - *Os.* Mr. Lambert, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett, *Feb. 25*, 1072, 1080.
- Separation Allowance—Married Soldiers' Discharge into the Reserve postponed
  - *Q.* Mr. Pirie; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 18*, 298.
- Sick and Wounded, Treatment of—Hospital Commission
  - Report, *see* sub-heading Hospital and Medical Arrangements.
- "South African News"—Prosecution of Editor for Libel
  - *Q.* Mr. Humphreys-Owen; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1179.
- Stores and Supplies
  - Deficiency
    - *O.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 15*, 262.
  - Management of Department
    - *O.* Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 142.
  - Mismanagement as to Transport, etc., alleged
    - *Os.* Mr. Lambert, Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1077.
- Stormberg Casualties, *see* sub-heading Casualties.
- Strathcona's Corps, Visit to England
  - *O.* Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 114.
- Surrender, Terms of, etc.
  - Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 79, 93, 106, 127, 152; *Feb. 15*, 191, 196, 251, 255; *Feb. 18*, 399, 411; *Feb. 26*, 1261, 1272.
    - Communicating Terms to the Boer Prisoners at St. Helena and Ceylon
      - *O.* Mr. Asquith, *Feb. 19*, 509.
    - Making known Terms to the Boers—Lost Opportunities, *Feb. 14*, 89; *Feb. 15*, 259; *Feb. 18* 422; *Feb. 19*, 508.
    - Unconditional Surrender, *Feb. 14*, 89, 95, 107, 152; *Feb. 15*, 196, 241; *Feb. 18*, 416; *Feb. 19*, 512, 528.
  - "Fair and Honourable Terms"
    - *Os.* Mr. W. Churchill, *Feb. 18*, 411; Sir R. Reid, 415.
  - Kitchener's, Lord, Terms — Lord Roberts' Original Policy, etc.
    - Brodrick's, Mr., Statements, *Feb. 19*, 513.

[*cont.*

South African War—*cont.*

Surrender, Terms of, etc.—*cont.*

"Unconditional Surrender" and Lord Roberts—Gen. Buller's views after interview with Gen. Botha, etc.
Q. Mr. Pirie; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 18*, 291.

(*see* also South African Settlement.)

Surrender of British Troops—Inquiry

Lambert's, Mr., Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1069.

Publication of Proceedings of Courts of Inquiry
O. Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1089.

Telegrams from South Africa—Sunday Publication at Post Offices, Discontinuance of, etc.
Q. Mr. Power; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 299.

Termination of the War

Miscalculations by the Government

Debate on the Address, *Feb. 14*, 85, 103, 151; *Feb. 15*, 195, 247; *Feb. 19*, 505, 543; *Feb. 25*, 1076.

Peace Negotiation, *see* that sub-heading.

Petitions, *Feb. 18*, 288, *Feb. 19*, 448.

Probability of early Close — Lord Roberts' Despatches received in England Sept. 20, 1900
Q. Mr. Black; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 467.

Transport Service, *see* that title.

Unconditional Surrender, *see* sub-heading Surrender.

Ventersburg — Gen. Bruce Hamilton's Operations, *see* sub-heading Hamilton.

Victoria Cross, Number awarded, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 661.

Volunteers

City Imperial Volunteers — Sending half-trained mounted men straight into the field
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 140; *Feb. 15*, 261; Lord Stanley, 261.

Roberts', Lord, Despatches — Lord Roberts' Tribute to the Military Capacity of Volunteers, etc.
O. Mr. Forster, *Feb. 14*, 75.

Services of the Volunteers, Omission of Mention in the King's Speech
O. Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 114.

Transport Service—Wounded Volunteer returning home in ordinary Steamers, Refunding Expenses proposed
Q. Sir B. Simeon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1017.

Watervale Drift Reverse
O. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 14*, 132.

South African War—*cont.*

Welsh Hospital at the Front—Maintaining for further period of three months, etc.
Q. Mr. B. Jones; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 21*, 667.

White, Sir G., and the Defence of Ladysmith
O. Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1089.

White Flag Treachery by the Boers
Os. Lord A. Compton, *Feb. 19*, 539; Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 26*, 1252.

Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors—Government Pension Scheme, *see* War Relief Funds.

Women Prisoners of War
O. Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 25*, 1165; *Feb. 26*, 1239.

Woodstock Hospitals—Hospitals Commission Report
O. Mr. Burdett-Coutts, *Feb. 15*, 268.

Yeomanry

Charges against, Preferential Treatment, etc. — Baseless Charges made by Mr. John Burns
O. Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 145.

Clothing—Hardships endured for the want of fresh supplies—Yeomanry worse off than the Regulars
O. Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 146.

Rates of Pay, Higher Rates—Yeomen who have completed twelve months' Service in South Africa, etc.
Qs. Sir J. Leigh, Mr. T. Dewar, Mr. Dillon; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 470.

Terms of Engagement—Comparison with terms of Brabant's Horse
Q. Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 667.

Work in South Africa—In Praise of
O. Capt. Mildmay, *Feb. 14*, 144.
(*see also* sub-heading Reinforcements.)

Yeomanry Hospital—Model which the Government might imitate
O. Mr. Burdett-Coutts, *Feb. 15*, 270.

South Eastern and London Chatham and Dover Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

South Essex Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

South Metropolitan Gas Bill
c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1006.

South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway Bill
c. Ordered *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1005.

Southport Water (Transfer) Bill
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Sparks, Damage to Crops
- *see* Compensation for Damage to Crops Bill.

Speaker—*Rt. Hon. W. C. Gully.*
- Adjournment of the House, Motions for—Motion made while another Member was in possession of the House, *Feb. 19*, 559.
- Amendments to Motion with reference to Sessional Orders—Amendment to an Amendment, *Feb. 27*, 1343, 1345.
- Division, Motion for (Mines [Eight Hours] Bill)—Leaving the House to decide the question, *Feb. 27*, 1390.
- Interruptions — Irregular interruptions, *Feb. 18*, 331.
- Irish Language—Mr. O'Donnell's attempt to Address the House in the Irish Language, *Feb. 19*, 546, 547, 548.
- Irrelevant Observations, *Feb. 15*, 180; *Feb. 20*, 591, 592; *Feb. 25*, 1077, 1104, 1119, 1124, 1128, 1136; *Feb. 26*, 1216, 1309, 1317, 1318; *Feb. 27*, 1337, 1345.
    - Discussing Housing of the Working Classes on an Amendment referring to Licensing Reform, *Feb. 19*, 585.
- Judges, Disrespectful Criticism on, *Feb. 22*, 910.
- Matter which is still *sub judice*, References to in Debate, *Feb. 22*, 918.
- Questions
    - Answers—Adopting words used by another person, *Feb. 25*, 1015.
    - Ministers refusing to answer supplementary question, *Feb. 18*, 323.
    - Notice of Motion, Question appearing on the paper as—Member allowed to put the Question, *Feb. 25*, 988.
    - Time at which the Government will move the Closure—Irregular Question, *Feb. 25*, 1062.
- Supply—Sessional Order, Discussing general working of the rule, *Feb. 27*, 1340.
- Unparliamentary Language
    - Imputations on the Financial Secretary to the War Office by Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 26*, 1258, 1259.
    - Imputing offensive words to a Member who did not use them—Incident between Mr. B. Roberts and Mr. W. Johnston, *Feb. 22*, 948.

Spear, Mr. J. W. [Devon, Tavistock]
- Agricultural Land, Rates on—Returns, *Feb. 26*, 1198.

Spencer, Earl
- Cockerton Judgment—Higher Elementary Education and Evening Continuation Schools, *Feb. 25*, 985.

Spencer, Earl—*cont.*
- Roman Catholicism—Royal Declaration against, *Feb. 22*, 819.
- South African Hospitals Commission Report—Recommendations, *Feb. 21*, 651.

Spencer Dock, Dublin
- Condition of Lock Gates
    - *Q.* Mr. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1208.

Sporting Rights
- Wales, Crown Lands in Radnor and Merionethshire — Advertising Sale of, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. Edwards; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 689.

Stalybridge, Hyde, Mossley, and Dukinfield Tramways and Electricity Board Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1006.

Stanley, Lord—*Financial Secretary, War Office* [Lancashire, West Houghton]
- Australasia — Imperial Representative Contingent, Expenses, *Feb. 26*, 1188.
- Civil Power, Military aid to—Incidence of Cost, Billeting Rates, etc, *Feb. 19*, 474.
- Contracts
    - Horse-shoe and Nail Company, Contract with — Placing Contracts elsewhere, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1028.
    - Irish Firms—Supplies for the Troops in Ireland
        - Beer Contracts placed with English Firms, etc., *Feb. 18*, 298; *Feb. 21*, 674; *Feb. 22*, 850.
        - Changes introduced in Contract System, etc., *Feb. 21*, 673.
        - Depot, Establishment of at Dublin proposed, *Feb. 26*, 1187.
        - Dublin Barracks Contractor—Evasion of Fair Wages Resolution, *Feb. 18*, 300; *Feb. 21*, 672.
        - Forage Contracts, *Feb. 21*, 675.
        - Foreign Materials supplied to Troops, complaints, etc., *Feb. 18*, 297; *Feb. 25*, 1024.
    - Portland Cement Contracts for Army and Navy, *Feb. 25*, 1027.
    - Vegetable Contracts with Seidel and Co., *Feb. 22*, 851.
- Engineers, Royal, Building Work—Comparative Cost of Civil and Military Work, *Feb. 22*, 850.
- Guns from Germany—Number Imported, Cost, etc., *Feb. 22*, 848.
- Horses, Purchase of, etc.
    - Aldridge's Repository, Inspection of Horses, etc., *Feb. 22*, 847.
    - Argentine Horses—Prices paid for unsuitable horses, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1021.

[*cont.*

Stanley, Lord—*cont.*
  Horses, Purchase of, etc.—*cont.*
    Hungarian Horses—Purchase of unsuitable horses, etc., *Feb. 21*, 670.
    Irish Horses, *Feb. 21*, 669; *Feb. 26*, 1186.
    Number Purchased in Great Britain and other Countries, etc., *Feb. 18*, 295; *Feb. 22*, 845, 847.
    Secrecy as to Prices, *Feb. 26*, 1189.
  Irish Soldiers' Widows and Orphans in Workhouses, *Feb. 19*, 473; *Feb. 25*, 1019.
  King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 257.
  Militia
    Munster Fusiliers, Royal—Volunteering for Service Abroad, Compulsory Volunteering, etc., alleged, *Feb. 25*, 1026.
    Officers
      Gratuities to Officers of Regiments stationed in the Channel Islands, *Feb. 21*, 671.
    Retired Army Officers, Pay Grievance, *Feb. 25*, 1025.
  Patriotic Fund
    Crimean Soldiers' Widows—Unrelieved Widows, *Feb. 26*, 1187.
    Return, Date of presenting to the House, *Feb. 26*, 1189.
  Pensioners and Outdoor Relief—Case of W. Miller, *Feb. 25*, 1027.
  Queen Victoria, Funeral of—Facilities for the Foreign Press, etc., *Feb. 18*, 312.
  Recruits—Under-age recruits, Case of Edward Moore, *Feb. 19*, 474.
  Reserve—Section D, Detention of Men with the Colours, contrary to terms of engagement, *Feb. 26*, 1185.
  Saddles—German saddles, Contract for, etc., *Feb. 22*, 848.
  South African War
    Boer Character, Pro-Boer Speeches by Members, Terms of Surrender, Peace Negotiations, Farm-burning, etc., *Feb. 15*, 257.
    Casualties—Reported Death of three Privates of the Royal Irish Regiment, *Feb. 26*, 1183.
    Enteric, Inoculation against—Results, Professor Wright's Statement, *Feb. 26*, 1183.
    Enteric and Dysentery Statistics—Ages of Men and comparative liability to enteric, etc., *Feb. 26*, 1182.
    Garner, Sergeant-Major, Military Savings Bank account, Withholding payment from Widow, etc., *Feb. 19*, 471.
    Gratuities due to estates of deceased Officers—Delay in payment, *Feb. 19*, 473.

Stanley, Lord—*cont.*
  South African War—*cont.*
    Irish Prisoners at St. Helena, *Feb. 26*, 1181.
    Militia Reservists—Proposed recall of Fifth Battalion, Royal Munster Fusiliers, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1023.
    Paget's Horse—Recruits at Aldershot, Want of Accommodation, etc., *Feb. 22*, 847.
    Pay
      British Officers and Men in Captivity, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
      Date of last payment, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1018.
      Rates of Pay—Troops receiving 5*s*. a day, *Feb. 21*, 668.
      Yeomanry, Higher Rates of Pay, etc., *Feb. 19*, 470.
    Peace Negotiations—Lord Roberts and Gen. Botha, Proposed Interview in June, 1900, etc., *Feb. 18*, 296.
    Pensions for Permanently Disabled Officers and Men, *Feb. 19*, 472.
    Separation Allowance—Married Soldiers' discharge into Reserve postponed, etc., *Feb. 18*, 298.
    Welsh Hospital, Maintaining for further period of three months, *Feb. 21*, 667.
  Transport Service to South Africa, Demurrage at South African Ports, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
  Transvaal Appointments, Uitlanders' Dissatisfaction, alleged, *Feb. 15*, 194.
  Volunteers
    Ammunition Stock—Aberdeen Volunteers, *Feb. 26*, 1188.
    Officers—Schools of Instruction, *Feb. 22*, 850.
    Officers' Sons, Education of—Fees at Sandhurst and Woolwich, *Feb. 25*, 1025.
  War Office Inventions, Examination of—Method pursued, etc., *Feb. 22*, 849.

Standing Committees
  see Committees.

Standing Orders
  Ballot for Bills and Motions
    Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *Feb. 15*, 179; Motion Withdrawn, 180.
  Committee (Lords) Appointed, *Feb. 25*, 975.
  Private Bills
    Compliance with Standing Orders, *Feb. 22*, 811, 823.
    Non-compliance with Standing Orders, *Feb. 22*, 815, 822, 825.
    Suspension of Standing Order 195, *Feb. 15*, 163.
  Select Committee appointed (Commons), *Feb. 22*, 836.

State Opening of Parliament
see Parliament—Opening.

Statistical Abstracts
Presented, *Feb. 19*, 437, 448.

Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 455.

Steam Trawling
see Trawling.

Steel and Iron Industry
Threatened Increase of Duties by Foreign Governments
O. Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 117.

Stevenson, Mr. F. S. [Suffolk, Eye]
Gibraltar—Accommodation for Naval and Military Forces, Improvement of, etc., *Feb. 19*, 479.
Parliament—State openings, Inadequacy of Accommodation for Members, etc., *Feb. 19*, 494.
Royal Academy—Sculptors, Architects, etc., Increase in Number of Members proposed, *Feb. 21*, 709.
South African Republics, Military Notes—Copies for Members, *Feb. 26*, 1184.

Stewart, Sir M. [Kirkcudbright]
King's Speech, Address in Answer, *Feb. 19*, 580.
Liquor Licensing Laws—Reform, *Feb. 19*, 580.

Stockton Corporation Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Strachey, Mr. E. [Somerset, S.]
Beer—Arsenic Poisoning Epidemic, *Feb. 15*, 217.
Chelsea Electricity Supply Company—Giving Preferential Rate to Users of 200 Volts, *Feb. 18*, 309.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 217.

Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester and Midland Junction, East and West Junction, and Evesham, Redditch and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway Companies Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1006.

Stratton and Bude Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Stratton and Bude Improvement Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Stretford
New Writ for, *Feb. 14*, 56.

Stroud Gas Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1006.

Submarine Boats
Attitude of the Admiralty, etc.
Q. Mr. Cochrane; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *Feb. 21*, 676.

Sugar
Beet Sugar Industry in the United States—Report Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648.

Sugar Bounties
Abolition of
O. Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 118.
British Government's Right to impose Duty, etc.
Q. Sir J. Leng; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 25*, 1031.
Conference proposed—Representation of Foreign Powers, etc.
Q. Col. Milward; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 21*, 681.

Sullivan, J. R.—Convict
Remission of Sentence proposed
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1050.

Sumner, Rose
Remission of Death Penalty
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 22*, 857.

Sunday Sale of Intoxicating Liquors
see Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday.

Superannuation
Civil Servants, *see* that title.
Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Act, *see* that title.

Supplementary Estimates
see Supply.

Supplementary Questions
see Questions.

Supply
Army and Navy Estimates, *see* those titles.
Civil Service Estimates—Supplementary Estimates, 1900-1901, Presented, *Feb. 20*, 587.
Civil Service and Revenue Departments
Appropriation Accounts for 1990 Presented, *Feb. 18*, 288.
Estimates 1901-2, Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1175.
Financial Business of the House—Government Business Precedence
Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *Feb. 26*, 1209—Amendment (Mr. Yoxall), 1214.

[*cont.*

Supply—*cont.*
Irish Estimates, Number of days for discussion
Debate on the Sessional Order, *Feb. 26*, 1299—Amendt. (Mr. Dalziel), 1310; *Feb. 27*, 1326.
Motions for Reductions not moved for the Purpose of diminishing Government Expenditure
Os. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Dillon, *Feb. 27*, 1332.
Sessional Order
Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *Feb. 26*, 1291; *Feb. 27*, 1325—Amendments (Mr. Dalziel), 1326; (Sir T. Esmonde), 1335.
Words added with reference to War Expenditure—Mr. Balfour's Explanation, *Feb. 26*, 1291.
Tuesdays, substituting for Fridays
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1061.

Supreme Court of Judicature
Rules Presented, *Feb. 14*, 54, 72.

Sutton-in-Ashfield Urban District (Water) Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Swanage Gas and Water Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1006.

Swanley Junction
Railway Accident—Report of Inspecting Officer
Q. Mr. Bell; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1038.

Swansea Harbour Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1007.

Sweden
Venice, Sanitary Convention—Accession to, *Feb. 25*, 976, 1012.

Swine Fever
Number of Cases in 1898-1900—Expenditure incurred, Amount drawn from Local Taxation Accounts, &c.
Q. Mr. Lambert; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 21*, 688.

Taff Vale Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1007.

Taxation
Local Taxation, *see* that title.

Taylor, Mr. T. C. [Lancashire, Radcliffe]
Railways—Adoption of Corridor Trains, Prevention of Murder in Trains, *Feb. 21*, 686.

Teachers
see Education.

Teachers of Music (Registration) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 903.

Tees Valley Water Board Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1007.

Telegrams
South African War—Sunday Publication at Post Offices, Discontinuance of, etc.
Q. Mr. Power; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 18*, 299.

Telegraph Forms
Quality of Paper—More durable Paper, proposed
Q. Lt.-Col. Pryce-Jones; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1200.

Telegraph Service
Account showing gross amount received and expended since the Transfer of Telegraphs to the State to Mar. 31, 1900—Presented *Feb. 21*, 656.
Gross amount received and expended during 1900—Account Presented, *Feb. 21*, 655; *Feb. 22* 816.
Overtime at Central Telegraph Office, etc., Return
Q. Mr. Schwann; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 689.

Telephone Service
London, Government Telephone System, Date of opening
Q. Mr. J. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 19*, 484.

Temperance Reform
see Liquor Traffic and Liquor Licensing Laws—Reform.

Tenants' Improvement (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 456.
Bill Withdrawn, *Feb. 26*, 1178.

Tenants' Improvement (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1178.

Tendering Hundred Water Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 834.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1007.

Tennant, Mr. H. J. [Berkshire]
South African Republics—Military Notes, Copies for Members, *Feb. 26*, 1184.

Thames Deep Water Dock Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1007.

Thames Lightermen Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1007.

Thames Piers and River Service Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1007.

Thames and Severn Provisional Order Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 18*, 287.

Theft
Incentive to—Exhibiting Goods outside Shops
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1035.

Thessaly
Trade and Agriculture — Report Presented, *Feb. 21*, 647.

Thomas, Mr. D. A. [Merthyr Tydvil]
Coinage, New Coinage — Representing Welsh Arms in Quarterings, etc., *Feb. 21*, 682.
Military Aid to Civil Power—Incidence of Costs, Billeting Rates, etc., *Feb. 19*, 473; *Feb. 22*, 856.
Patagonia — Mr. Morley's Complaints against Cattle Thieves, etc., *Feb. 18*, 305.

Thompson, Dr. [Monaghan, N.]
Irish Land Act, Maladministration—Compulsory purchase of Land proposed, etc., *Feb. 21*, 779.

Thorburn, Sir W. [Peebles and Selkirk]
Salmon Fisheries, Scotland—Fishmongers' Company's Powers, *Feb. 25*, 1043.
Tweed Commissioners' Bailiffs — Assault on Mr. Anderson, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1044.

Tied Houses Abolition Bill
c. 1R* *Feb. 20*, 646.

Tiflis
British Consular Establishment, proposed
Q. Mr. Norman; *A.* Visct. Cranborne, *Feb. 18*, 305.

Tin Plate Industry
United States Duties—Competition with South Wales
Qs. Mr. A. Davies, Sir H. Vincent; *As.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1194.

Tipperary
Rent Appeals—Delays
Q. Mr. Cullinan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 490.

Tithe Rent-charge (Rates) Act 1899
Expiration in 1902—Renewal
Q. Mr. G. Whiteley; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 498; *Q.* Mr. G. Whiteley; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 708.

Tobacco
Cigarette Smoking by Boys—Proposed Special Tax on Cigarette Tobacco, etc.
Qs. Col. Walker, Mr. G. Whiteley; *As.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 25*, 1042.
Cultivation in Ireland—Acreage under Cultivation, Average Yield, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 22*, 869; *Q.* Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1058.

Tonnage Measurement
see Harbour Dues.

Torrington and Okehampton Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1008.

Tottenham and Hampstead Junction Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1008,

Trade, Board of
President—Rt. Hon. G. W. Balfour.
Parliamentary Secretary—Earl of Dudley.
British Trade Statistics — Exports and Imports
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1193.
Developing Trade within the British Empire
O. Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 118.
Foreign Countries and British Possessions —Monthly Accounts relating to, Presented, *Feb. 20*, 588.
Foreign Manufactures, Imports of—Total Value
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1193.

Trade Reports Presented
Annual Series, *Feb. 14*, 50, 67; *Feb. 15*, 169; *Feb. 19*, 436; *Feb. 21*, 647, 655; *Feb. 25*, 1012; *Feb. 26*, 1167.
Miscellaneous Series, *Feb. 14*, 51; *Feb. 21*, 648, 655.

Trade and Navigation
Accounts relating to, Return Presented, *Feb. 18*, 290.

Trade Unions
Report for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.

Tradespeople
Exhibiting Goods outside their Doors—Incentive to Theft, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1035.

Tramways
Electric Trams—Proposed Standard Gauge
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 21*, 684.

Transport Service
South African War
Demurrage at South African Ports
Q. Mr. Pirie; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1182.
Volunteers, Treatment of—Wounded Volunteer returning home in ordinary steamers, Refunding Expenses, proposed
Q. Sir B. Simeon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 25*, 1017.

Transubstantiation
see Roman Catholicism, Royal Declaration against.

Transvaal
Annexation — Responsibility of Lord Roberts for Proclamation, Legal Status of Inhabitants, etc.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 658.
(*see also* South African Settlement.)
Appointments
Criticism on—Communicating to Sir A. Milner
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 22*, 838.
Uitlanders' Dissatisfaction, alleged, Pirie, Mr. on, *Feb. 15*, 193.
Colonisation
O. Lord A. Compton, *Feb. 19*, 541.
Hofmeyr, Rev. A., *see* South African War.
Milner, Sir A., *see* Milner.
Mines—Amount to be levied towards Cost of the War, etc.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 19*, 466.
Netherlands Railway Company, Attitude of British Government towards
Q. Mr. A. Davies; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1018.
Patent Rights, British, Extension of, to the Transvaal
Q. Sir J. Brunner; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1179.
South African Settlement, *see* that title.
Transvaal War, *see* South African War.

Trawlers' Certificates Suspension Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 454.

Trawlers' Certificates Suspension Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 978.

Trawling
Beam or Otter Trawlers, Infringement of Fishery Board Bye-laws, Prosecutions—Return Ordered, *Feb. 26*, 1177.
Galway Bay—Raising Fine, etc.
Q. Mr. Morris; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 698.

Treasury
First Lord—Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour.
Financial Secretary—Mr. A. Chamberlain.

Treasury Chest
Account, with Report of Comptroller and Auditor-General Presented, *Feb. 15*, 166.

Treaty Series
Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 67; *Feb. 25*, 976, 1012.

Trevelyan, Mr. C. P. [York, W.R., Elland]
South African Settlement—Civil Administration of the New Colonies, Proclamation of British Intentions in English, Dutch, etc., *Feb. 19*, 465.
South African War—Farm-burning by British Troops, *Feb. 19*, 470.

Triennial Elections
Borough Councils, *see* that title.

Trust Frauds
Legislation
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 26*, 1199.

Trustee Savings Banks
Inspection Committee—Annual Report of Proceedings, Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1168, 1175.

Tufnell, Col. [Essex, S.E.]
Portland Cement Contracts for Army and Navy, *Feb. 25*, 1026, 1029.

Tuke, Capt.
Veterinary Inspection Staff, Irish Department of Agriculture, Retention of Services, etc.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1047.

Tully, Mr. J. [Leitrim, S.]
Boyle
Erection of Workmen's Dwellings—Loan, *Feb. 21*, 706.
Labourers' Cottages in the Boyle Union—Grant, *Feb. 18*, 318.
Grants-in-Aid forwarded to County Councils — Proposed Notification to District Councils, etc., *Feb. 18*, 318.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 242; *Feb. 19*, 582; *Feb. 20*, 589.
Liquor Licensing Laws, Question as affecting Ireland, etc., *Feb. 19*, 582; *Feb. 20*, 589.
Milner, Sir A., High Commissioner, etc.—Salary, *Feb. 21*, 660.

[*cont.*

Tully, Mr. J.—*cont.*
  Mohill and Farnought Postal Arrangements, *Feb. 18*, 319.
  South African War—Conduct of the War, Protest against the War, etc., *Feb. 15*, 243.

Turkey
  Cyprus Tribute—Amount paid to Turkish Government, etc.
    Q. Mr. A. Davis; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1033.
  Loan—Imperial Ottoman Guaranteed Loan, Account for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 15*, 167; *Feb. 19*, 438.

Tweed Commissioners
  Bailiff's Assault on Mr. Anderson, etc.
    Q. Sir W. Thorburn; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb. 25*, 1044.

Tweedmouth, Lord
  South African Hospitals Commission Recommendations, *Feb. 21*, 652.

Tyneside, Tramways and Tramroads Bill
  l. 1R.* *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Uganda Railway
  Bridges—Names of British and American Firms who tendered, Amounts of Tenders, etc.—Return Presented, *Feb. 14*, 52, 68.

Ulster
  Labourers' Cottages—Amount of unexpended Grants
    Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 21*, 704.

Ulster Custom Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 20*, 646.

Under-age Recruits
  See Army—Recruits.

Union of Benefices Act
  All Saints' and Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge Scheme, *Feb. 14*, 54; *Feb. 15*, 169,

United Irish League
  see Ireland.

United States
  Beet Sugar Industry—Report Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648.
  Cold Storage and Refrigeration in Chicago—Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51.
  Mail Service—Time occupied in Transit, etc., Return Ordered, *Feb. 25*, 1012.
  Tin Plate Industry Duties—Competition with South Wales
    Qs. Mr. A. Davies, Sir H. Vincent; *As.* Mr. G. W. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1194.
  Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1167.

Universities
  see Names of Universities.

Urban Districts, Ireland
  Valuation, System of—Proposed Assimilation to English System, etc.
    Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 19*, 484.

Vaccination
  Conscientious Objectors, Working of the Act—Complete Abolition of Compulsory Vaccination, proposed
    Q. Sir J. Rolleston; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *Feb. 26*, 1197.
  Leicester and Gloucester—Number of Unvaccinated Persons, etc.
    Q. Mr. Coghill; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 25*, 1035.
  Returns
    Q. Mr. T. Bayley; *A.* Mr. Long, *Feb. 26*, 1197.

Vaccination Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 27*, 1399.

Vegetable Contracts for the Army
  Contract given to German firm
    Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 850.

Venice
  Sanitary Convention of 1897—Accession of Sweden to, *Feb. 25*, 976, 1012.

Veterinary Surgeons
  Army, *see* that title.
  Ireland—Agricultural Department, Veterinary Inspection Staff, Appointment of Mr. Neill, Retaining Services of Mr. Tuke, etc.
    Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 25*, 1047.

Victoria Cross
  South African War—Number awarded
    Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 661.

Victoria, Queen
  see title Queen Victoria.

Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. [Sheffield, Central]
  Alien Immigration—Legislative Prospects, *Feb. 15*, 178.
  Army
    Barracks—Furnishing Officers' Quarters, etc., *Feb. 22*, 848.
    Horse Shoe and Nail Company, Contract with—Placing Contract elsewhere, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1028.
  Housing of the Working Classes—Legislation, *Feb. 14*, 119.
  Iron and Steel Industry—Threatened Increase of Duties by Foreign Governments, *Feb. 14*, 117.

[*cont.*

Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H.—*cont.*
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 114.
Old Age Pensions, *Feb. 14*, 118.
Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887, Operation of—Return, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1033.
South African War
  Horses, Supply of, etc., *Feb. 14*, 116.
  Yeomanry, Reinforcements, Rate of Pay, etc., *Feb. 14*, 115.
Sugar Bounties, Abolition, *Feb. 14*, 118.
Tin Plate Industry—American Competition, *Feb. 26*, 1194.
Trade
  British Trade Statistics for 1900, *Feb. 26*, 1193.
  Foreign Manufactures—Total value of Imports for 1900, *Feb. 26*, 1193.
Trust Frauds—Legislation, *Feb. 26*, 1199.
Volunteers
  Easter Training—Camp Allowances, etc., *Feb. 18*, 299.
  Officers—Schools of Instruction, *Feb. 22*, 850.
War Office
  Intelligence Department Reorganisation, *Feb. 14*, 116.
  Inventions, Examination of, Method pursued, etc., *Feb. 22*, 849.

Vivisection
Petition for Prohibition, *Feb. 18*, 288.

Volunteers
Aberdeen, *see* that title.
Ammunition Stock
  Q. Mr. Maconochie ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1188.
Army Reform—Increasing Efficiency and Utility of Volunteer Force, etc.
  References to, in Debate on the Address, *Feb, 14*, 37, 80.
City Imperial Volunteers, *see* South African War
Easter Training — Discontinuing Camp Allowances, Issue of New Regulations, etc.
  Q. Sir H. Vincent ; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 18*, 299.
Officers, Schools of Instruction, Formation of, in Garrison Towns and Camps proposed, etc.
  Q. Sir H. Vincent ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 850.
Officers' Sons, Education of—Fees at Sandhurst and Woolwich
  Q. Col. Pryce-Jones ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1025.
Rifle Clubs and Rifle Ranges, *see* those titles.
South African War, *see* that title.

Volunteers (Ireland) Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 459.

Votes and Proceedings of the House
Sessional Order, *Feb. 14*, 66.

Wages Boards Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 462.

Waima Incident
Arbitration, Progress of
  Q. Sir C. Dilke ; *A.* Visc. Cranborne, *Feb. 22*, 855

Waldersee, Count von
see China—Anti-Foreign Rising.

Wales
Coinage, New Coinage — Representing Welsh Arms in Quarterings, etc.
  Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas ; *A.* Sir M. H. Beach, *Feb. 21*, 682.
Dog Muzzling, Omitting to make Inoculation Experiments in Carmarthen Co., etc.
  Q. Mr. L. Morgan ; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *Feb. 19*, 482.
Pembroke Election Petition — Judges' Report, *Feb. 14*, 57.
Postmasters—Appointing Welsh-speaking Postmasters
  Q. Mr. H. Roberts ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 26*, 1201.
Sporting Rights on Crown Lands in Radnor and Merionethshire — Advertising Sale of, etc.
  Q. Mr. Edwards ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 689.
Tin Plate Industry—American Competition
  Qs. Mr. A. Davies, Sir H. Vincent ; *As.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 26*, 1194.

Walker, Col. [Widnes]
Cigarette Smoking by Boys—Proposed Special Tax on Cigarette Tobacco, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1042.

Wallace, Mr. R. [Perth]
Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 895.

Wallasey Improvement Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
  1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1008.

Walton Mr. J. [York, W.R., Barnsley]
China—Settlement, British Government Policy, Anglo-German Agreement, Indemnity, Punishment of Princes and Officials, etc., *Feb. 15*, 272 ; *Feb. 18*, 376.
King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 15*, 272.
Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R., *Feb. 27*, 1377.

War
see South African.

War
- *Secretary of State*—Rt. Hon. St. John Brodrick.
- *Under-Secretary*—Lord Raglan.
- *Financial Secretary*—Lord Stanley.
- Permanent Under-Secretary for War—Appointment
  - *Q.* Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 19*, 474.

War Office
- Army Reform, *see* Army.
- Intelligence Department—Reorganisation
  - *O.* Sir H. Vincent, *Feb. 14*, 116.
- Inventions in War Materials, Guns, etc., Examination of—Method pursued
  - *Q.* Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 22*, 849.
- Reform
  - References to, in Debate on the Address, *Feb. 25*, 1076, 1104.
- Reorganisation Committee, Allocation of Contracts, etc.—Proposed Reforms
  - *Q.* Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 671.

War Relief Funds
- Government Pension Scheme for Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors killed in War
  - Committee of Inquiry proposed
    - *Q.* Mr. Wharton; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb 15*, 171.
  - Inquiry by Joint Committee of Lords and Commons
    - Message from the Commons, *Feb. 25*, 977.
    - Message to the Lords, *Feb. 22*, 969.

Warkworth Harbour Bill
- *l.* 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 973.

Warner, Mr. T. C. T. [Stafford, Lichfield]
- Army
  - Militia — Re-embodiment, *Feb. 18*, 294.
  - Royal Reserve Regiments — Re-engagements, Delay in communicating Terms, etc., *Feb. 18*, 294.
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 25*, 1082.
- Mines (Eight Hours) Bill—Business of the House, *Feb. 26*, 1228
- Rifle Ranges
  - Lichfield—Progress of Works, *Feb. 25*, 1027.
  - New Ranges, Construction of, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1028.
- South African War—Surrender of British Troops, Publication of Proceedings of Courts of Inquiry, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1082.

Warrant Officers
- *see* Navy.

Wason, Mr. E. [Clackmannan and Kinross]
- Allotments, Scotland — Lands acquired under Allotments Act, 1892, and Loca Government Act, 1894—Return, *Feb. 25*, 1046.

Water and Light Supply (Ireland) Bill
- *c.* 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 459.

Water-tube Boilers
- *see* Navy—Boilers.

Waterford
- Roberts, Lord, Erecting Memorial to, proposed
  - *O.* Mr. Power, *Feb. 15*, 240.

Waterford, Marquess of
- King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 14*, 31.

Ways and Means
- Amendments to Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair—Amendment to Standing Order 51
  - Notice of Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *Feb. 25*, 1060.

Weights and Measures
- Metric System—Report from H.M. Representatives Abroad, *Feb. 14*, 82, 67.

Wells Corporation Water Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1008.

Wells Water Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1008.

Welsh Hospital
- *see* South African War.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1009.

West Indies
- Mail Service—Forwarding Mails from Plymouth by Goods Train, delays, etc.
  - *Q.* Sir J. Fergusson; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 25*, 1040.
- Prisons—Proposed Abolition of Penal labour, Granting Prisoners small Proportion of Money Earned, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 681.

West Surrey Water Bill
- *c.* Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
- 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1009.

Westmeath, Earl of
- Representative Peer for Ireland, *Feb. 14*, 30.

Westminster Hall
Fitting up as Reception Hall for State Opening of Parliament, proposed
Q. Mr. Caldwell; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 15*, 175; *Feb. 19*, 494.

Weston-super-Mare Gas Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

Wexford
Harbour Dues, Tonnage Measurement—County Council Resolution, etc.
Q. Mr. Ffrench; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 19*, 480.

Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. L. [York, W.R., Ripon]
Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors—Government Pension Scheme, *Feb.15*, 171.

White, Mr. P. [Meath, N.]
Army Beer Contracts at the Curragh given to English Firms, etc., *Feb. 18*, 297.

Whiteley, Mr. G. [York, W.R., Pudsey]
Agricultural Land Rating Act — Tithe Rent-charge (Rates) Act, Renewal, etc., *Feb. 19*, 498; *Feb. 21*, 708; *Feb. 25*, 1037.
Cigarette Smoking by Boys — Proposed Special Tax on Cigarette Tobacco, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1042.
Question appearing on the Paper as Notice of Motion—Point of Practice, *Feb. 25*, 988.

Whitmore, Mr. C. A. [Chelsea]
Admiralty Building—Delay in Erection of Colonnade, *Feb. 22*, 854.

Whittaker, Mr. T. P. [York, W.R., Speen Valley]
Liquor Licensing Laws Reform—Amendment to the Address, *Feb. 19*, 557; *Feb. 20*, 619, 621, 623, 624.

Wick Burghs
Election Petition—Judge's Report, *Feb.14*, 58.

Wicklow Co.
"Day of General Mourning" Feb. 2—Shopkeepers at Carmew compelled by Police to close their shops, alleged, etc.
Qs. Mr. J. O'Connor; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 316; *Feb. 25*, 1059; *Feb. 26*, 1205.

Willcocks, Sir J.
see Ashantee Rising, etc.

Wilson, Mr. C. [Hull, W.]
Naval Ships and Water-tube Boilers—Fitting Ships with Belleville Boilers pending Report of Committee, etc., *Feb. 18*, 301.

Wilson, Mr. H. J. [Yorkshire, W. R., Holmfirth]
Supply—Sessional Order, *Feb. 27*, 1348.

Wilson, Mr. J. (Durham, Mid)
Drunkenness in Village of Hetton-le-Hole, alleged, *Feb. 19*, 583, 584.

Wilson, Mr. J. W. [Worcestershire, N.]
Liquor Licensing Laws— Reform, *Feb. 20*, 638.

Wisbech Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 25*, 975.

Witnesses
Suppression of Names—Case of Cory-Thomas *v.* Spink
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Feb. 21*, 691.

Wolverhampton Corporation Water Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1009.

Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway Bill
c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 835.
1R.* *Feb. 25*, 1009.

Women
Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities Bill, *see* that title.

Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues
Sporting Rights in Radnor and Merionethshire—Advertising Sale of, etc.
Q. Mr. Edwards; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *Feb. 21*, 689.

Woolwich
Royal Military College Fees—Volunteer Officers' Sons
Q. Lt.-Col. Pryce-Jones; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1025.

Workhouses
Ireland
Longford Union Night Nurse—Refusal of Local Government Board to sanction appointment of Miss Brown, etc.
Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 18*, 317.
Soldiers' Widows and Orphans in Workhouses — Mr. T. M. Healy's Statement, etc.
Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 19*, 473
Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 25*, 1019.

Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 19*, 461.

Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment (No. 2) Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 20*, 645.

Workmen's Compensation Schemes
  Report for 1900 Presented, *Feb. 21*, 648, 656.

Workmen's Houses Tenure Bill
  c. 1R.* *Feb. 22*, 904.

Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. S. [Sheffield, Hallam]
  Maidstone Election Petition—Motion for New Writ, *Feb. 22*, 884.
  Questions—Under-Secretary of State prohibited from Answering Supplementary Questions, *Feb. 18*, 344.

Wotton-under-Edge Light Railway
  Order Presented, *Feb. 14*, 53, 71.

Wrecks
  Cornwall, North—Number of Wrecks and Number of Lives lost since 1880, Return
    Q. Mr. Caine; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *Feb. 25*, 1037.
  (For Particular Wrecks, *see* Names of Ships.)

Wright, Professor
  Inoculation for Enteric Fever, Results—Statement
    Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Lord Stanley, *Feb. 26*, 1183.

Wylie, Mr. A. [Dumbartonshire]
  China—British Government Policy, Punishment of Chinese Officials, Abolition of Likin, etc., *Feb. 18*, 381.
  Indian Expenditure, Recommendations of Commissions, Grant in Relief of Famine, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1127.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*Chief Secretary for Ireland* [Dover]
  Armagh—Commission of the Peace for South Armagh, Return, *Feb. 26*, 1206.
  Arterial drainage and re-afforestation—Enabling County Councils to undertake, etc., *Feb. 21*, 699.
  Beer Poisoning—Number of cases, etc., *Feb. 21*, 699.
  Board of Works—Resignation of Chairman, *Feb. 26*, 1207.
  Constabulary, Royal Irish
    Constabulary Force Fund, *Feb. 21*, 697.
    Cork City Election—Amount claimed from Borough Council for extra Police Force, etc., *Feb. 18*, 316.
    Newmarket (Cork) Petty Sessions—Extra Police, *Feb. 18*, 315.
    Sick Regulation—Grievances, *Feb. 21*, 696.
    Sligo, South, Agrarian dispute in—Extra Police, *Feb. 21*, 701.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
  Coonaloughey Landing Stage—Proposed improvement by Congested Districts Board, *Feb. 25*, 1047.
  County Officials' Salaries in Wexford—Appeals against increase in Salaries, *Feb. 26*, 1207.
  Dairy Industry—Proposed appointment of Irish Commissioner in England, etc., *Feb. 21*, 703.
  Donegal
    Crime, Decrease in — Proclamation, Revocation, etc., *Feb. 19*, 487.
    Roman Catholic and Protestant Magistrates, Number of, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1052.
    Small-pox, Case of — Precautionary Measures, *Feb. 25*, 1057.
  Dublin, Port of—Appointment of Viceregal Commission proposed, *Feb. 18*, 317.
  Fishermen, Loans to—Requiring Sureties, etc., *Feb. 22*, 866.
  Galway Bay Trawling—Raising fine proposed, *Feb. 21*, 698.
  Grants-in-Aid forwarded to County Councils—Proposed notification to District Councils, *Feb. 18*, 318.
  Horse-breeding in Ireland—Distribution of Premiums for Stallions, Number given to Ulster, *Feb. 26*, 1203.
  King's Speech—Address in Answer, *Feb. 21*, 781; *Feb. 22*, 953.
  Labourers' Cottages
    Boyle Union—Unexpended Balance of Grant, etc., *Feb. 18*, 318.
    Delays in Completing Schemes, *Feb. 22*, 865.
    Innishowen District Council—Unexpended Grant, *Feb. 22*, 861.
    Labourers purchasing Cottages held by District Councils — Proposed Amendment of Labourers Acts, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1048.
    Munster and Leinster — Unexpended Grant, *Feb. 25*, 1054.
    Number of Applications for Cottages since 1883—Applications for additional Half-acres, *Feb. 25*, 1053, 1054.
    Ulster and Connaught Unexpended Grants, etc., *Feb. 21*, 705.
  Land Commission
    Annally Estate—Tenant Purchasers' Applications, Delays, etc., *Feb. 19*, 485.
    Donegal
      Innishowen Union—Number of Appeals, etc., *Feb. 21*, 700.
      Letterkenny Appeals — Number of, etc., *Feb. 21*, 700.
    Fair Rent Applications—Delays, *Feb. 22*, 868.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
Land Commission—*cont.*
Finlay's, D., Estate, County Cavan—Delay in Completion of Sale to Tenants, *Feb. 22*, 867.
Granard Estate, County Longford—Delay in Sale of Land to Tenants, *Feb. 25*, 1049.
Jermyn's Castlecove Estate, Fixing Judicial Rent, *Feb. 26*, 26, 1202.
Kenny Estate, Co. Galway—Sale of land to tenants—Reservation of right of game, *Feb. 21*, 702.
Longford
Appeals—Tenant Litigants forced to go to Dublin, alleged, *Feb. 19*, 486.
Fair Rents, *Feb. 26*, 1204.
Monaghan Estates—Delay in fixing Judicial Rents, etc., *Feb. 22*, 863.
Ogilby Estate, County Tyrone—Sale of Holdings to Tenants, Delay, etc., *Feb. 21*, 702.
Return, *Feb. 26*, 1205.
Skibbereen Sub-Commission Sitting—Postponement until after Cork Assizes, *Feb. 21*, 701.
Tipperary Rent Appeals — Delays, *Feb. 19*, 490.
Land Judges' Court—Return, *Feb. 21*, 695.
Land Question
Compulsory Land Purchase—Innishowen District Council Resolution, etc., *Feb. 22*, 865.
Dual Ownership—Cork County Council Resolution, etc., *Feb. 21*, 703.
Irish Land Acts, Maladministration—Compulsory Purchase of Land proposed, etc., *Feb. 21*, 781, 797.
Limerick
Clerk of the Peace, Salary, *Feb. 26*, 1206.
Grant-in-Aid for Pauper Lunatics, *Feb. 22*, 860.
Local Government—Return, *Feb. 26*, 1205.
Local Taxation—Report of Commission, Date of Issue, *Feb. 18*, 318.
Londonderry — Discharge of Firearms, etc., Police Investigations, *Feb. 19*, 488; *Feb. 21*, 693.
Longford
Moore, Mr., late Petty Sessions Clerk—Refusal of Pension Gratuity to Widow, *Feb. 19*, 489.
Union Night Nurse — Refusal of Local Government Board to sanction Appointment of Miss Brown, *Feb. 18*, 317.
Lowrison, Lewis—Remission of Sentence proposed, *Feb. 18*, 315.
Moville Petty Sessions Bench—Increase in Number of Roman Catholic Magistrates proposed, *Feb. 18*, 313; *Feb. 22*, 862.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
National School Teachers — Mr. W. O'Callaghan's Salary, Balance of Residual Grant, *Feb. 22*, 863.
Newbridge Port—Proposed Construction of Boatslip and Breakwater, etc., *Feb. 22*, 864.
Owenmore River, Drainage of, Proposed Grant-in-aid, *Feb. 21*, 694.
Portnaling—Proposed Construction of Pier and Harbour, Government Grant, etc., *Feb. 22*, 861.
Queen Victoria, Funeral of—"Day of General Mourning," Shopkeepers compelled by Police to close their Shops, &c., *Feb. 18*, 316; *Feb. 21*, 697; *Feb. 25*, 1059; *Feb. 26*, 1205.
Railways
Grant for Construction — Amount unexpended, *Feb. 21*, 693.
Meath Co.—Proposed Railway between Granard and Oldcastle, Government Assistance, *Feb. 19*, 487.
Rating
Lands and Buildings—Revaluation, &c., *Feb. 21*, 704.
Railways and other Lands—Assessment on one-fourth of net annual Value, etc., *Feb. 18*, 314.
Roads, Repair of, by direct labour, etc.—Obtaining Order in Council, *Feb. 21*, 705.
Seeds—Schemes for Improvement, etc.—Distribution of Seeds to Irish Farmers, *Feb. 22*, 863.
Small Dwellings Acquisition Act—Number of Purchases, Working of Act, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1052.
Sullivan, Convict J. R.—Proposed Remission of Sentence, *Feb. 25*, 1050.
Tobacco Cultivation—Acreage under Cultivation, etc., *Feb. 22*, 869; *Feb. 25*, 1058.
United Irish League Meetings, *Feb. 18*, 314; *Feb. 22*, 867.
United Irish League Organisation—Charges against the Irish Executive, etc., *Feb. 22*, 953, 956.
Urban Districts—System of Valuation, etc., *Feb. 19*, 484.
Veterinary Inspection Staff, Department of Agriculture—Appointment of Mr. Neill, etc., *Feb. 25*, 1048.

Yeomanry
Committee of Inquiry into Constitution and Training of Yeomanry—Laying Report on Table
Q. Mr. W. F. D. Smith; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 22*, 849.

[*cont.*

Yeomanry—*cont.*

Imperial Yeomanry

Reinforcements for South Africa, *see* South African War — Reinforcements.

Recruits at Aldershot, Treatment of, alleged want of proper Clothing and Accommodation, etc.

Q. Mr. H. Lewis; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 21*, 670.

Untrained men, accepting as Volunteers for South Africa

Q. Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 18*, 294.

Organisation, Arms and Equipment—Report of Committee Presented, *Feb. 26*, 1176.

Yerburgh, Mr. R. A. [Chester]

China—Anti-Foreign Rising

Russo-Chinese Agreement regarding Manchuria, *Feb. 21*, 679.

Waldersee, Count von, Proposed Expedition, etc., *Feb. 21*, 678.

York, Duke of

Took the Oath, *Jan. 23*, 1.

Yorkshire Electric Power Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 22*, 836.
1R.* *Feb. 28*, 1009.

Youthful Offenders

Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887, Operation of, Urging Courts to use Act, etc.

Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 25*, 1033.

Yoxall, Mr. J. H. [Nottingham]

Business of the House—Financial Business, Government Precedence, *Feb. 26*, 1214.

Higher Elementary Schools—Number of Applications for Recognition, etc., *Feb. 19*, 481.

Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, 2R. *Feb. 27*, 1357, 1361.

Yucatan

Trade Report Presented, *Feb. 21*, 647.

"Beery *Chaplin*"

555.

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504.

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